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AMERICAN CONCEPTIONS OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT¹

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

Philadelphia

MEETING as we do in Dayton, the largest city yet to conduct its municipal affairs on the city manager basis, it is fitting that we should endeavor to ascertain to what extent this new movement has progressed and succeeded. When the original municipal Program committee of the National Municipal League was considering the question of "a model charter," it had in mind the necessity for placing the affairs of a city in the hands of trained experts; but at that time it did not seem to be within the bounds of possibility that the time would come, at least within a generation, when public sentiment would be so far developed as to justify the recommendation that the council or legislative body should be given the duty of selecting the administrator. So it recommended the plan of a small council elected at large (to eliminate the unquestioned evils arising from the choice of legislators from small arbitrarily chosen districts), with a responsible mayor elected by the people.

Public opinion in municipal affairs, however, since 1900, has developed with great rapidity, and along eminently satisfactory lines, so that, to-day, there are seventy-six communities in the country having the city or commission manager form, of which group Dayton is the most important and most conspicuous example.

The results here have undoubtedly been most satisfactory, judging both from the expression of opinion on the part of citizens and the newspapers, and by the results of the recent primary and municipal elections. Elsewhere the new form has won for itself a large measure of deserved praise; but, at the same time, we hear comments which indicate an erroneous view as to the place which the system is to play in our municipal

¹The annual review of the secretary of the National Municipal League, delivered at the 21st annual meeting, held in Dayton, November 17, 1915.

life. Some speak as if the form itself were responsible for all the improvement that has been accomplished; some as if its introduction would, *ipso facto*, result in a transformation of evil conditions. The city manager plan is a business-like one, and represents the latest and most approved ideas in the matter of municipal administration; but, unless accompanied by an active, organized, vigilant public sentiment, it will accomplish, of itself, but little more than the older forms.

An outgrowth of the widespread and popular commission government movement, the city manager idea represents all that is best in the commission system with the addition of a carefully chosen expert to look after the administration of the city's affairs, instead of three or five promiscuously chosen. Under it there is no longer any doubt as to who was responsible. There is no danger of inefficiency hiding itself behind a long list of elected officers no one of whom has sufficient authority or power to change conditions. If anything goes wrong in Dayton now, you know that the responsibility for it lies primarily at the door of the city manager, and behind him at the door of the council of five.

A characteristic of the older conception of American city government was to place entirely too much dependence upon the law and the form of government. Many still are for substituting statutes and constitutional provisions for the self-governing instinct. The newer conception involves the utilization of the most effective forms of government for the adequate expression of a sound public opinion; and the idea of a city manager has proved a popular one because it embodies just this thought.

There has been widespread comment upon the alleged failure of commission government in Nashville, Tennessee, and of its abandonment in Salem, Massachusetts.

Nashville for many years has been regarded as a community almost hopelessly indifferent to its municipal duties and obligations, and its citizens as hopelessly committed to a narrow, partisan consideration of public questions. A commission government was given to the city a few years ago at the request of the then existing administration, largely as a sop to the rising tide of discontent in the community; but the events of the past year have shown, conclusively, that something more than a change of form was needed in Nashville, namely: a change in the spirit of the people, and in the personnel of the men entrusted with the conduct of affairs. So the unpleasant notoriety which has come upon the city, while a surprise to many, was no surprise to those who knew the community and knew the situation. One might as well charge the murder of Senator Carmack to the old system of government in Nashville as to charge the breakdown of the recent administration to the commission form. The thing to be borne in mind is, that under the new commission law the people quickly detected the wrong-doing and mendacity of the administration and were able with equal quickness to apply the remedy;

and, therefore, the commission emerges from the Nashville experience justified, rather than condemned.

No thoughtful advocate of commission government has ever maintained that its mere existence would prevent corruption or maladministration: they have contended, always, that it must go hand in hand with an aroused and intelligent public sentiment. Nashville has been awakened—whether temporarily, or premanently, remains yet to be seen. Being awakened, it has been easier for the people to remedy the adverse conditions under its present simple, direct, responsible system, than under the preceding one of futile checks and balances.

Responsibility for right results in the public service should be put on the individual electors and upon the officials they choose. There was a time not long since when party organizations generally dictated and controlled the selection of nominees for every important office, and all that the electors were called upon to do, was to choose between the nominees of the rival parties. The successful one bore the brunt of the responsibilities. Now that party designations have been so generally eliminated from municipal elections (for they are in nearly every commission governed city, and in all the city manager cities), party responsibility has been almost entirely destroyed and the electors, themselves, have had to assume the burden of their own conduct. In other words, the old idea of party government in city affairs and of checks and balances is yielding to the modern conception of the direct, individual responsibility of the elector.

Galveston, properly regarded as the home of the modern commission idea, has suffered another serious disaster during the past year, and its commission has shown its trustworthiness. In the words of a recent editorial: "Disasters come to cities, as they have come to Galveston, through natural causes, and to Nashville because of incompetence as a result not of governmental forms, but of citizenship neglect. Often it takes a disaster of magnitude to arouse the people to the action which will save them. That is what happened at Galveston; and they made the business of the city their business, and they brought to the public service the best available men. These latter did everything that was expected of them, as men always do under the spur of a great popular interest. As a consequence, the city was restored, and prospers, as any city always will when so officered."

It has not needed disaster, however, to bring home to other cities the need for a change; so to-day we have 465 cities operating under the commission form and 76 others have a city manager or have provided for one. There has been no falling off, except in the single case of Salem, which, recently having the opportunity to adopt a new form of government, chose to try another change, rather than patiently work out its salvation, because the people still place their dependence upon the law

rather than upon their own shoulders. No doubt Salem will be cited, by those to whom the wish is father to the thought, as evidence of a breakdown of commission government. It is simply an evidence of the desire of the people to substitute law for the self-governing instinct.

An interesting development of the city manager movement has been the increased demand for experts in municipal administration, and the accompanying demand for the adequate education of those experts; and gradually, there is emerging the idea of a profession of city administration. Judging from the developments of the past fifteen years, one would seem to be justified in prophesying the early establishment of this new profession upon a strong, firm basis of public opinion and public demand.

Of the making of laws there seems to be no end. Former Senator Root, in a recent address, stated that during a period of ten years there had been enacted, by the various lawmaking bodies of the country, upwards of 62,014 laws. One result of this has been to place dependence on law, rather than upon individual action. Another is, it makes a nation of lawbreakers: mostly unconscious, but none the less disastrous in the long run. A nation depending on laws has but a sorry support. We cannot expect good and efficient government to follow from the mere passage of law; and those who are interested in the redemption of American cities and their establishment on a high standard of honesty, integrity and efficiency, must work to found them on public spirit and public institutions. Reform, in the minds of many, lies in the enactment of their fads into law and imposing them upon the whole community. The wise leader, however, seeks first to arouse the people to a sense of the importance of municipal government as a factor in their lives and the lives of the community and of their personal responsibility for it; then to provide proper tools for its expression.

This desire to substitute law for public sentiment and individual responsibility, has been particularly noticeable in the matter of the civil service laws. Often those interested in eliminating political and religious considerations from appointment to office, and of making of the public service a real instrument of public good and efficiency, have felt that the whole problem was solved when satisfactory laws were enacted. We have only to look around us on any side to see that the best laws, in the hands of designing men, may be made to thwart every public sentiment which gave them birth, unless that public sentiment is eternally vigilant and insistent. Civil service reformers must be on their guard constantly to see that the demand for honest and efficient government shows no sign of lessening.

I have always felt a very strong sympathy with the thought of the late Carl Schurz, who declared that he would rather have the laws made by Lucifer and executed by Gabriel, than made by Gabriel and executed by Lucifer. In other words, the first object of all organizations like

this league and the National civil service reform league must be to create sound, solid, substantial sentiment in favor of efficient, democratic government, and then help guide that sentiment, when created, along sound lines.

For years the attention of Americans has been directed to the efficiency of German cities, and we have marvelled at the wonderful achievements of administration there; but the lesson has not been a persuasive one to date, because the situations in Germany and this country are so different. There, efficient government is given rather as a gift from an overlord, than as the outworking of the desires and aspirations of the people themselves. The problem before us, in this country, is to attain efficiency through the direct action of the whole electorate, and that electorate one that is being placed on an ever broader foundation of suffrage.

As part and parcel of the development of the democratic conception of municipal government, the people must be educated. In a recent letter, a well-known Daytonian said that as a result of the activities of the bureau of municipal research, and of the co-operation accorded them by the progressive citizens of Dayton, the city hall and its doings had been transferred from the back pages of the newspapers to the front pages. This is a pregnant statement, and shows what is essentially needed.

One of the significant developments of the administration in Philadelphia now closing, has been the effectiveness with which the department of public works has made known its activities and achievements. The latest report of the director was introduced by the following pregnant paragraph:

"Dear reader: Please forget that this is a public document. Read it rather as a study in home-making as the result of one year of effort to make of Philadelphia the best place in the world in which to live. This report of the director of public works to the mayor of the city is really a story of the stewardship of 4,000 city employes working for the other 1,600,000 citizens."

In his letter transmitting this report the director said:

"With the increasing size of our undertakings and their growing complexity, the difficulty of visualizing the purposes and processes of government, federal, state and municipal, is greatly increasing. I feel very strongly that unless you can make people understand what you are doing, the waste is prohibitive; and, on the contrary, that if the people can be made to understand your plans and the method by which you hope to accomplish them, and these plans are right, the means will be forthcoming.

"The last three or four years the engineers connected with this department have become a unit in their attitude towards this question. We all started in with the disposition to feel that advertising as such was almost unprofessional. We have now come around to the point where we are

struggling to devise new and more comprehensive methods by which we might expose the operations of this department to the public view as completely as possible. Because only in this way do we feel that the great ends of municipal administration, with more particular reference to the engineering, can be accomplished."

Democracy demands publicity; and he who solves the problem of making plain the difficulties of municipal administration and making clear the transactions of the ordinary daily work of great city departments, will have made a contribution of great value.

Under the present administration in New York City, which has made many new records, as has the present administration in Philadelphia, much important work is being done for the welfare of the city employes. In the first place, a lunch-room in the municipal building has been provided for the women employes of the city. It is self-supporting, and run under the supervision of a committee of women organized and selected by the women themselves. This is the first attempt, I believe, of any city to supply a convenience that is now only supplied by great corporations.

An employers' conference committee has been organized. This committee is representative of both the classified and unclassified service, and consists of representatives chosen directly by the employes and a representative chosen by the heads of departments. It is hoped that a great deal will be accomplished by this conference committee to bring about a better relation and understanding between the administration and its employes.

The semi-monthly payment of salaries has been established in a number of the departments where the consensus shows that the majority were in favor of making the change. Those changes have been advocated by the various civil service papers, particularly for the police and fire departments, on the plea that it will save a great many city employes from applying to loan-sharks and loan agencies for funds to carry them through the month.

The comptroller has also established a system of having on each payday an amount of cash ready in the paymaster's office, sufficient to pay off a large majority of the checks. This has been found a great convenience by the employes who formerly had to change their checks at different stores and brought men to saloons, when it invariably happened that a certain expenditure had to be made in order to get the desired accommodation. The department of health has instituted a system of periodical physical examination of employes. I might proceed with the inventory, all to the end, however, of showing that the city administration cares—cares for the people who are working with it in the public behalf.

Moreover, we see that the city governments throughout the country are coming to care for the people, in a way that was unthought of and

unheard of a generation ago. It is to be found in the extension of facilities for wholesome outdoor recreation; of educational facilities for those whose schooldays are necessarily limited; for the upbuilding of the individual in health and strength and power.

For instance, municipalities are considering its relation to its food-supply. The report of the National Municipal League's committee on this subject abounds with instances of what is being done along these lines. The mayor of Cleveland, in a recent article, showed how the police were intimately related to the social problems, and how they could be utilized in the solution of those problems, and in highly important preventive work. The administration of the present police commissioner in New York has been characterized not only by increased efficiency along administrative lines, but by the utilization of the police in finding employment and in saving men, women and children from dangerous and degrading surroundings.

The interest of the city in better housing is growing, not so rapidly as the more zealous of us would wish, but, nevertheless, it *is* growing. Infant life protection is another topic which is coming in for definite, and effective work at the hands of city officials. Health exhibitions are increasing in number; and so the list might be continued. All to show that a new conception of municipal life is taking hold of the American people—the conception of the utilization of the great powers of government to overcome the evil effects of environment and heredity and adverse conditions generally. Not through the law as such, but through the law as representing the consensus of public opinion.

As a part of this developing conception, we find the idea of co-operation is getting a stronger hold upon the people. The newly organized women's city club of Cincinnati has declared its purpose to be: "To bring together women interested in promoting the welfare of the city; to co-ordinate and render more effective the organized social and civic activities in which they are engaged; to extend the knowledge of public affairs; to aid in improving civic conditions; and to assist in arousing an increased sense of social responsibility for the safeguarding of the home, the maintenance of good government, and the ennobling of that larger home of all—the city."

This idea of co-operation is gaining a foothold not only among the citizens, but among the officials as I have more than once pointed out, and to-day important work in the realm of municipal government is being done by the city managers association state leagues of officials, like the mayors conference of New York, and the leagues of cities in California, Iowa, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, to mention only a few of a very considerable number of such bodies.

These organizations believe in consultation. As John Mitchel said on one occasion, "I believe it is better to talk for a week than to strike

for a year." It is an essential to effective work and to real advance. When we find the officials of a community coming together for consultation and advice; and the citizens getting together for the same purpose; and then the citizens and the officials coming together for joint conference, then a new element of great promise has been introduced.

The old conception of municipal reform was that every non-officeholder was the enemy of every officeholder. So-called reform meetings were characterized by the vituperation of those who were in office; and the slogan of campaigns was, "Turn the rascals out!"—the rascals always being those opposed to us who were in office.

This cry is seldom heard now. The newer idea represented by the bureau of municipal research is to take information of wrongdoing directly to those responsible and who can change them, with the hope that the remedy will be applied quickly and directly, and with the minimum of publicity. If those responsible are unwilling to accept such co-operation, then the bright sunlight of publicity must be turned on the situation, in order that it may be cleansed and purified. The remarkable success attending the work of the bureaus of municipal research of the various communities of this country, has been due largely to the prosecution of this policy.

The new conception involves the belief that "My fellow-citizen is my neighbor"; that we must think communally. Alexander Hamilton, in one of his speeches, said: "Let us think continentally." Now, we have come to do that to a marked degree; but we must also think communally. We must think of the community interests and the community life; and these various organizations, these various efforts at co-operation, these various conferences to which I have referred, all tend to make the people think communally and to promote a sound community life.

In these reviews I have often spoken of the vital relation existing between the business organizations and the welfare of the community. No small part of the success of the city manager form in Dayton has been due to the initiative and unstinted co-operation of the business organization known as the Greater Dayton association; but we need something more than business organizations: we need community organizations, in which men come together not as business men, not as laboring men, not as clergymen, not as lawyers, but as citizens of the community; nor must the women be left out; and those organizations to-day which are dealing most successfully with civic problems, are those which are emphasizing this phase. Business must have a human basis; the community must have a human basis; humanity is the biggest idea which we can possibly grasp, and it is at the basis of the greatest conception of municipal life.

There was a time when these annual reviews dealt with the ebb and flow of the political campaigns. They formed a chronicle of successes

in one list of cities and of reverses in another. To-day less attention is given to the political campaigns, because they are only incidentally interesting; but surface manifestations. The league is interested in constructive policies; it is interested in the big movements; it is interested in developing an adequate conception of municipal life and municipal responsibility. The campaigns of the past year have been interesting, in some cases most dramatic; but the important thing that stands out from all of them is the growth of the movement for the elimination of party designations and, in most places, of party considerations in municipal elections; even though there may be serious recessions here and there.

There are some events, like the overwhelming defeat of the proposed New York constitution, which seem to call for comment. That instrument was a very interesting document; along certain lines it represented a very great advance; but its framers made the mistake of introducing too many reforms at one time in a given instrument, without preparedness. In other words, a constitution must embody the public sentiment of the community at the time of its adoption. "Nor can one hope to substitute a philosopher's stone of a constitution," to use the words of the late Governor Russell, "for the self-governing instinct of the community." Many believe in the initiative and the referendum because they represent an every day way of incorporating in the fundamental law the agreements of the community upon a given issue.

This consideration naturally brings us to civic education; and here we are in a field where the developments have been many, interesting and encouraging: "Civics for young Americans" and "civics for new Americans" are among the slogans of the new movement. There was a time when the people did think continentally first, and nearly always: now they are thinking continentally, and locally as well; and they are beginning to see that it is the simple duty that prepares for the larger one. If one cannot lay claim to good habits in small matters, how can one expect them in larger things? And so we find such movements as that originated by the National Municipal League, now carried on by the bureau of education at Washington, meeting with popular acceptance. The "Americanization work," as it is happily called, of the national immigration committee, is another phase of the same movement.

So far, this review has dealt mainly with conceptions dealing with governmental reform, public sentiment and education. There is another movement, however, which calls for attention in any consideration of conceptions of American municipal government; and that is, the movement popularly known as city planning, a phrase much more often used than defined. There was a time when it was practically a scheme for the city beautiful; but now it has a much richer and a much more comprehensive meaning. Its development has been in accordance with the growth of the movement to place our cities upon a more substantial,

a more respectable, a more useful basis. Henry R. Aldridge, the secretary of the English national housing and town planning council, and a veteran in the cause of city planning, declares in his new book ("A Case for Town Planning") that "the phrase should come to clearheaded administrators as an appeal for the substitution of order in the place of chaos in city growth. To those members of municipal committees responsible for the guardianship of the health of the population, the appeal would be that of the wisdom of prevention as compared with the wastefulness of cure. To those responsible for the wise administration of municipal revenues, the appeal is strong and direct. They have witnessed for many years the waste of the taxpayers' money on school-house schemes, on road-widening schemes and on many other schemes which never would have been necessary at all if town-planning care and foresight had been exercised. To them the case for town-planning on the financial side is overwhelming: they realize that the sick man is a burden to the community, while the healthy man is an asset: the one has to be carried, the other carries his own burdens and helps to carry the burdens of others."

Here we have another phase of the new conception of municipal life; that is, the obligation resting upon the community to develop healthy men, women and children—healthy physically, healthy morally and healthy spiritually; and the amount of thought and time and attention given to promoting these ends during the past decade is one of the big, encouraging factors in American history.

Naturally, the people of this country are still very much concerned about the great European war. A year ago, although the war had made but little difference with the functioning of the city, there was a strong feeling of fear on the part of a very considerable number of publicists and workers that the foundations of our municipal life would be overthrown. The year has been a sobering one, bringing to us anew our duties and responsibilities, and, above all, the fundamental necessity for building our cities upon a firmer basis than ever before. While there have been some interferences on account of the war, especially with financial arrangements, due to the timidity of money, those difficulties are disappearing. In passing, it is interesting to note, the war has had, on the whole, a rather salutary effect upon financial undertakings: in fact, cities, like individuals, have been made more thoughtful on such matters, and there have been fewer rash undertakings, and rather more thought has been given than previously; and a number of cities, notably New York, have been compelled, by the pressure of the situation, to reorganize their whole financial system upon a more substantial, businesslike and scientific basis; so that in some aspects of the situation the war has been decidedly beneficial—beneficial in that it has compelled us to take account of our stock, to see where we stand, and whither we are

tending, and to reorganize many of our methods. Over and above that, it has caused a spiritual awakening which is sure to have a widespread effect. Public life is sure to be purer and, finally—because of the stress and storm of this period, will be strengthened and developed.

In closing, may I say that the old conception of our municipal life and government involved imposed good government—a gift from the gods, from the overlords, or from the state legislature; the new conception involves the adoption and working out of comprehensive plans by the people themselves. “The test of good citizenship,” to quote from Dr. James’ recently issued “Handbook of Civic Improvement,” “lies in the existence of an intelligent, *continuing* interest in questions of good city government.” The hope of American cities lies in the existence of a strong, continuing, vigilant, democratic sentiment, manifesting itself in public life and in the aspirations of the American people to achieve the highest good for the greatest number through definite community effort.

COMING OF AGE:

MUNICIPAL PROGRESS IN TWENTY-ONE YEARS

BY WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE¹

Richmond, Ind.

THE National Municipal League is twenty-one years old. Let us look back over this period of adolescence and see what has happened to the American cities which have been the subjects of our study.

The Hon. Elihu Root, in his memorable address on the 30th of August to the New York constitutional convention, used the following language in reference to our municipal progress:

"The governments of our cities! Why, twenty years ago, when James Bryce wrote his 'American Commonwealth,' the government of American cities was a by-word and a shame for Americans all over the world. Heaven be thanked, the government of our cities has now gone far toward redeeming itself and us from that disgrace. The government of American cities to-day is in the main far superior to the government of American states. I challenge contradiction to that statement."

We can have no better picture of the condition of American municipalities at the time the National Municipal League was born than is found in the pages of Mr. Bryce. There has never been any higher authority on the subject of American institutions. Appreciative of all that was good, and just in his condemnation of all that was bad, he gave us a more correct estimate of ourselves than any American could have done. His great work was published in 1888 only a few short years before the National Municipal League was born. The changes during that period were not vital nor extensive so that Bryce's picture of American municipalities is an accurate portrait of what they were when we began our career. What does he say?

"There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States. The deficiencies of the national government tell but little for evil on the welfare of the people. The faults of the state government are insignificant compared with the extravagance, corruption and mismanagement, which mark the administrations of most of the great cities." And even in the smaller ones he adds that it needs no microscope to note the results of the growth of poisonous germs.

¹Annual address of the President of the National Municipal League, Dayton, Ohio, November 17, 1915.

Mr. Bryce cites a number of authorities; for instance, the report of a commission appointed to devise a plan for the government of the cities in the state of New York, a commission of which William M. Evarts was chairman. This report showed the growth of the debt of the city of New York from eighteen millions in 1860 to 113 millions in 1876 and the commissioners say of this debt: "It was abundantly sufficient for the construction of all the public works of a great metropolis for a century to come, and to have adorned it besides with the splendors of architecture and art. Instead of this, the wharves and piers are for the most part temporary and perishable structures; the streets are poorly paved; the sewers in great measure imperfect, insufficient, and in bad order; the public buildings shabby and inadequate. . . . In truth, the larger part of the city debt represents a vast aggregate of moneys wasted, embezzled, or misapplied."

The commissioners attribute these evils to the following causes:

First, Incompetent and unfaithful officers, and they give a picture of the elaborate systems of depredation which under the name of city government have, from time to time, afflicted our principal cities and they assert that more than one-half of all the present city debts were the direct results of intentional and corrupt misrule.

The second cause of these evils was declared to be the introduction of state and national politics into municipal affairs and this, as well as the incompetency and unfaithfulness of city officers, Mr. Bryce believed to be largely due to the spoils system whereby the whole machinery of party government was made to serve the getting and keeping of places.

The third cause of the evils stated by the commissioners was the assumption by the legislature of the direct control of local affairs whereby the wishes of the citizens were liable to be overruled by the votes of legislators living in distant parts of the state.

Mr. Bryce insists that besides the three causes upon which the commissioners dwell there was also a defect in the structure of municipal governments themselves and a want of method for fixing public responsibility, "If the mayor jobs his patronage he can throw a large part of the blame on the aldermen or other confirming council, alleging that he would have selected better men could he have hoped that the aldermen would approve his selection. If he has failed to keep the departments up to their work, he may argue that the city legislature hampered him and would not pass the requisite ordinances. Each house of a two-chambered legislature can excuse itself by pointing to the action of the other, or of its own committees, and among the numerous members of the chambers responsibility is so much divided as to cease to come forcibly home to any one. . . . The mere multiplication of elective posts distracted the attention of the people, and deprived the voting at the polls of its efficiency as a means of reproof or commendation."

How was it our cities had fallen into such a deplorable state? It was not because democracy was a failure, for our national and state governments were fulfilling their missions reasonably well. It was rather because the principal interest of our citizens had been confined to national and state affairs and cities had been neglected. Our cities did not develop like those of the old world. They were not the original centres of our political activities. In Greece during her golden age, in Italy during the Renaissance, indeed all over Europe, during and since the Middle Ages, the city has been often the most important political unit. It was there that civic life and the germs of liberty first found their development. In America, the colony (succeeded by the state) was the first political unit and then the union of states in the federal government. Ours was at first almost purely an agricultural country. The cities were unimportant. In 1820 there were but thirteen towns of more than 8000 inhabitants and their combined population was less than 5 per cent of that of the country. Even in 1850, the combined population was only about $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent that of the nation at large. Cities were regarded as mere creatures of the states. They did not govern themselves, they were governed, and little interest was aroused in their local affairs. The result was that even after the cities increased enormously in population and multiplied in number, nothing but haphazard and temporizing methods were applied to their affairs. Just before and during the Civil War the interest in national questions was so intense and absorbing that the great bulk of the people hardly considered municipal affairs at all. This neglect of our cities continued in measure down to the beginning of the present century. As Mr. Horace Deming said in his article on our municipal program as late as 1901: "There has been in the popular mind no concept of the city as government. No city has had adequate power of local government."

A city charter he described as a congeries of session laws covering perhaps hundreds of pages and changed at every session of the legislature. But there was a growing discontent among the people in our cities and a desire to assert their rights of independence. Repeated efforts began to be made to free the city from its helpless bondage to the legislature, to clothe it with power to manage its affairs without outside aid, and finally in some places even to present outside authority from interfering with any purely local city policy.

It was while our cities were in this condition that the National Municipal League, after gathering information for three years in respect to municipal conditions and the causes of them appointed a committee in May, 1897, to report on the feasibility of a municipal program. Two years later a model charter and proposed constitutional amendments were submitted and adopted by the league. The fundamental principle of this municipal program was, as stated by Mr. Deming, chairman of

the committee: "ample power in the city to conduct the local government without possibility of outside assistance or of outside interference, save by such supervision of a central state administrative authority as might be necessary to enforce a state law applicable alike to all the cities or to all the inhabitants of the state."

Since our last municipal program there have been many improvements in city governments. They are much more free from the control of national parties than in 1899. Independent candidates have often defeated the strict party nominees. "Golden Rule" Jones was elected mayor of Toledo, in that year, defeating the candidates of the old parties by a vote larger than both. Then we have Mayor Low of New York, Tom Johnson of Cleveland, Guthrie of Pittsburgh, Brand Whitlock in Toledo, Mayor Hunt of Cincinnati, Mayor Baker of Cleveland and many others who represented the independent rather than the party vote.

City elections are commonly held apart from state and national elections and the widespread adoption of the non-partisan ballot is an indication that our people are gradually divorcing city affairs from those of the state and nation. The party convention system of making nominations is no longer generally followed. In great numbers of our cities nominations are made on petition or in open primaries or by a preferential ballot without party designations and Ashtabula, Ohio, has even adopted the Hare system of proportional representation. The count of votes has been successfully made and the men elected are representative men.

Better representation and greater control by the public has also been obtained in large numbers of commission and manager governed cities and in some others by fixing more definite responsibility upon one person, or upon a small group, in place of dividing it among many, and also by such measures as the initiative, referendum and recall. It may be too early to pronounce conclusively upon the effect of this latter kind of control but in the case of the recall at least it would seem that in Los Angeles, the first and largest city which has adopted it, as well as in many other cities, it has worked well, and the fact that it has been seldom used may indicate, not that it is useless, but that it has performed an admirable function in restraining city officials from such action as leads the people to invoke it.

Another evidence of improvement in municipal government is the application of civil service methods of appointment to subordinate places. This has greatly diminished the evil of patronage and secured greater permanency in city employments although the civil service provisions have often been quite inadequate (as they are here in Dayton) and as yet the highest and most important places are outside the civil service rules although these rules could well be applied to them.

The tendency to employ experts in city governments is gaining ground but the progress is slow. In the larger cities a certain number of experts

is a necessity. The manager form of city government is essentially a government by experts. But expert administration is not yet the rule. In commission cities where the heads of departments are elected by the people; government by experts is rarely possible, and the commission cities are very numerous.

Certain other scientific methods are making headway. In many places we have city budgets with detailed estimates by the chief administrative officer. A uniform system of municipal accounting by which alone a city's financial condition can be shown in comparison with other cities is now required in many states by general law.

Uniform municipal accounting is only one matter in which the state is beginning to exercise administrative rather than legislative control over our cities. Another more important instance is the control exercised by public service commissions over municipal utilities. It is still a mooted question how far state commissions ought to interfere with a city's control over its own utilities. Still state supervision to some extent is necessary especially in regard to those utilities which extend beyond the limits of the city or which connect it with other cities or other parts of the state.

This kind of state control is a natural preliminary to administrative supervision in other particulars where such supervision is necessary to carry out definite lines of state policy affecting all the cities of the state. Thus in Massachusetts the state civil service commission exercises direct control over appointments in the classified service of the cities. In New York it exercises supervisory authority over the various municipal civil service commissions.

This is the way that the *Regierung*, or provincial committee, exercises a certain control over Prussian cities in carrying out the general policies of the Prussian government. These supervisory organizations have a distinct value where they do not interfere too much with home rule. One of the most important things that still lies before us for consideration, is the character, the extent, and the methods of enforcement of this central supervisory jurisdiction.

There has been no subject in which the tendency of the times more clearly appears than in the drift toward home rule. Ever since Missouri gave to St. Louis a limited power to frame its own charter, this movement has been advancing. California, Washington, Minnesota, Colorado, Oklahoma, Michigan, Oregon, in fact more than a dozen states have adopted it, among the last being the state of Ohio.

And the tendency in this home rule movement has been to give cities not only the power to organize as they will but also the power to perform services and to assume duties toward the public which used to be quite outside the province of municipalities. More and more are cities absorbing both the ownership and operation of public utilities. Thus San Fran-

cisco and other important cities own and operate their street railways. New York has a municipal ferry. The ownership and operation of gas-works, water-works, electric plants, etc., are becoming very common and the field is constantly growing wider.

Then again many cities own utilities which they lease to others. Some of the great subways are illustrations. The prejudice which formerly existed against municipal ownership or operation seems to be dying out.

Even where the city neither owns nor operates its utilities it assumes a much more strict and detailed supervision over them than heretofore. It is no longer easy for private corporations to procure perpetual franchises or to secure for nothing the right to use the streets, a right which at once becomes immensely valuable. The field of the city exploiter and the council briber in securing such franchises is more limited than in earlier times. Franchises are given for shorter terms or they are indeterminate with the right of the city to purchase. In some cities there are utility commissions to protect the interests of the public and many other safeguards are beginning to be imposed. The same may be said of added restrictions upon the issuing of municipal bonds, which in some cases require a ratification by the people by means of the referendum.

There are many other illustrations of progress. City libraries are becoming common. City planning, to adapt the municipality to its future growth, is beginning to take the place of the haphazard methods of development which used to prevail. It is true that the city of Washington set us the example more than a century ago but this example has been little followed until recent years. Then too the project of using the school-houses and other public buildings as social centres is now beginning to make its way in public approval.

There is also some gain in the personnel of those who administer city affairs although the reform in this respect is of the most mottled and varied character. The forms of corruption now are not quite so crude as in earlier days but there is still a great deal of it.

Bald, naked bribery is still common, as in San Francisco, Peoria, and Milwaukee, as well as in Pittsburgh, where over sixty councilmen were indicted for this offense. Frauds, forgeries and the purchase of votes in municipal elections are still of frequent occurrence. The entire city government of Louisville was thrown out by the Supreme Court on account of crimes committed at the election of 1903. The mayor of Terre Haute is in the federal penitentiary to-day for crimes committed in a recent election in that city. Over 120 men were indicted this year for election frauds in Indianapolis and although the mayor and the state boss were acquitted, there being no sufficient evidence against them, the fact that crimes were committed in this election is undoubted, for many have pleaded guilty. In smaller cities of Indiana, Muncie, Newcastle

and elsewhere there are many charges of corruption and some prosecutions.

Even in Boston, the president of the common council was convicted and sentenced for two years for complicity in the violation of an ordinance appropriating expenditures in which he was directly interested. In Chicago, police Inspector McCann was convicted of taking bribes for protecting disreputable resorts as part of a widespread system for giving immunity to law breakers. In Lawrence, Mass., the mayor was sentenced to three years in the penitentiary for conspiracy to bribe city officials and three other officers were convicted on similar charges. These are merely a few illustrations out of a much larger number.

In many of our cities there have been successive waves of reform and reaction. In New York the election of Mayor Low was proof of a non-partisan effort for better government yet he was soon succeeded by a Tammany politician.

In St. Louis after the purging of the city following the prosecutions of Joseph W. Folk, there was again a back-sliding with much scandal and corruption. After an efficient and progressive administration of the affairs of Pittsburgh under Mayor Guthrie, he was succeeded by a reactionary and then by another man of the same stripe and the administration of that city leaves much to be desired to-day.

Great reform waves have swept over Chicago and yet the old-fashioned partisan and political system has come back again in the election of Mayor Thompson followed by much injury to the excellent civil service system which existed there and by many other abuses.

These things show that it is much easier to get a good city administration on the heels of a reform wave than it is to hold on to it permanently. Yet the city never slips back again into quite so bad a condition as it was in before. The waves advance and recede but the tide still slowly rises. The recent Tammany mayors of New York, McClellan and Gaynor, were very much better men than the earlier ones such as VanWyck or Grant. When the Socialist governments of Milwaukee and Schenectady which introduced important reforms had to give way to a combination of both of the old parties, still the cities did not fall back into as bad a condition as they were in when the reform administration began. And now the Socialist mayor of Schenectady has been elected again.

Still the advance has been so slow that our municipal development has not by any means kept pace with our splendid industrial development. The reason is not hard to find. We have had our minds on our business a great deal more than on our municipal problems. Our slow progress has had the same cause as that which led to the original degradation of our cities. Our chief interests were elsewhere.

The principle of the short ballot so vital to intelligent elections has also made a certain progress. It is applied most successfully in commis-

sion- and manager-governed cities where often the commissioners are the only elective officers. But in many cities enormous ballots are still used, like those in Chicago, yards in length and containing the names of hundreds of candidates. Moreover, the proposed constitutional amendment in New York which had the short ballot as one of its prominent features was defeated by a tremendous majority.

To sum up the whole matter we must realize that although we have made distinct progress along many important lines, yet the things accomplished are but the beginning of that which still remains to be done.

In the words of Mr. Bryce before the New York city club in 1911: "In nearly all the cities the sky is brighter, the light is stronger, a new spirit is rising. The progress you may expect to see in the elevation and purification of your city government within the next twenty or thirty years may well prove to be greater and more enduring than even that which the last forty years have seen."

And what is the outlook at this moment? Are we moving forward or backward? War time is a reactionary period. There is no doubt that our Civil War injured our city governments, not only during its progress but for some time afterwards. In a world where the law of force prevails, moral ideas and plans for social betterment are apt to be neglected. The present European struggle has probably set back the civilization of the world for at least a generation and the influence of this reaction is bound to be felt everywhere. We in America, who as yet are outside the circles of the whirlpool, have not of course felt its full effect, and municipal affairs, which have less to do with war than national affairs, will be less affected even should we become involved in the struggle. Up to the present time the tendency of municipal reform is still forward. Additional cities are accepting new and better forms of government and, if we may except Chicago, administration is, in the main, improving. But it is not certain how long this will last. The defeat of suffrage and of the New York constitution indicate that our people are now disinclined to innovations. Moreover, the presence of a world war so fills our thoughts and stirs our feelings that we are bound to have less interest in municipal affairs. The report of a committee appointed by the League to present to the recent conference of governors in Boston some important matters concerning the relations of the city to the state, tells us that the question of national defence and other subjects so engrossed the time of the conference that municipal affairs were not considered at all.

This question of preparation for defence, in case war should be forced upon us against our will, is necessarily supreme. The maintenance of our national integrity is bound to stand first just as it did during the Civil War, and municipal welfare must take a secondary place. I know how this must be in the minds of others, for although I am interested much beyond the average in municipal problems, I feel them becoming

subordinate to the great question which may involve the preservation of our national life. This becomes the subject of anxious thought both day and night until, like the old Roman, who concluded all his speeches, whatever the subject, with the declaration that Carthage must be destroyed, I feel like injecting into an address upon any theme the warning that it is our duty to look first to the preservation of our national life.

Now anything which diverts attention from the city makes it more easy for municipal affairs to slip back into old ruts and makes the improvement of city government more difficult. So we ought to realize that we are likely to have some hard sledding ahead of us. We have seen what the effect of the war has been upon the efforts of the German and English social reformers. Their projects for improvement have been suspended and to a less degree the same thing is likely to happen here, whether we become involved or not and if we do become involved the evil will be felt for a considerable time after the struggle is over.

And yet in that more remote future when the reaction caused by the war shall have worn away, I think I can see a brighter prospect for American municipalities than ever before. There can be no doubt that the efficiency of city government will finally be promoted by the lessons which the war is teaching. In that war the individualism of England has been sharply contrasted with the collectivism of Germany. The notion that the community exists only for the citizen has been brought face to face with the notion that the citizen lives for the community, and in the terrible conflict of war, which is still the ultimo ratio among the sovereignties of the world, the German ideal has shown its vast superiority in the matter of efficiency over the English and American ideal. However we may deprecate the injustice and heartlessness of the methods used in warfare, we cannot refuse our admiration to the wonderful results accomplished, not only upon the battlefield but in solidifying and organizing the entire body of the people in behalf of the common cause, not each individual or class for itself but all for the nation. Whether Germany wins, or is overcome by the greatly superior numbers and resources of her adversaries, the demonstration of her superior efficiency is very clear. With us the hardest part of the program will be to combine this efficiency with our popular sovereignty. To do this we must infuse into our democracy a stronger spirit of co-operation for the general welfare. If different classes of a nation, capitalists, wage-earners, or what you will, consider their own special interests as above the general good, that nation cannot survive. The labor troubles in England (and the fault is not on one side alone) have been one of the most sinister omens of the disastrous consequences of this kind of individualism. After the war is over, whoever wins, there is bound to be an enlargement of the powers of govern-

ment everywhere and greater control of personal conduct by the collective action of the people. Heaven forbid that we should ever be subject to Prussian militarism but our leaning hitherto has been too far the other way. We have been saturated with an excessive commercialism, an excessive individualism and the belief that our own personal and financial interests might be of more importance than the public good. Military life and discipline has some tendency to correct this centrifugal and disorganizing spirit and if, unhappily, our own country should feel the scourge of war, we may find that in spite of its calamities there may be some compensation in a greater sentiment of solidarity, in a greater willingness to pull and work together and to merge ourselves for the general good into the community of which we form a part. It is to this need of subordinating ourselves to the public welfare that I would direct the last words which I shall address to the League as its president.

For this is my valedictory. It was two years ago that I announced at Toronto that owing to failing health I desired at the next annual meeting to retire from the presidency of the league. A year ago it seemed unwise to make a change and I found I would be able to continue my duties another term but made again an announcement that this would be positively my last appearance. Even in theatrical circles last appearances should not be repeated indefinitely and fortunately at this moment the league can find a successor in a man peculiarly fitted to consider the most important remaining problem that now lies before us in our municipal program—the problem of municipal taxation. Here, too, the example of the German cities has blazed a pathway for us to follow and develop. The increment of real estate values, values which are conferred by the city itself as it grows and expands, ought to be the very first subject of taxation to supply the city's needs before any part of the proceeds of human industry are taken. The present methods of taxation in most of our cities are abominable, leading to concealment, perjury, inequality and monstrous injustice, discouraging enterprise and often encouraging barren speculation. The cities of the Canadian northwest as well as those of Germany are showing us the way to improvement and the league will find the amplest reason for congratulation that perhaps the ablest man in America to deal with this complicated and important problem of municipal taxation may be its next president.

In bidding you goodbye I want to speak a word of the absolute harmony of spirit which has prevailed in our counsels every moment of the five years during which I have been your president. We have had different views on many subjects but only one purpose—to ascertain and report the whole truth and nothing else in respect to municipal conditions and to lay before the people what seemed to be the best measures of relief. Personalities, bickering, jealousy and a disposition to advance selfish interests have been completely absent, and I wish to thank every

officer and every member of every committee for the warm personal kindness and the earnest spirit of co-operation which has always and everywhere prevailed. May the league continue in the still wider career which now opens before it with the same spirit and with increased experience, and ability. May the bright days which have honored its past be dim in the light of those which shall adorn its future and may it prove the most potent agency in our great republic for the regeneration of our municipal life.

And now for my last word. The survival of that social system which represents the highest efficiency is assured (where other conditions are anywhere near equal) by an inexorable law of nature. The survival of democracy is not so assured. The question is—can we make the voluntary action of a free people as effective as the discipline of a monarchy? If we can, we shall show the world a blessed union of liberty and voluntary sacrifice. If we can not, then sooner or later we shall go under in the struggle and witness the subjection of the ideals and perhaps the separate existence of a republic whose people knew not how to subordinate individual interests for the common good. We claim to be a government of the people by the people and for the people, but that such a government shall not perish from the earth, the people for whose sake it exists must recognize the correlative duty not only of dying for the nation in time of war but of living for their country and their community and not for themselves both in war and peace. They must conduct their lives in such a manner as the public good demands. It demands of every citizen that he shall bear his lawful share of the public burdens, that he shall pay his allotment of taxes without equivocation or the withholding of property. It demands that he shall give of his time whatever the needs of the government require. Many of the German cities require their citizens to give three years unpaid service to the municipality in the meetings of councils and in work upon administrative boards. Democracy must do no less if it would hold its own. But we must go further. The public welfare may require of some that they shall marry and rear children for the sake of the community. They must be ready to do it whether they so desire or not. It may require of others that they shall abstain from marriage. The patriotic citizen must be equally willing in this way to sacrifice himself. It may require of some, that they shall give up the use of intoxicating liquor or discontinue some other habit that involves extravagance or demoralization. Those on whom the call is made must be ready to do it with cheerfulness and without hesitation whether there is a prohibitory law or not. It may require periods of training either for military service or in organizing the industries of state or city for purposes of defence or social betterment, and those on whom the call is made must be willing to sacrifice their private interests and respond to the appeal.

Must we be welded by the might of kings
 Into one mass to make us strong and great?
Or can we do ourselves the heroic things
 That crown with power the city and the state?
In peace as well as war can we give all—
 Comfort and home, the love in woman's eyes,
High hopes and riches, if our country call,
 Rejoicing that we make the sacrifice?

Not only when the bugle calls but *now*
 Forget thyself. Silence thy mutinous soul!
Tho' thorns of martyrdom may press thy brow
 Fail not! The common welfare is thy goal!
The state shall stand, though thou thyself must fall,
 Or live, for freedom's sake, bereft of all.

MAYOR MITCHEL'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

BY HENRY BRUÈRE¹

NEW YORK'S PRESENT GOVERNMENT THE PRODUCT OF YEARS OF WORK

THE Mitchel administration in New York is not an episode. It is the result of ten years' rebuilding of city government and prolonged education of the New York public in the merits of better government. Mr. Mitchel has not electrified New York with revolutionary changes in the organization and character of its government. He has gratified New York by his exceptional success in doing the right thing in the right way both at the outset of his administration and as each successive emergency has arisen. New York's present administration promises to be the climax of a period of progressive, hard-won transition and the beginning of a period of revolutionary change in the government of the city.

HIS GENERAL CONTRIBUTION

Mr. Mitchel and his associates have now had nearly two years of opportunity and power. In this time his administration has demonstrated its character and quality, and given assurance of the permanent contribution it will make to the city's welfare. It has given the city a government of a non-partisan character. It has emphasized the professional character of municipal administration by seeking qualified experts for executive positions. It has brought to the forefront the social welfare aspects of government activity, and given emphatic and continuing emphasis to economy and efficiency.

The administration has not had presented to it, nor has it created an opportunity for general popular appeal. It has kept itself in the position of recognizing from week to week and month to month the obligation it assumed on entering office to conduct the affairs of the city government with efficiency and to devote the resources of the city exclusively to public welfare.

New York, accustomed for years to political pharisaism has responded with remarkable enthusiasm to political sincerity. Unanimously, the disinterested press of the city has stood squarely behind the administration, no scandals having arisen to shake the public faith in the pur-

¹Chamberlain of the City of New York, formerly director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

poses of the administration as a whole. Public opinion steadfastly has been inclined to assist in the solution of administrative difficulties rather than to adopt an attitude of hostile criticism. Limitations on achievement have not been imposed by traditional political controversy, press abuse or public indifference. They have resulted from the form and compulsory method of the city's government and inherited embarrassments from past defective administrations. Moreover, administrative progress has been retarded in New York as in every city by the need for training a new set of public officials at the outset of the administration, by the lack of effective organization and by the total absence of special training for subordinate positions of leadership.

Betterment in New York's administrative conditions during the past two years has not been confined to the branches of the government under the mayor, but has been achieved throughout the municipality. In New York, leadership in administration is shared by the mayor and the board of estimate and apportionment. Through appointment, the mayor controls the principal administrative departments except those under the jurisdiction of the borough presidents who represent their boroughs in the board of estimate and apportionment. Through its power of appropriation, the board of estimate controls the scope and in a large degree the method of city government. During the Gaynor administration (1910-1913), this fiscal board assumed a position of increasing importance, because, as a result of its power of appropriation, it afforded the means of instituting physical and administrative betterment throughout the departments under the control of the mayor. Due to the political antagonism of the so-called fusion board and the then mayor, this betterment encountered difficulties. The present board, controlled by a non-partisan group, set out at the beginning of its term to put into full effect the program tentatively applied during the preceding four years.

ORGANIZING FOR WORK

The first step was to effect an organization subservient to the board to equip it with information and expert advice in the performance of its fiscal functions. There were provided two bureaus, one for contract supervision, and the other for the establishment of standards. Together, these bureaus are charged with standardizing the duties, salaries and wages of city employees, reviewing contract specifications and estimates of costs, and analyzing and preparing the annual appropriation ordinance. Since 1914, for the first time in the history of this important governmental agency, New York has had a board of estimate equipped to do the work with which it is charged by statute, and united in a common program of administrative improvement. From the standpoint of the permanent betterment of administrative conditions in the city, the solidarity of the board of estimate and its equipment to serve more ade-

quately as a board of financial control and administrative review are tokens of the great progress in the present management of New York. The fact that the board has adopted a policy of dealing with questions of appropriation, public improvements, city planning, salary and grade establishment, approval of contracts, plans of procedure and schemes of management, on the basis of information, has brought New York closer to the standards of business efficiency than any other single transformation in the character of its management.

PROFESSIONAL PUBLIC SERVICE

Mayor Gaynor often referred with pride to the fact that a number of the commissioners appointed by him were college graduates. This was six years ago. Prior to that time the appointee expected nominally to head a city department was either a district leader or a business man with political proclivities. Mayor Gaynor appointed district leaders where necessary, political business men when expedient and college men to half a dozen positions. Mayor Mitchel did not set out to appoint college men, did not assume that a political leader was necessarily disqualified for public office, and appointed no political business man to an important position. He chose, wherever he could find them, men best qualified by reason of training and experience for the particular job to be filled. The character of his appointments is illustrated by the selection he made the triad of social departments—charities, correction and health. In each case the person chosen was a person whose training, experience, temperament and availability made him professionally the best qualified person for the department to which he was appointed. The appointment of Commissioners Kingsbury, Davis and Goldwater are in this sense epoch-making, in that they are the first definite recognition of special professional training for public service outside the fields of engineering and law. They promise to take permanently out of the range of the possibility of political or deliberately mediocre appointment these three most important commissionerships of public welfare.

A second group of appointments was made from men who had chosen public service as a vocation. From this group appointments were made to several important public works departments, namely, water supply, street cleaning and parks. Bridging them with the past are appointments deliberately made to minor positions from the nominees of political organizations representing the parties combining the so-called fusion or anti-Tammany campaign. Mr. Mitchel took the position publicly that wherever he could name men to subordinate positions who were acceptable to the political groups he would do so, provided that they were reasonably competent. This theory is still regarded compatible with efficient government in New York, because in New York, where there is neither the non-partisan primary nor the non-partisan system

of municipal elections, reform is still immediately affected by the action of political parties and not by the non-partisan action of citizens. Thus, the political party as such still demands "recognition" in return for its civic righteousness.

Mr. Mitchel himself entered the mayor's office after seven years of continuous public service in the city government, and with several of his colleagues in the board of estimate represents, therefore, a new school of professional public servant. In stamping city government work as a distinct profession, Mr. Mitchel will make it difficult for New York to accept in the future the familiar official hack who has customarily occupied, but rarely filled, public office.

CONSTRUCTIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

To date, the conspicuous constructive work of the administration has been done in the fields of social service. Under Commissioner John A. Kingsbury, the efficiency of the public charities department is being advanced at least up to the level of the marked efficiency achieved by New York City's private charitable organizations. Back of the work of the department, Mr. Kingsbury is introducing a social welfare point of view as opposed to a public relief purpose. Against bitter and often unscrupulous opposition, he has uprooted from the department obstructionists who for years have retarded its development in important directions. He is remodelling the aim and method of the city's contact with upwards of 23,000 dependent children, cared for at the city's expense in private institutions. He has organized a department of social investigations to reconstruct disrupted families through social advice and public and private assistance, and to base the aid offered by the city upon a knowledge of family and social conditions, heretofore lacking. He is developing an internal organization taught to view the problem of administering public charities in New York from a public and social community standpoint as opposed to the habits of narrow institutionalism.

Mr. Kingsbury has encountered more opposition, had more battles to fight and has been subjected to more attack than has any other member of Mr. Mitchel's administration. He inherited traditions of management and service more obsolete than those prevailing in any other department, except in the department of correction. Despite these handicaps the progress which he has made and for which he has paved the way, will make it possible for Mayor Mitchel to leave to the city of New York at the end of his administration a public welfare department brought forward almost a generation's measure of progress during his four years' period of service.

To Dr. Katharine B. Davis, commissioner of correction, is assigned the herculean task of rebuilding the correctional institutions of the city.

The one department that had never received public attention and which in New York was as little thought of as is the ordinary village jail in a small community, was the department of correction. When Dr. Davis was put in charge of the city's 5,600 prisoners, the first woman head of a department in a great city to receive appointment, the department of correction was thrust out of darkness into light.

Dr. Davis calls herself a "conservative radical." Her task has been to provide the fundamental facilities for correctional work in the neglected department, to transplant juvenile delinquents from a crowded city institution to a farm colony, to bring discipline and humanity into the management of congested city institutions, to put the idle in the workhouse to work, to stamp out the drug evil, and to convert a moral shambles into a moral sanatorium. She is planning and setting in motion a parole system which will deal with prisoners according to their experience, record and need, and not according to the statutory definitions of their crime.

These are a handful of the many tasks and undertakings under Dr. Davis' leadership in the past two years, which have put the department of correction in the forefront of New York City's concern, and have demonstrated the capacity of women to bear an inspiring part in the work of municipal reconstruction.

In the health department, Dr. S. S. Goldwater, an expert in administration, has transformed a department of medical avocation to a department of professional public health service. He has placed the heads of divisions, formerly practicing physicians, on full time service. He has related medical inspection and sanitary inspection to health conditions in work shops, factories, stores, restaurants, as well as in the proverbial back yard, manure pile and slaughter house of the usual sanitary control. Doctor Goldwater in two years has brilliantly demonstrated how to utilize public funds efficiently for social service work, and taught a personnel whose administrative leaders are chosen not from administrative fields but from the proverbially "business-interest lacking" medical profession how to conduct administrative affairs effectively. Effectiveness in the organization of the public health service, and the literal, matter-of-fact application of accepted principles of public health standards to the varied phases of city life are the principal contributions made during the Mitchel administration by the health department. Thus, subway and street car crowding has been fought not as an infringement of human rights but a peril to human health, unsanitary workroom conditions not as injustice merely to workers but as a menace to citizen health, deceptive patent medicine traffic not as questionable business but as an obstruction to proper health education.

In the public works group of departments the first two years of the administration have been spent in catching up with the past. These departments had never received the inspiration of a public ideal of serv-

ice which has meant so much for progress in the so-called social welfare departments. In New York there is a separate department of bridges having control over the great bridges spanning the East and Harlem Rivers. There is a department of water supply administering the city's water system and public lighting; a department of docks and ferries, building and operating docks on the river fronts, most of which are owned by the city, and the ferries operating between Manhattan Island, Brooklyn and Staten Island; a department of street cleaning having charge of the removal of garbage, ashes and the cleaning of streets; a department of parks, through its four divisions, having charge of the parks throughout the city, and their use for recreational purposes.

With the possible exception of the department of street cleaning, these public works departments have yet to be organized for full effective service. In each case the present administration has improved the quality of the management of the departments by increasing the service rendered and reducing expenditures. The department of water supply, with the co-operation of the board of estimate and apportionment, has reduced its expenditures in the past two years by more than a million dollars while improving its service. The department of bridges, having completed the work of bridge construction, is performing the task generally postponed or neglected in city departments of bringing an organization, developed for construction work, down to the limits of the requirements of maintaining the structures now built.

The department of street cleaning, for the first time since the golden age of Colonel Waring, is attempting to bring its equipment up-to-date. Since Colonel Waring's time no progress in the technique of street cleaning had been made in New York. Each succeeding administration found its task enough to keep up with the tremendous growth of the problems of disposing the city's enormously increasing waste and cleaning its always more congested thoroughfares. The present administration is planning the widespread introduction of automobile equipment and the more extensive use of mechanical devices in street cleaning. Commissioner Fetherston, trained in street cleaning service and sent by the city prior to his appointment to study the street cleaning practices of European cities, is quietly though effectively transforming the methods and character of street cleaning work. The board of estimate and apportionment has given him funds for the introduction of mechanical street cleaning equipment and motor trucks and tractors for the removal of refuse in a so-called model district. The tests of this work will be lower cost of refuse disposal and more thorough cleansing of streets.

In the other public works departments the two years have been spent very largely in the elimination of waste and the improvement of organization. The city is now considering the question of regrouping as well as reorganizing its public works activities. Involved in this program is the

possibility of a centralized engineering service for departments requiring mechanical and civil engineering, through the merger, under consolidated control, of the now separated services.

For the park departments, the results to date of complete freedom to administer in the interest of the community are lowered expense, better maintenance, intelligent development of recreational facilities, particularly in the boroughs of The Bronx and Brooklyn where public recreation provision has hitherto been deficient.

THE DISAPPEARING POLICE PROBLEM

Immemorially, the police department has been kept in the forefront of New York politics, because it was through the police that inconsistency of policy with practice has destroyed alike both Tammany and reform administrations. The police issue has destroyed reformers when they undertook to enforce the sumptuary laws with literal intolerance. It has destroyed Tammany administrations failing to enforce the sumptuary laws even with liberal tolerance. Mr. Mitchel has followed a middle course with regard to the liquor aspect of the police problem, a course made possible for him by the policy laid down by his immediate predecessor, Mayor Gaynor, who placed responsibility for the enforcement of the liquor laws on the state excise department having authority to grant and revoke liquor licenses, and prohibited the police from entering saloons to obtain evidence of illicit sales, holding that a police force of 10,000 men was inadequate to enforce the law by personal visitation in 12,000 saloons. This position the present mayor has similarly maintained. Until local option gives to the city of New York authority to deal with the liquor traffic according to local opinion, the mayor holds that the state authorities should enforce a state-determined policy with the special machinery provided by the state for this purpose.

Through a moderately liberal, but strictly enforced policy regarding the closing of night liquor-selling restaurants, under authority vested in him by law, Mr. Mitchel has prevented scandals and at the same time avoided resentment in dealing with the restriction of the sale of liquor to night workers and the after theatre and "downtown" night diners out. Those affected by this policy are comparatively few but they have always been in a position to make police activity seem odious when restrictions were of a character to evoke protests against alleged "blue laws."

At the outset of his administration, Mayor Mitchel vigorously directed the attention of the police to the suppression of criminal and disorderly gangs which during recent years had infested certain sections of the city. He relaxed the no-clubbing rule laid down by Mayor Gaynor to the extent that the police were directed to deal summarily with gangsters discovered in disorderly practice.

After attempting to obtain Colonel Goethals as police head, Mr. Mitchel appointed Arthur Woods to the commissionership. Mr. Woods, as a schoolmaster, had been a successful leader of young men, but of special value was his training in police work as a deputy under former police commissioner General Bingham. Endowed with straightforward, transparent honesty and effective intelligence, Mr. Woods has the qualifications which are essential to the successful leader of a large force of men. In a remarkable degree he has gained the confidence and loyalty of the rank and file of the police force. Best of all, New York's present police commissioner is neither martinet, iron-fisted nor short-sighted. Mr. Woods has successfully mastered the usual all-absorbing problem of controlling the force so that he is able to turn his attention to developing the new technique of police work.

The task of police administration in New York is the task of all large city police administrations in America, namely, the transformation of detective work from the shrewd sleuthing of the speak-easy, gum-shoe method to the scientific investigation of the criminal investigator; the transformation of the stick swinging, amiable doorstep chatting variety of patrol to the studious observation of neighborhood conditions affecting crime and calling for police action. This, with the training of the police force, not only in the school of recruits at the time of entrance but throughout the period of service, in deportment, in physical condition, in esprit de corps and the varied phases of modern police work, are the preliminary tasks upon which Mr. Woods has been engaged during the eighteen months of his service, while carrying on at the same time the enormous routine duties of administering the metropolitan police service.

Foremost in importance in the work of the department is the detection of crime. On this aspect primary emphasis must always be placed, because by the classes of crimes committed and the apprehension of criminals is the efficiency of police work publicly judged. More and more promising is the work of crime prevention. That 17,000 out of 138,000 arrests made in New York in 1914 were arrests of boys, that the crime problem is a problem of economics, education, recreation and home life, social and racial conditions, are facts gradually forcing their way into the minds of the police as well as into the conscience of the community. Already police work in New York is commencing to re-shape itself in view of the new understanding that crime prevention is possible and the surest means of attaining a wholesome law-abiding community. In asking the police to deal with unemployment, not merely by the suppression of street disorder occasioned by the demonstrations of the unemployed, but by the relief of the unemployed, as was effectively done under Mr. Woods last year, a significant step was taken in putting the enormous resources of the great police department back of the task of utilizing all the resources of the government and the community, in minimizing

opportunities for crime and stopping the manufacture of criminals. It is yet too early to demonstrate the results of the new police method both because of the fact that the program is too newly begun and because past police statistics, with which the current record must be compared, are not reliable. Mr. Woods is providing an accurate record of police conditions and police results against which future progress may be measured. For the first time in its history, the department has a modern statistical division.

In summary, I think it is safe to say that New York is further away than ever before from police demoralization, and fairly begun on the development of a genuine affirmative police program, and this, not only for the first time in the history of New York, but in large degree for the first time in America!

CENTRALIZED AND STANDARDIZED LICENSE CONTROL

Closely associated with better police work is the reorganization of the licensing functions of the city. One of the first steps of the Mitchel administration was to consolidate into a single responsible department the licensing and inspection functions previously carried on by several inadequately supervised bureaus. With the change in organization came a change in viewpoint and methods. The power to license theatres, dance halls and moving picture shows, is now being used to remove injurious conditions and to bring about a general policy of recreation control in the city. The power to license a moving picture theatre, for example, now serves the purpose of enforcing fire prevention and building regulations, health and sanitary regulations, and maintaining proper police control. In other words, licensing is acquiring an affirmative rather than a negative significance.

FIRE DEPARTMENT PROGRESS

The record of the fire department has been one of steady improvement under the careful guidance of Commissioner Robert Adamson, trained in public administration as Mayor Gaynor's secretary. He has placed emphasis on the development of fire prevention work which has become the major aspect of the fire department's activities. This work involves structural alteration of existing buildings, supervising the construction of new buildings to ensure compliance with fire prevention standards and regulations, and the education of the public in fire hazards and their cure.

To discuss fully the program and effort of the entire administration would require the space of a volume. I shall scan hurriedly other significant features of current progress to round out the picture.

THE SCHOOLS

If the mayor of New York had no responsibilities other than the appointment of the board of education and supervision of the work of the

schools, there would be responsibility enough for any competent man. Traditionally, in New York, mayors have appointed members of boards of education and subsequently ignored them. Mr. Mitchel has not attempted to break down the traditional barriers existing between the schools and the city government, but he has assumed the right to counsel with the members of the board of education respecting policies initiated by them. New York City's schools are responsible for the education of 800,000 children. In operating expenses alone they cost \$40,000,000 a year.

As president of the board of aldermen, Mayor Mitchel was chairman of the committee which conducted through a staff of experts an elaborate investigation of school problems in New York. At the very beginning of his administration he undertook, with the president of the board of education, to bring about a more definite policy with regard to vocational and industrial education. This effort resulted in the mayor's visiting various schools in the middle west, particularly the public schools of Cincinnati and the engineering school of the university of that city, and the schools of Gary, Indiana. This visit, made in company with members of the board of education and his personal advisers, is producing notable results in the school system of New York.

The immediate consequence of the western trip of inspection was the engagement of the superintendent of schools of Gary, Indiana, and the dean of the engineering school of Cincinnati to come to New York in order to serve as advisers to the technical staff of the board of education in formulating and instituting a program of vocational education. Dean Schneider of the University of Cincinnati has assisted the board of superintendents in instituting a co-operative system of vocational education under which factories and workshops are utilized for practical instruction in vocational pursuits. Superintendent Wirt of the Gary schools is conducting an experimental demonstration of the so-called work-study-play school. This system, which under his guidance has made the schools of Gary, Indiana, of nation-wide influence, while radically enriching the curriculum of the elementary schools makes possible through double sessions the all-day use of the school plant. It incorporates into the plan of instruction supervised play, a reorganized school assembly, the use of library, settlement and church facilities hitherto neglected or only partly used resources of child education.

The discussion of the Gary plan has awakened a new and unexampled interest in elementary school education in New York. Whether or not the plan is finally generally applied to the city's schools, in part or as a whole the discussion of school questions which its consideration has evoked will undoubtedly give fresh vitality and further flexibility to New York's great elementary school system. There are many who feel that if Mayor Mitchel accomplished nothing more during his adminis-

tration than the quickening of a practical public interest in school questions, he would have done a man's work as mayor of the city.

THE GOVERNMENT NOT A ONE MAN GOVERNMENT

In all of these undertakings the mayor has not stood alone in the traditional isolation of New York's chief executive. He has had the sympathetic and effective co-operation of his fellow members of the board of estimate and apportionment, conspicuously Comptroller William A. Prendergast and President George McAneny of the board of aldermen. The comptroller, in many important undertakings has brought to the mayor's support his rich experience in public service and the influential machinery of his great office. Mr. McAneny, as a sympathetic and wise adviser in all matters affecting the government, has helped in a remarkable way to make easier the solution of many vexatious problems with which the mayor of New York is continually confronted. The co-operation of these three members of the board of estimate and apportionment, the mayor, comptroller, and president of the board of aldermen, is a very rare example of teamwork among independently elected officials.

PROGRESS IN EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY

Important as are the varied activities of the city government to which I have already referred, the task by which the success of the administration will finally be measured is the task of re-ordering the business methods of the city. Despite the handicaps of a charter framed by a state legislature, and the city's total inability to deal with the structure and general method of its government without legislative sanction, great progress has already been made towards permanent efficiency. This efficiency, brought about through better internal organization of departments, more conscientious attention to the details of administration, more effective service in administrative posts, tells its story in reduced expenditures despite increasing services. In 1915, the budgets for departments under the mayor's control were reduced \$1,500,000 in the aggregate, although increases totaling nearly \$400,000 were provided for charities, corrections and other pressing needs. In the budget for 1916 the aggregate allowances for these departments are again reduced by a million dollars despite additions of \$900,000 for needed extensions.

The always difficult task of making economies apparent and popularly understood is complicated by reason of the city's present difficult financial condition. Enormous expenditures to provide the vast equipment of bridges, highways, water supply, schools, subways and other facilities that make New York the great metropolis that it is, had, prior to the present administration, rolled up a debt amounting in January, 1914, to \$1,225,000,000. This debt bears interest and demands annual appropriations for amortization, so that in the 1915 budget \$51,000,000 was

voted for debt service purposes. This figure is a figure of insurmountable difficulty and one which will steadily advance for some years to come, due to the current outlay of \$200,000,000 for the enlarged subway system and to the adoption of a "pay-as-you-go" policy for future public improvements. This "pay-as-you-go" policy is New York's first attempt in several generations to provide additions and replacements to its equipment out of current funds. In brief, the policy requires for the year 1915 that one-fourth the cost of all new improvements, which do not produce revenues sufficient to care for interest and sinking fund charges, shall be included in the tax levy budget, the remaining three-fourths to be financed with the proceeds of fifteen-year bonds. In each succeeding year an additional fourth of authorizations is to be paid for out of tax levy funds until borrowed funds are used only for improvements such as rapid transit, docks and water supply, whose revenues make them self-sustaining.

It is therefore impossible for the city of New York by better purchasing methods, by the standardization of salaries, by abolishing unnecessary positions and consolidation of departments, to reduce its operating expenses sufficiently to offset new plant and equipment charges. Heroic as the "pay-as-you-go" remedy will prove to be, it is a remedy which will put New York beyond question on a sound financial basis and give to the officers of ten years hence a city with a rapidly shrinking debt and a sound, unimpeachable fiscal policy. It is a mark of statesmanship that in the face of an insistent demand on the part of taxpayers for the reduction of expenditures, the board of estimate and apportionment has had the courage to prescribe this remedy. That public approval would have been practically universal is undoubted, had the local authorities been able to explain prospective increases in taxes solely on the ground of discontinuance of the fatal and costly borrowing policy. But in this year a blow was struck at the whole economy program of the city by the state government which levied a direct tax of \$20,000,000 on the people of the state to provide estimated deficiencies in the state income. Of this tax New York City must pay 70 per cent, though it enjoys no exclusive benefits from state expenditures, as opposed to the host of up-state counties and villages that profit locally through state liberality. This 70 per cent means an addition to New York City's budget for 1916 of \$14,000,000, bringing the total up to \$213,000,000.

The situation, therefore, is this: That with the most extraordinary efforts to effect economies sufficient to offset increased debt charges due to subway investments and the "pay-as-you-go" policy, the administration finds itself compelled to increase its budget and consequently the tax levy in order to meet the heavy burden of the state tax.

The citizens of New York have been so thoroughly awakened to the need for efficient management in city government not only to promote

effective service but to keep expenditures within bounds, that they are likely now to make their influence felt in demanding a reorganization from top to bottom of administrative methods of the government of the state. If this comes about, the direct tax, burdensome as it will prove to the city in 1916, may be a benefit not only to the city but to the state at large.

The gradual advancement of civil service standards so as to provide practical tests for candidates in highly skilled positions as well as in the rank and file, and the development of a plan of promotion, are the tasks, to which Mr. Mitchel's civil service commissioners, under the presidency of Dr. Henry Moskowitz, have successfully devoted themselves during these two years. Civil service in New York is in the process of reshaping. Foundations are being laid for a genuinely efficient, well organized, well trained, justly paid and adequately directed working force.

If there were space it would be interesting to discuss in detail the extensive investigations and constructive proposals in the field of municipal pensions which has been under way during the past two years. New York maintains a constantly increasing pension roll. On December 31, 1914, 8,200 pensioners were provided for out of eight separate pension funds, involving an expenditure exceeding \$5,000,000. Each of these funds was established on the basis of prodigality without reckoning future cost. It is proposed to establish a sound pension system for the entire city service, with rates actuarially determined and with reserves set aside to meet future liabilities after the manner of sound insurance financing.

Standardization of salaries which in the 1916 budget will place the salary rates of the city on an equitable basis, is not fundamentally an economy measure, but is a means of grading the service of the city so that unjust inequalities should be eliminated and opportunities provided for advancement from grade to grade according to the proved merits and ability of the employe.

There has been organized a representative employes' conference committee chosen by the employes of the city which it is proposed shall take up, in co-operation with administrative officials, consideration of questions affecting the efficient administration of the government. It is expected in some systematic way to utilize the interest, ability and information of city employes for administrative betterment.

For the first time in the history of the city, an attempt is being made to establish city employment on a self-respective basis in which the city government shall assume the responsibilities and attitude of an employer and not that of an antagonist exacting service from employes who look to outside political leadership for the protection of their interests rather than to a just principle of employment.

Many of the tasks begun are still far from completion. There is realization of this and an equal determination to utilize the last two years

of the administration to bring unfinished undertakings to a successful conclusion. Whether home rule for New York is obtained or not, every locally remediable condition of mal-administration should be righted and will be righted at the end of this administration, unless present plans miscarry. The ever-present difficulty is to demonstrate the wisdom of spending funds to undertake constructive work and to make the preliminary investigations necessary to reorganizing, and step by step as progress is made to justify the continuance of special expert staffs employed for this purpose.

I do not recall in any previous administration an equal use of co-operating citizen committees. Committees not only representing all classes of citizens and types of interests have been summoned to assist in the consideration of problems of emergent or continuing character, but, what is of greater consequence, practical results have been obtained from this co-operation. Not only have there been committees appointed by the mayor on such questions as unemployment, markets, ports and terminals and taxes, but various department heads have affiliated with their activities interested groups of citizens to assist them either in developing public interest or providing special experts to help in solving technical questions.

There is a growing conscious effort to bring into closer relation the life of the community and the work of the city government. New York in this way is preparing for a genuine popular control of its city affairs. Progress in New York's government has resulted heretofore from external pressure of special organizations or from the isolated leadership of exceptional officials. It has not responded to a pervasive and common popular judgment or a public habit of utilizing the machinery of government in dealing with public problems of community welfare. The government of New York is steadily becoming more effective as an agency of service. More notable than this is the fact that the government of the city is increasingly looked upon as a natural agency of citizen co-operation for public welfare. Now, for the first time in the city's history, plans for the industrial development of New York center around the city's port and terminal policy and a constructive program of its dock department. Now, for the first time, social service activities of the city are guided not so much by voluntary private effort as by official action. Now, for the first time, citizens realize that they have in the municipal government a means by which they may come together to deal constructively with problems too big to be dealt with by individual effort, too big for volunteer associations of citizens, too big for any force or machinery except the combined force of the whole community and the machinery which must eventually respond to the intelligence and voiced demands of all the people of the city.

THE TERRE HAUTE ELECTION TRIAL

BY STELLA C. STIMSON ¹

Terre Haute, Indiana

LIKE all stories of real people and actual work, the story of the down-fall of Terre Haute's political corruptionists must begin awhile back. The removal and deportation to a federal prison of the chief city and county officials, whose lips were hardly closed upon their oaths to support the constitution, was not a sudden catastrophe, but the culmination of a long period of progressive corruption. It was "an organized, deliberate conspiracy to assassinate government."

One afternoon in February during the 1913 session of the Indiana legislature, a message came to the writer, who, as acting chairman of the legislative committee of the State federation of clubs, interested in its educational and social measures was listening to a senate debate, that a gentleman desired an interview on a matter of business. Going into the lobby, the seeker of the interview was found to be Donn Roberts of Terre Haute. He led the way to the lieutenant governor's private room, made some comment on the legislature, and then said abruptly, "I intend to be a candidate for mayor of Terre Haute, I want the support of you women, and if elected I will be the best mayor the city ever had." As Mr. Roberts had never been anything but a political tool in Terre Haute, "his only claim to distinction, his ability to stuff ballot boxes and vote repeaters," both the announcement and request were startling. In reply, the writer asked him if he would enforce the laws if elected mayor. "Not as you church women, but as most of Terre Haute citizens think they should be enforced," was his prompt answer. "I'll have good streets, and give the people a business administration." When told that Terre Haute women wanted good schools, good courts, and streets free from gamblers, wicked women and drunken men and that most of the men wanted law enforcement, also, Mr. Roberts replied quickly, "The vote does not show it." In the long conversation over Terre Haute affairs, he talked much of his personal good habits and virtues, but to all suggestions that a mayor should stand for civic righteousness, Mr. Roberts had the one emphatic reply, "the election returns prove

¹ Mrs. Stimson, who has written this impressive article, was one of the leaders in the whole movement, so she speaks with authority. The whole story is a striking illustration of effective civic work and might well be carefully studied in other communities suffering as Terre Haute suffered. Mrs. Stimson, in addition to being identified with numerous efforts to improve local conditions, is also an active factor in the Indiana federation of women's clubs.—C. R. W.

that a majority of Terre Haute citizens do not want law enforcement. They want the all night and Sunday saloon, the segregated district and gambling." Upon the further suggestion by the writer that there might be possibly something wrong with the election returns, and that at all events there was something wrong in a mayor deciding what laws to enforce or not to enforce, Roberts said, "I'm going to be mayor of Terre Haute and you women might as well support me." "Not upon a lax law enforcement platform," was the writer's reply, and the interview ended.

Roberts had been in constant attendance at the 1913 legislature trying to defeat Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacons' tenement bill against which he had personally worked during the 1909 and 1911 sessions. Plot after plot to kill the housing bill had been discovered in time to thwart them, and during the interview concerning the mayoralty above mentioned, there was the feeling on the part of the writer that Roberts sought the interview in an attempt to trade his anti-housing lobby for the support of Terre Haute women in his contemplated campaign. The opportunity even to mention such a thing was carefully guarded against.

The primary election of city officials in Terre Haute was to be held in about three months. For years the sixth ward precincts had been notorious for false registrations and fraud and violence on election day. Yet the vote from these same precincts had generally decided the election result. A few women determined to know exactly how this ward's elections were conducted. The council of women's organizations held a meeting and decided to go to the polls. A one page digest in simple language of the primary election law was made and printed, tally sheets were prepared for each precinct with its election officials' names typewritten at the top. Penny notebooks and pencils were provided. A schedule of hours was arranged that there might be two or more women at each precinct from the time the polls opened until they closed. On a cold raw day, the women—about sixty in all—kept tally of the voters of the sixth ward. They noted to the minute with watches the law violations, repeating, and license numbers of automobiles bringing voters. When night came, these women were wiser citizens, though with faith somewhat shaken in the integrity of election methods. What astonished them most was the absence of good citizens and the presence of bad citizens at the polls. Many good men did not go at all and those who did stayed only long enough to vote, they neither watched nor helped—while saloon men, owners, bartenders and hangers-on were present all day, as were brewery automobiles!

Roberts and his ticket were nominated over the regular Democratic organization candidates. In the campaign which followed, the liquor element supported Roberts and this strength was augmented by speech making and press talk against public corporations, especially the city

traction company which brought to his support a large honest following among the labor people. Instead of relying upon his actual strength, Roberts planned definitely to use repeaters and to corrupt election boards as has since been proved by court evidence.

The registration in October, 1913, was heavily padded. A few days later, the civic league asked the women to go to all the polling places of the city, as well as those of the sixth ward, at the November election. It was not easy to perfect such an organization, but seven wards and 55 precinct chairmen were appointed with helpers, numbering more than 450 in all. A number of women spent a week in the city clerk's office copying names and residences of voters from the registration books. With these poll books in hand, most of the women then investigated their precincts, house by house. They found many illegal registrations, names from vacant lots, school buildings, stores, and houses where only women lived. As in the May primary, tally sheets, election law digests and notebooks were prepared. Armed with these and with their poll books, watches and cameras, the women, thoroughly non-partisan, went to the polls to work for an honest, clean election.

The men, aside from the politicians, had no such organization. A few attorneys had investigated the illegal registrations and had attempted through injunction to restrain the Roberts inspectors from violently or fraudulently removing from the election board the officials of the minority party, but on election day not an order of court was carried out and no sheriffs could be found. Some anti-Roberts politicians, who knew their lives would be in danger if they went or sent workers to the polls of the bad precincts, hired strangers—Burns' detectives—to go in order to get the evidence, but these men were promptly arrested, bailed out, re-arrested, refused bail and jailed. A few men who had had no election experience in Terre Haute, two assistant school superintendents, a few ministers and professors ventured into the sixth ward, which includes the segregated vice district, to be knocked down and beaten when they attempted to challenge voters. The most worthless men of the city, its habitual drinkers, its prize fighters, its gamblers, its "red light" hangers-on, its worst bartenders had been made deputy sheriffs and provided with tin badges and guns, both of which were flashed whenever decent citizens attempted to remonstrate.

The women at the polls were not molested, but when these women saw, about the middle of the morning, that there was not even the pretense of an election in the worst precincts and that good people were powerless, a telegram was sent advising Governor Ralston of the situation. He replied that he had telephoned the sheriff to keep the peace and advised seeing the sheriff. This was not possible, for the sheriff was not to be found; he was said to be in a saloon. Later in the day, the governor was again telegraphed to and informed that the sheriff and his deputies

themselves were causing the most of the trouble, and about five o'clock a few "tin badge deputies" were taken off, but the vote was in. Roberts and his ticket were declared elected, though with a majority much smaller than expected by his supporters, who lost money, it is said, on the election wagers. The whole city knew the election was dishonest, nearly 500 women had evidence of it, yet no contest was begun. In fact, one of the leading business men, recognized as a man who wanted the city right, said the following morning for publication, "Let's forget the election and boom Terre Haute." The women and a few young attorneys tried to insist upon an investigation, but in vain.

Roberts became mayor, January 1, 1914. Because there were not offices enough for him to fill and thus keep all his pre-election promises, some of his friends became enemies, among them the judge of the Vigo circuit court, who called a grand jury and appointed a special prosecutor for an election probe. Several indictments were returned. The trial and conviction of one of Roberts' city appointees came first. Roberts himself was indicted and, in the trial which followed, the evidence of fraudulent registration and voting was so overwhelming that respectable citizens did not think it necessary to attend court to the end of the trial. At one time, a raid was made upon the office of the special prosecutor, by the president of the board of safety, the chief of police, with five policemen, in an attempt to seize the election records and thus prevent their use in the prosecution. The door of the office had to be barricaded and kept shut by force until a restraining order could be obtained. The trial went on, but suddenly "something" happened to the court, the probing grand jury and special prosecutor were dismissed, court room scenes became violent, the closing arguments were cut short and the trial came rapidly to an end. The jury promptly returned a verdict of "not guilty" and a disgraceful demonstration followed—the night parade of gamblers, drunkards, saloon men and debased women can never be forgotten by the decent citizens who were forced to see and hear it. One transparency said, "Donn Roberts, the idol of Terre Haute," another, "Donn Roberts for governor." His candidacy for governor, unbelievable as it may be, was, however, soon announced and many portions of the state placarded with his photograph by one of the men on the city pay-roll of Terre Haute.

Nominated in violence, corruptly elected, corruptly acquitted of the crime of his own election, Roberts planned in the fall of 1914 to elect at a general election of county, state, congressional and senatorial candidates, a group of county officials who would continue to work in harmony with the already established corrupt city officialdom.

But Terre Haute had some aroused and determined citizens. Roberts continued to make enemies among his own sort. The city was filled with gamblers. Theft and murder became more frequent—actually

frequent. Everything was neglected, but street building for which many contracts had been let. But it was soon discovered that the street building specifications were peculiar and were not being carried out by contractors. Roberts attempted to dictate to the school city, tried to prevent by injunction the school trustees from buying a much needed school site. Law-suits in which Roberts and the city were involved multiplied, and as the fall election approached, there was much unrest and a realization that Roberts' candidates were men with no sense of the responsibility of public duty.

Civic organizations, business, and social, however, seemed to be paralyzed. A few men and women, however, were determined to get evidence again at the polls with the hope that a federal court could have jurisdiction as United States senators and representatives were to be elected. The political party opposing Roberts became encouraged and laid its plans. Registration day in October was watched, and a careful investigation of the padded registration lists was made in the succeeding days, for much repeating had been observed. As election day drew near, men said they did not dare to go into the dangerous precincts and advised the women not to do it. It was not difficult to get election officials and poll watchers at most of the precincts, but the fear was general about those of the sixth ward and two or three others. At a meeting called by the president of the Woman's council—Mrs. U. O. Cox, the wife of a professor of the state normal school—many of the women thought it useless, as well as dangerous, to go into the sixth ward. The election of the previous year had proved that it was not safe for the men to go to precincts "A," "B" and "C."

The "A" precinct was in the heart of the vice district, had the largest illegal registrations—sixty votes from a one-room saloon and more than a hundred from another, and evidence of its voting methods was absolutely necessary. The writer had been placed in charge of the Woman's council election committee, and she decided that she must herself get poll book evidence in "A." A friend, Mrs. Mary S. Rhoads, volunteered to go, also. The general secretary of the Y. W. C. A., Miss Emma B. Moore, went to precinct "B," whose polling place was within a stone's throw of a score of well known houses of ill-fame. A few fine women voluntarily made up the rest of the sixth ward woman's organization. These women had worked at these polls the previous year in the city election and were sure that charity and rescue work in former years would protect them from physical violence.

Poll books were carefully made for every precinct of the city, with false registrations marked with a red ink "challenge." Trained by previous election experience, the women did effective work. In normal precincts in other wards, upright men and women prevented the voting of illegal registrations, but this made fraudulent voting all the more

necessary in the bad precincts and the men and women who went to them knew what to expect. In one, an honest election sheriff, Wesley A. Mitchell, had to defend his life by shooting a deputy sheriff because of an attack carefully planned by the assistant chief of police, a deputy sheriff and two prize fighters and "gunmen" of national reputation, who were determined to get him away from the polls in order that a large illegal foreign vote might be recorded. At precinct "B," men who protested against repeating were assaulted or arrested and jailed—among them Rev. I. B. Harper, pastor of the Methodist Church, and Prof. Jas. H. Baxter of the Indiana state normal school.

At another, the notorious Taylorville precinct, whose duly appointed minority election board officials had been arrested in the small hours of the night preceding the election, thrown into jail and refused bail, the voting machine was used and the lever worked without even the formality of rushing in repeating voters who were too busy elsewhere. Neither the sheriff nor any of his deputies were available to serve orders of the judge of the superior court who stood alone among a debauched or nerveless group of county officials. This judge, John E. Cox, was compelled to appoint, from his bed in the middle of the night before election, special officers to serve his orders of court. These officers after being beaten with clubs were run away from the polling place with revolver shots. The lone woman watcher, Mrs. Minta Morgan, saw her own husband driven away, but stood her ground—and the voting machine lever was turned until the agreed upon number of voters was reported.

In another precinct, the county sheriff sat in a saloon, open contrary to law, and paid repeaters with his own hand all day long. In this precinct there were many repeating negroes, though court investigation has since proved that only one negro lived in it.

At precinct "A," where no respectable man dared to try to work, it was surely an ominous commentary on democratic government to see saloon keepers and evil resort owners working with the city judge to let wretched cocaine and liquor victims, white and colored, vote over and over again with only a woman or two to protest. Former judges of the courts and the presidents of the chamber of commerce and manufacturers club, could only look on for a few minutes, feel their helplessness and go away. Because almost every city and county official was in the conspiracy, nothing could be done, but get the evidence. It was for this, the women stayed.

Had the writer left the polls for one moment during that exhausting day from 5.30 a.m. until 6.05 p.m., this story would not have been written. A saloon keeper—the Roberts precinct committeeman in this notorious precinct was Irish with the fine instincts of race not entirely obliterated by "red light" associations—assured that the crooked result was not endangered, was kind to the writer and her companion, brought

them a dinner and stopped violence and profanity in their presence. Quiet reigned throughout the day because there were no men to protest. But the repeaters went steadily in. A number of them were turned back because they were recognized by the women, but a legal challenge was never made, the challenger was never permitted to enter the polling precinct door—evidence which proved convincing in court.

When night brought the election returns, and, as in former elections, a few precincts, the worst in the city, had determined its policy and government, the citizens were stunned and bewildered. The following day, good men and women forgot their work, even school boys and girls knew that the Roberts circuit judge's alleged victory of ten votes was in reality a defeat by many hundred votes as has been since proved in court.

The women felt that something should be done, if possible, and sent a telegram to a federal judge, A. B. Anderson, of Indianapolis. In the evening, they learned that the Roberts candidate for judge had gone post-haste to the governor with his alleged ten vote majority to ask for his commission. The governor was telephoned not to sign it, and did not for two days. The next day, the women who had seen the fraud and violence at the polls, who knew the returns were false, signed a petition directed to the district attorney of the federal court, Frank C. Dailey, asking for an investigation of the election. A brilliant and courageous attorney, Joseph R. Roach, whose early unfortunate career had given him intimate knowledge of the gambling and vice so prevalent and open in Terre Haute had become an avowed enemy of Roberts, and, using his familiarity with the ins and outs of the underworld, gave invaluable assistance in the investigation.

The indictment and trial of Mayor Roberts and other officers and political workers are now a part of the political history of the United States and a brief chronological statement is all that is possible to give in the confines of this article and perhaps all that is necessary.

1914. Nov. 7. Suit filed for recount of votes alleging fraud in election of judge, sheriff and prosecutor.

Nov. 10. Committee of citizens appointed to raise funds for court investigation.

Nov. 18. Eighteen so-called gunmen and repeaters arrested by federal authorities upon affidavit before United States commissioner.

Nov. 19. County officers with all election documents summoned before federal grand jury.

Nov. 23. Redman (the Roberts circuit court candidate) assumed duties as circuit judge and began operations. "Gang picked jury impaneled at once to intimidate federal witnesses and get their evidence."

Nov. 24. Terre Haute women before federal grand jury. Charles Clogston, editor of a fearless Terre Haute evening paper, arrested,

arraigned, sentenced and jailed by Judge Redman within a period of three hours for contempt for his "gang picked grand jury" newspaper statement.

Nov. 26. Judge Anderson of federal court released editor Clogston on habeas corpus and severely reprimanded the sheriff and prosecutor.

Nov. 27. Terre Haute grand jury dismissed. Chamber of commerce endorsed election probe and voted financial aid.

Dec. 5. Women summoned again to Indianapolis to identify repeaters. Resignation of Terre Haute deputy prosecutor.

Dec. 15. Confessions of repeaters and gunmen in Indianapolis. Rotarians endorse election probe.

Dec. 20. Chief of police summoned before federal grand jury.

Dec. 25. U. S. Marshal Mark Storen went to Terre Haute with 126 warrants, made 116 arrests.

1915. Jan. 12. Eighty conspirators plead guilty in federal court. Retail merchants' association endorse probe.

March 8. Trial began on charge of conspiracy, 400 witnesses summoned. Mr. Dailey's remarkable speech to the jury.

April 5. Jury returned verdict of guilty against each defendant on every count of indictment.

April 12. Sentences pronounced by Judge Anderson.

April 18. Mayor Roberts, circuit court judge Redman, county sheriff Shea, city judge Smith, with other city and county officials, taken to the federal prison at Leavenworth. Others committed to Marion county jail for shorter terms.

The investigation, indictment and trial of the Terre Haute election conspirators stands out in the legal history of the United States, remarkable for its thoroughness, dignity and conception of the fundamentals of government involved. The honesty and kindness of the district attorney, Mr. Dailey, toward the defendants, won confessions from them and their pleas of guilty; his courage kept him clear from undesirable political interference; his energy and in all his remarkable personality made a success almost miraculous of the stupendous task resting upon him as United States district attorney and proved that President Wilson had made no mistake in appointing him to this position. The fame of Judge Anderson was already known from coast to coast before this precedent-making trial. If his sentences were a little too merciful, as some people think, his observations from the bench will never be forgotten by the people of Indiana. His mercy and moderation had general approval.

In June, following the federal prosecution, Judge George D. Sunkel, of the Parke county circuit court, rendered a decision in a civil contest election suit that unseated Judge Redman and placed Charles L. Pulliam on the bench. In August, Judge Sunkel, in throwing out the entire

vote of precinct "A," rendered a precedent-making decision, which gave the office of sheriff to George W. Krietenstein.

Terre Haute now has good judges, both county and city, and a sheriff's office that can be depended upon. But best of all is this—its citizenship is awake, and knows that "the life of our form of government depends upon honest elections. Failing to secure this, we justify the cause of the anarchist, the nihilist and all others whose creed is in opposition to law and order. The Terre Haute conspirators struck at the very life of the state itself." An editorial in Indiana's largest paper said, "There is not a community in this land in which Terre Haute's political prototypes may not be found. . . . We have even gone so far as to speak of the practices of these men in a jesting way. The moral is plain, and it is that the people of this country must take their affairs into their own hands, smash every boss who raises his head, and see to it that elections honestly reflect the will of the people."

NEW YORK CITY'S CIVIL SERVICE:

THE LATE INVESTIGATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

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ALTHOUGH an investigation concerning the administration of the civil service law in any locality of the state of New York is not unusual, the one which was conducted by the state civil service commission in 1914 and the early part of 1915 relative to such administration in the city of New York has so many political aspects, and was the subject of so much recriminatory and other comment as to make it worthy of unusual notice. Like most investigations, professedly friendly but really hostile, it had a clarifying effect, and the various parties concerned, including the public, while perhaps agreeing in nothing else, seem to agree in their gratification that it was held.

As the origin of the investigation was the familiar expedient of diverting attention from affairs at home by the institution of a foreign controversy, it is necessary to refer to the criticism to which the state commission had been subjected. In January 1913, when Governor Sulzer took office, he appointed as members of the state commission Jacob Neu, Dr. Meyer Wolff and James A. Lavery, three men without previous knowledge of the merit system, whose administration, in the language of a letter of the Civil Service Reform Association to the governor of the state, to which we shall hereafter refer, showed "not only actual violations of both the letter and the spirit of the law in some particulars, but also a lack of appreciation by the present civil service commissioners of a decent standard of official and personal conduct and attitude toward the dignity of their office." These commissioners were not displaced by Governor Glynn when he became governor after Governor Sulzer's impeachment. In the early part of the year 1914, the association made an examination of the record of the commission for the year 1913, and in March sent a letter to the state commission pointing out a number of instances in which the commission was subject to serious criticism, and asking for any comment by the commission which would tend to show any error or omission which would justify a different conclusion from that drawn by the association. The charges contained in this letter are of interest because they are in many respects identical with those made by the state commission against

the municipal commission in the report rendered as the result of the investigation subsequently held by the former.

To this letter the commission replied, in a brief communication, of which the only really pertinent sentence is that "The letter consists of reference to matters concerning which your committee holds opinions contrary to those of this commission, as shown by the action taken." As the reply took no exception to the statement of facts contained in the letter, the correspondence was submitted by the association to the governor, and it asked his serious consideration of the matter and that steps be taken to correct the situation. The correspondence was also published, and the state commission was subjected to a considerable amount of adverse criticism by the press.

The governor, through his counsel, John G. Saxe, transmitted the correspondence to the state commission in a letter in which he called the attention of the commission to the fact that the association's letter contained "a number of allegations which upon the face of the correspondence are admitted, or at any rate they are not denied," and asked the state commission to report at its early convenience if it had any explanation to make. The commission took two months to make this report, which it did on June 26, 1914. This report, which was very long, again failed to meet the criticisms of the association, and the latter in a letter to Mr. Saxe pointed out specifically that there was no denial of any fact alleged, but excuses merely were given for the acts in question. The major criticisms were in brief, (1) that there was great delay in considering changes in classification, resulting in the employment of individuals without examination for long periods of time under suspension of the rules; (2) that the number of exemptions granted was not only excessive, but the character of many of them allowed the appointment of political workers wholly lacking in proper qualification to positions for which the practicability of examination had been demonstrated; (3) that competition had been waived so as to permit the appointment of individuals to such positions as stenographer, billing machine operator, estimate clerk and the like under the rule permitting such waiver where the appointment is one "demanding peculiar and exceptional qualifications of a scientific, professional or educational character," and where the commission has "satisfactory evidence that for specified reasons competition is impracticable and that the position can best be filled by the selection of some designated person of high and recognized attainments in such qualities"; (4) that the excessive number of 436 appointments had been made in one year under the rule allowing the commission to except from examination any person engaged in private business for professional, scientific, technical or other expert service of occasional or exceptional character, few of the appointees being in any sense experts; (5) that provisional appointments were continued for periods of indefinite length

and far in excess of the two months period to which they are limited by law, and that no examinations were ordered through which permanent appointments might be made; and (6) that the commission appointed, as stenographers, inspectors and the like, without examination, relatives and close friends of the individual commissioners, suspending the rules for the purpose. In spite of its own record in these respects, charges of like character, except the first and last, were made by the state commission against the municipal commission in the report rendered as the result of its investigation.

While the governor was still considering the record of the state commission, the municipal commission of New York City, on August 12, excepted from examination 47 examiners of charitable institutions under the rule which permitted the exception of persons engaged in private business for expert service of occasional or exceptional character, although there was then in existence an eligible list of examiners of charitable institutions from which appointments could *prima facie* have been made. Ten of the appointments made by the commissioner of charities under this authority were of persons not eligible, because they were engaged in private business, and the entire transaction was one which called for explanation. The exception was of the class of which frequent and improper use had been made by the state commission, as specified in the fourth ground of criticism above stated.

The New York city commission had been appointed by Mayor Mitchel at the beginning of the year. It was composed of Dr. Henry Moskowitz, and Darwin R. James, who were without previous experience with its work, and Alexander Keogh, a member of the then existing commission who was retained in office. It had as its secretary the former secretary of the civil service Reform Association, Robert W. Belcher. It had undertaken many reforms, which had resulted in better administration and economies in the service. Not the least of these was the abolition of the labor bureau as a separate bureau, with the result that the services of certain employees had been rendered unnecessary and \$8,000 in salaries saved to the city.

There was, as there always is, considerable irritation among the persons affected by any affirmative improvement of or economy in administration, which, added to the position in which the state commission found itself, apparently led that commission to seize upon the exemption of the 47 examiners of charitable institutions by the local commission as an occasion for an investigation of the general administration of the service. The statement of the state commission in its report is that "its attention was directed to the many exceptions and exemptions from examination made by the New York city commission," that abuse had become apparent and had "reached a climax when the municipal commission permitted the appointment of 47 examiners of charitable institutions," and that

when it undertook an examination of the records "it began to receive complaints in large numbers from individuals and societies specifying violations and evasions of the civil service law in many departments, and the duty of this commission to make an investigation soon became evident." In its letter to the local commission, on September 18, 1914, ordering an investigation, it stated as one of the reasons therefor the reorganization of the office of the municipal commission and the abolition of the positions of labor clerk and assistant labor clerk. The investigation was ordered under the authority of section 6, subd. 3, of the civil service law.

This section of the law does not refer specifically to an investigation of a local commission. It specifies that the state commission

Shall . . . make investigations concerning and report upon all matters touching the enforcement and effect of the provisions of this chapter and the rules and regulations prescribed thereunder, concerning the action of any examiner or subordinate of the commission and any person in the public service in respect of the execution of this chapter.

The investigation was therefore authorized to be, and was in fact, general and not limited to the acts of the local commission, although it was generally considered to be so. Nor would or did the report of the commission upon any such investigation authorize it to take any affirmative action. Another section of the law permits the removal of any municipal civil service commissioner by the state commission, with the approval of the governor, after a specification of the particulars of incompetency, inefficiency, neglect of duty or violation of the law which is a cause of removal, first giving such commissioner an opportunity to make a personal explanation in self defense. No such proceeding as this was instituted, although the state commission in a summary of its report, given out to the press in 1915 before the publication of the report, itself said that it had recommended to the governor the removal of one or more of the commissioners. But this was plainly for political effect, as the governor had no power of removal, and no removal could legally have been made by the commission as a part of its report of the results of the investigation ordered.

The investigation was carried on with some of the ceremony of a trial. The attorney general assigned Frank Moss, formerly first assistant district attorney in New York City, as special deputy to act as counsel for the state commission, and Frederic R. Coudert acted as counsel for the municipal commission. There were 45 sessions held, 7,705 pages of testimony were taken, bound in 11 volumes, over 400 witnesses were examined, and the taking of testimony was not concluded until January 22, 1915. The course of the inquiry was enlivened by official statements of a recriminatory character in the public press. A member of the state commission, prior to the beginning of the investigation, accused the presi-

dent of the local commission and the commissioner of charities of open violations of the civil service law and political favoritism in appointments. The mayor criticised the state commission as unfair and actuated by political motives. The state commission retorted that the mayor was seeking to shut off the inquiry. On January 22, 1915, the state commission denied a request of the local commission for a week in which to present further testimony, upon the ground that the term of office of the commissioners would expire on February 1, and the intervening time was necessary to enable it to formulate the report. On the same day the mayor issued a statement in which he characterized "the whole performance as grotesque and a scandalous perversion of power," and attacked the commission as "drum head judges," as "doing the work of the enemies of fusion government in attempting to injure the present administration," and expressed his belief that the administration would before the matter was finally ended "have an opportunity to bring out the facts, uncolored and unvarnished before a tribunal which is just, fair and respectable." This was before any report had been made or any conclusions announced by the state commission.

While the investigation was proceeding, Mr. Whitman succeeded Mr. Glynn as governor on January 1, 1915. Almost the last official act of Governor Glynn was to dismiss the pending "charges," as he called them, made by the civil service reform association against the state commission, with a memorandum completely exonerating them. Governor Whitman, however, was far from satisfied with the state commission, and pressed for their resignations, which he received to take effect on February 1, 1915. On January 28, three days before their resignations took effect, they presented to the governor a report on the investigation, and in a letter accompanying the report recommended the removal of one or more of the local commissioners—a recommendation which we have already pointed out was without legal force. In a summary of the report which was given by the state commission to the press, it was stated that "the civil service has been mishandled in nearly every phase of the administration of the local commission, and the merit system has been greatly abused." The local commission countered with its statement to the press in which it said that the summary given out by the state commission was "full of false statements and deliberate distortions of fact," and promised a reply to the report. The report was transmitted by the governor to the mayor of the city, who forwarded it in turn to the municipal commission. This was the signal for another statement from the mayor, in which he characterized the investigation as "a vaudeville performance" carried on not for the purpose of bringing out "the truth but to make out a case whether it existed or not." The governor on February 1 appointed a new state commission, consisting of Samuel H. Ordway, chairman of the executive committee of the civil service reform

association, Col. William G. Rice, a member of the federal civil service commission under President Cleveland, and William A. McKinstry, a former member of the state commission under Governors Flower and Morton an exceedingly able and, as time has shown, an exceedingly efficient body. To this commission he submitted the report of their predecessors, and asked them to make a further report to him of their opinions concerning it.

The report of the result of the investigation arraigned the municipal commission as weak and inefficient. It concluded that "in some cases the commission has neglected its duty; in others it has not seen its duty; in others it has concurred in evasions and violations; and it has violated the law itself." At the same time it stated that the state commission had found no evidence of malfeasance in the local board, and that "some of the matters criticised have come down from earlier administrations unchecked by any action of former state civil commissions, which evidently have refrained from investigating the New York city commission through fear of attack for interference." The conclusions were based upon cited evidence of a serious character, quite sufficient on its face to challenge the attention and respect of the reader, and to call for an examination of the record to discover whether it was a fair or a garbled presentation of the facts. Exclusive of the matters discussed for which the municipal departments rather than the municipal commission were responsible, the charges against the latter may be briefly—though necessarily imperfectly—classified as (1) of examinations improperly conducted and showing favoritism to special candidates; (2) of revision of examiners' ratings to the advantage of a particular candidate; (3) of appointments improperly permitted without competition for services to be rendered of a professional or expert character, when it was manifest that the services were not of that character, nor the appointee of high and recognized attainments in such qualities as required by the rule, and, in certain instances, of appointments so made in violation of the rule under which the exception was permitted; (4) of permitting an excessive number of exemptions and exceptions, and to positions for which the practicability of competition had been demonstrated; (5) of permitting the continuance in office of provisional appointees for long periods of time, extending in some cases over a year, whereas the law provides that no such appointment may continue beyond two months; (6) of permitting the employment of persons in positions inappropriate to their title; (7) of delaying examinations; and (8) in abolishing the labor bureau as an independent bureau. It is not expedient or practicable in this account to discuss the evidence cited to support these charges, especially in view of the fact that it has been considered by the association and Governor Whitman's state commission, both of which have made reports thereon, and upon the reply thereto made by the municipal commission.

This reply in itself is a ponderous document of 190 closely printed pages. It considers the report of the state commission, paragraph by paragraph, under three headings of "charge," "facts" and "reply," and is not a literary production which by its style at all illuminates the subject. It complains that the municipal commission "was not subjected to an investigation by a fair and unbiased body; but to an inquisition not only into its own actions, during the past year; but into the affairs of other city departments having not the remotest connection with the administration of the civil service law," and that before the opening of the inquiry one member of the state commission had publicly denounced the president of the municipal commission and the commissioner of public charities with open violations of the civil service law and political favoritism. It is not worth while to consider the burden of the defenses. It is sufficient to say that in the majority of instances they are good, that in others they are incomplete, and that in some they wholly fail to meet the charge.

This reply, however, was far from being the end of the matter. The civil service reform association, in the annual report of its executive committee on May 7, stated that "while the investigation disclosed some serious abuses and mistakes of judgment in the administration of the law, yet the report of the state commission based its condemnation in many cases on a misstatement of facts or on trivialities, failed to take account of much valuable constructive work on the part of the municipal commission, and recommended dismissal without adequate cause"; but it specified six matters in which the commission was justly open to criticism, one of which was the much discussed appointment of 47 examiners of charitable institutions. The committee on administration of the association made a lengthy and more detailed report, in which it stated that "an investigation of the charges and answers shows that a large number of the charges made by the state commission were met by the municipal civil service commission," but that there were others which were not met, and which merited discussion, and concluded that "in spite of the hostile and unfair attitude on the part of the state commission, its investigation was productive of substantial results. We believe that, partly as a result of the investigation, the present municipal commission is now in a position to profit by its successes and failures and advance the merit system during the coming year."

The municipal commission did not like the reports of the association, and retorted with a new document of 25 pages, in which it said that the report of the administration committee "is so inconclusive and in many of its features so inadequate that the sub-committee must either have given the record but a superficial review and study or must have lacked a full understanding of civil service administration in New York City . . . and contains evidence that the sub-committee was either unwilling to reach such (an authoritative and expert) judgment or did not have a full

grasp of its subject," and complained that the committee had failed to answer a question raised by itself as to whether or not the municipal commission had come up to the high standard of excellence by which the circumstances of its appointment gave the committee the right to judge it. It then rediscussed various matters as to which it had been criticised.

A final statement by the committee on administration followed, in which it accepted the request of the municipal commission to answer this question, and said "We are glad to answer this question. We refrained from doing so explicitly before because we preferred to allow the executive committee to draw its own conclusions from the facts stated rather than ourselves to draw them, to the probable dissatisfaction of the municipal commission. We do not think that the commission has lived up to the standard by which we deem ourselves entitled to judge them, nor could we think so in face of the facts upon which we have based our criticisms. The commission is entitled to credit for careful and enthusiastic constructive work, superior in many respects to that of any previous commission. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that stands out throughout the first year of its administration, and which is a fault of most commissions, of seeking to oblige their friends in disregard of the righteous administration of the law and to the detriment of that vast body of the public which is unorganized, without a spokesman, and which will inevitably judge any commission harshly if any appointments go by favoritism," and it then referred to the evidence in certain typical cases to support its belief. It concluded by saying that "there is no reasonable doubt in the minds of the committee that the commission during the past six months has been earnestly striving to improve the administration of the civil service, and that it has done so without the exercise of favoritism. In the course of its administration it has accomplished many things worthy of the highest praise," and it reiterated its belief that the investigation by the state commission had been productive of substantial results.

Almost contemporaneously with this interchange of comment and opinion, on May 20, 1915, the new state commission rendered its report to the governor, in which it discussed both the original report of the state commission and the reply of the municipal commission. It begins by saying that the report of their predecessors criticises very severely the administration of the law in the city of New York by the municipal commission and impliedly recommends the removal of the municipal commissioners; that in the summary of the report given to the press their predecessors had stated that "the civil service has been mishandled in nearly every phase of the administration of the local commission, and the merit system has been grossly abused"; that the members of the new state commission cannot agree with these conclusions; that they are convinced

that while the local commission may be justly criticised for certain faults and errors of judgment, yet upon the whole their administration of the civil service law and rules in New York City has been good; that the latter have done constructive work which has distinctly improved the methods hitherto existing, and that there is no sufficient reason for their removal. It then considers and discusses some of the typical matters which are treated in the report of the investigation, omitting others as trivial or as satisfactorily explained in the reply of the municipal commission. It finds many of the criticisms unjustified, and others which were well founded, one of the most serious being the exception from competitive examination of so-called experts, including the noted case of the 47 examiners of charitable institutions. As to the other noteworthy specified occasion of the investigation, the abolition of the labor bureau, it finds no sufficient foundation for criticism, but on the contrary that the change was sound from an administrative standpoint. The report ends by saying that, "Notwithstanding these just criticisms, however, we feel, as we have stated above, that the municipal commission has done such a large amount of good work during the year, as compared with their faults and errors of judgment, that upon the whole they are entitled to commendation," and it specifies the particulars of much of this work, and concludes "that, notwithstanding past faults and errors of judgment which have been referred to, which were perhaps in part due to the fact that the commission took office in January, 1914, and that two of the commissioners had had no previous experience in the administration of the civil service law, the commissioners are endeavoring with the best of intentions and good faith and with increasing success, to uphold high standards and properly administer the civil service law and rules." With this report the matter may be said to be concluded, and it has certainly ceased to have any further public or political interest.

The investigation undoubtedly served a useful purpose, although its origin was apparently malicious and its conduct unjudicial. It had so much of politics in it as to justify the feeling of the city administration that it was intended as a persecution. For that very reason, perhaps, it seized upon the smallest complaint and pursued it to exhaustion. It developed, however, matters which needed correction not only in the administration under the rules but in the rules themselves, and the municipal commission has shown a lively disposition to profit by its results. It did not in itself immediately justify the very large expenditure of money, time and energy which it entailed. It dragged back for about six months the normal work of both the investigating and investigated body, and aroused and distributed considerable enmities, but it has doubtless put an end to many practices which have been a reproach in the past, and has reformed others, and on the whole it has been an enlivening and useful experience to both commissions and to the public.

THE ASHTABULA PLAN—THE LATEST STEP IN MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION¹

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DURING the last quarter century American municipalities have been making a kind of pilgrim's progress from darkness and chaos toward light and order. While advance is perceptible in all phases of municipal life, it is particularly marked in the matter of governmental organization. There we can point to certain general statutes and special city charters as the milestones which mark the distance traveled along the new way.

Twenty-five years ago our city governments were remarkable only for their complexity, corruption and general ineffectiveness as organs of popular rule. About the middle nineties a movement began, the chief objects of which were greater simplicity of organization and responsibility of action. Shortly before that time the old Cleveland "federal plan" had indicated one method by which city organization could be improved. This was much commented on in its day and became the model for municipal reformers in many states. Then came the Galveston flood of 1900. As a result of that crisis there was developed the Galveston plan of commission government. This was a radical departure from our rigid traditions concerning governmental organization, the first serious blow in this country at the doctrine of separation of powers.

The commission idea as brought forth in Galveston grew rapidly in favor and was soon adopted in a number of other cities. But Galveston was not permitted to occupy the center of the municipal stage for long. In 1905 Des Moines secured from the legislature of Iowa the commission government statute which has since been known as the Des Moines plan. This added the initiative, referendum, recall and improved methods on nomination and election to the commission idea. It was clearly better than the original model, and from the day that Des Moines adopted its new charter the Galveston plan has had little more than historical interest.

On the whole, commission government has proved better than the old style organizations, but it has obvious defects. From the practice of having each councilman or commissioner take charge of a city depart-

¹ This article is the substance of an address delivered at the meeting of the National Municipal League at Dayton, November 18, 1915. Portions of the matter here presented appeared in the *New Republic* of November 27, 1915.

ment there has resulted a certain lack of unity in administration. Each commissioner naturally seeks to magnify the work of his own departments. Log-rolling for appropriations among the commissioners is not unknown. The commission not only decides how much money shall be spent but its members themselves spend the money as heads of departments. Moreover, effective city government demands that heads of departments shall be experts or men trained in their particular lines, and long experience has proved that such service cannot be secured by popular election. Worst of all, commission government, with its elective heads of departments, is not the most effective device for keeping politics out of the executive service of the city where it has no place. The mixing of politics with administration has been one of the fundamental faults of American municipal government and until it is eliminated we cannot hope to approach the measure of efficiency found in English and European cities.

About 1912 it began to be suggested that the commissioners, instead of taking charge of departments themselves, should appoint a general manager who should hold his position at their pleasure, appoint all subordinate officers, and carry out the policies decided upon by the commission. In 1913 three small cities, one in South Carolina and two in North Carolina, adopted this suggestion with some modifications. Then came the action of Dayton under the municipal home rule provisions of the Ohio constitution. When the Dayton commission-manager charter went into operation in January, 1914, the Des Moines plan as the most advanced type of municipal organization went into eclipse. The Dayton plan has been widely studied, copied and praised. Results so far indicate that it deserves most of the claims made for it. A considerable number of cities have adopted the plan and the idea is approved as fundamentally sound by practically all authorities in this country.

But as commission-manager government has so far developed it exhibits one serious defect. The council or commission is elected from the city at large, and with election at large under the usual systems of majority or plurality choice all members of the council may belong to one party or faction of the electorate. A legislative body representing only one party is a serious defect in any scheme of government. In such a body all real discussion is absent, minority parties or groups have no chance to be heard, and partisan interference with administration is likely to be at its worst. Where the city manager plan of government is adopted, a council representing but one group or faction is particularly objectionable. If the people are to yield the privilege of choosing the chief executive officer of the city directly, that power should fall to a body widely representative of the sections, parties and interests underlying the opinions which divide the electorate. In other words, fairness demands that if the council is to have this elective function it should

be a small copy of the entire voting population. Moreover, the strongest hope of preventing the council from making a partisan selection in choosing a manager lies in rendering it truly representative.

Perhaps the most difficult problem in the organization of representative governments has been to secure a legislative body which, while reflecting the will of the majority of the electorate, would at the same time ensure representation to the substantial minority groups of public opinion. The lack of a truly representative legislature, always a defect, becomes vital when the body which determines the policies of the government may also choose and control the executive. Now the little city of Ashtabula, Ohio, has shown for the first time in America how this problem may be solved. There is more than a fair chance that this Ashtabula experiment not only solves the problem of equitable representation but also opens the way to the ultimate form of municipal organization in the United States.

Early in 1914 Ashtabula chose a commission to frame a new city charter, as permitted by the home rule provisions of the Ohio constitution. The commission elected was favorable to the commission-manager plan of government with a council elected at large. Already, however, the objection had been advanced in Ashtabula that a council elected at large in the usual way would probably represent only one party, and that this was not desirable if the council was to choose the manager, who was expected to be a permanent, expert, non-political official. This idea had been brought to Ashtabula by C. G. Hoag, general secretary of the American Proportional Representation League. When Mr. Hoag was later asked to address the charter commission, he suggested as a way out of the difficulty that the council be elected at large by proportional representation. Several members of the commission accepted the idea as sound in theory. One of them, W. E. Boynton, an engineer on the Lake Shore railroad and former president of the city council, embraced the proposal with enthusiasm and became the efficient leader of a campaign for its adoption in Ashtabula.

The commission finally rejected proportional representation as a novelty which, if embodied in the proposed charter, might cause its rejection as a whole by the voters. The charter as submitted in November, 1914, provided for a council of seven members, nomination by a 5 per cent petition, and election at large upon a non-partisan ballot. The charter was adopted. Mr. Boynton at once set about to initiate a proportional representation amendment to the new charter. This amendment was voted on last August. Though the vote was light, proportional representation carried in all but five of the fifteen precincts of the city. In accordance with this amendment Ashtabula elected its first council under the new charter on November 2, 1915.

The theory of proportional representation is that each considerable party or group of opinion should be represented in the council or legislative body in the proportion of its voting strength. Thus if in an election at which seven representatives are to be chosen, the Democrats cast four sevenths, the Republicans two sevenths, and the Socialists one seventh of the vote, those parties should be represented in the council by four, two, and one representative respectively. If the division of opinion is not along party lines, the actual divisions should nevertheless be represented in proportion to the number of voters in each.

In Ashtabula the lines of division in the recent election had little to do with national parties, except that there was a Socialist group. There was first the question of local representation. The harbor district lies at some distance from the city proper, and under the old ward plan had always been represented by one member of the council. Under the usual plan of election at large it would probably not have been represented at all. There is also the question of nationalities. The city has a large foreign element, the chief groups being the Irish, Italians, Swedes, and Finns. The voters are also sharply divided on the liquor issue, the city swaying first to the dry and then to the wet side. Finally there is the question of adequate representation for the substantial business element of the community. It is interesting to note the extent to which these various groups and interests secured representation at the election just past.

The plan of proportional representation adopted in Ashtabula is the Hare system. There are seven members of the council. Candidates get their names on the ballot by filing a petition signed by 2 per cent of the voters. The ballot has no party marks, and the names are rotated. At the left of each name is a square in which the voter marks his preference by placing the figure 1 opposite the name of his first choice, 2 opposite the name of his second choice, and so on. He may mark as many preferences as he pleases, but a ballot can count for only one candidate. To determine the number of votes necessary for election to the council the total number of valid ballots is divided by eight, and the whole number next higher than this quotient is taken as the number of votes required to elect. This number is chosen because it is the smallest that can be taken seven, but not eight, times from the total. In Ashtabula the total number of valid ballots cast was 2,972. This number divided by 8 gives a quotient of $371\frac{4}{8}$. The next higher whole number is therefore 372, the number of votes required for election. The number so established is known as the "quota."

In counting the votes the procedure is as follows: If upon counting the first-choice votes any candidate is found to have received the full quota or more, he is at once declared elected. Any votes which such a candidate has above the quota are then transferred, according to the

highest available choice marked on such ballots, to candidates not already elected. It may happen that several candidates receive more than the necessary quota. In that case the surplus votes are transferred to other candidates in the order of size of the surplus.

Whenever during the transfer of votes the number of ballots for any candidate equals the quota, he is declared elected and no further votes are transferred to him. When all surplus votes are transferred, if enough candidates to fill all the places have not reached the quota, the lowest on the list is dropped and his votes are transferred in like manner. This process continues until the required number of candidates have received the quota, or until, by dropping the low men, only seven remain.

At Ashtabula there were fourteen candidates. Classified according to nationality, two were Swedes, two Finns, one was Irish, one Italian, and eight might be classed as plain Americans. There were seven business men, one clerk and paymaster, one saloonkeeper, one baggageman, one railway engineer, one attorney, one newspaperman, and one physician. While there were Republicans and Democrats on the ballot, there was no intimation of party division except that one candidate was a Socialist. The harbor district had at least three candidates. Seven candidates were members of the present council.

The election went off quietly. There being no important issues at stake the vote was relatively light. A vote of 3,600 would have been large. The total number of ballots cast was 3,334, and of this number 362 were either blank or invalid. It was generally prophesied that the Board of Elections would have difficulty in counting the ballots. Even the ardent advocates of the system feared this, yet when it came to the actual work of the count there was no trouble whatever. Although the Board of Elections was inexperienced and without proper office equipment for handling such a count, the transfer and tabulation of the vote was accomplished in about three hours. At no time were the election officials in serious doubt concerning the steps to be taken.

The result of the election is its most interesting feature. The first eight candidates arranged in the order of their first-choice votes were: McClure, 392, Hogan, 322, McCune, 309, Gudmundson, 292, Earlywine, 289, Rinto, 237, Briggs, 211, Corrado, 196. Only McClure had votes above the required quota, and he had twenty to spare. Apparently no one expected him to win on first count. He is a young, clean, aggressive business man, never before in politics. The transfer of McClure's surplus votes elected no one, and the count proceeded by dropping the low man, and distributing his votes to the remaining candidates. By this process Hogan and McCune were raised to the full quota and declared elected. The remainder of the vote was so distributed that the last four members were chosen by the gradual elimination of the low men. In this process Briggs moved up from seventh to sixth place, and Corrado, representing

the Italians, nosed out Rinto, a young Finnish attorney.² Corrado has been a member of the city council for many years, and is well known. He is a saloonkeeper, and represents the wet interests as well as the Italian vote. Rinto is not well known except in his own section. His election over Corrado would have improved the quality of the council, but would have made it less representative. With one exception the seven candidates standing highest on first-choice votes were elected. McCune, Hogan, Briggs and Corrado are members of the present city council.

How well do the men chosen represent the city? McClure is manager of a department in one of the large stores, Hogan is one of the leading physicians of Ashtabula, McCune is a greenhouse man, Gudmundson is assistant cashier of a bank in the harbor district, Earlywine is clerk and paymaster of a large ore company, Briggs is a newspaperman, and Corrado is a saloonkeeper. The business element may be said to have three representatives. The Irish, Swedes and Italians each elected a member of the council. The Socialists elected one member. The harbor district is represented. On the liquor issue three of the successful candidates are pronounced drys, three are classed as liberal, and one as very wet. The opinion in Ashtabula seems to be that, taking both quality and representative character into consideration, a better choice could hardly have been made from the candidates, that the new council will contain more ability than the present one elected on the ward plan, and that it will also be more representative of the entire body of the voters.

Before the election the two daily papers were inclined to look askance at the new system. The day after the count one of them declared: "The drys and wets are represented. The Protestants and Catholics, the business, professional and laboring men, the Republicans, Democrats and Socialists, the English, Swedes and Italians, all are represented. It would be hard to select a more representative council in any other way."³ The other paper stated: "It is generally conceded that it has given Ashtabula a broadly representative council, probably the most representative body in the city's history, and that is the real aim of the Hare system."⁴

Ashtabula has shown how to elect a council in such a manner as to provide equitable representation for all parties and interests—a plan under which the majority will control, while the minority, or minorities, will have representation in proportion to their importance. With such a system we may reasonably expect that the quality of the council will steadily improve. When groups of opinion come to understand that if

²After the results of the election were announced Mr. Rinto made the following statement: "Now we have had the election under this plan, and have elected a representative council which is composed of men from different sections of the city, from different political factions, and different groups of voters, and at this time I am glad to say that I am still heartily in favor of proportional representation as given under the Hare plan, and I hope that the plan receives the hearty co-operation of the people of Ashtabula in the future." *Ashtabula Beacon*, Nov. 5, 1915.

³*Ashtabula Beacon*, Nov. 5, 1915.

⁴*Ashtabula Star*, Nov. 5, 1915.

they have a little more than one eighth of the votes they cannot be denied representation in the council, their ablest representatives will be willing to become candidates. Men of high professional and business training will stand for election to the council, because they will be sure that if they really represent their element they will win.

The election of councils by proportional representation opens the way for the introduction of the manager system into the largest cities. Hitherto the objection has been raised that the council as provided in such charters as those of Dayton, Springfield and Cadillac is too small for New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and St. Louis, or even for Boston, Pittsburgh, Cleveland or Baltimore. It is said that if a council of sufficient size to be really representative of the electorates of such cities should be chosen at large the ballot would be so long that it could not be intelligently voted. It is also said that election at large in any of the above-named cities would provide an electoral district so vast that candidates without party or newspaper support or a large amount of money would be seriously handicapped. Therefore to preserve the principles of the short ballot and the wieldy district there has appeared to be nothing left for the larger cities but some form of ward representation. That, however, has been considered fatal to the manager system. No American city would trust a council elected on the old ward plan to choose and control a manager. With proportional representation these difficulties disappear. A council large enough to satisfy the needs of any city can be secured by electing five or more members from each of several districts. Where proportional representation is used, gerrymandering is futile and the same accurate representation of the entire electorate is secured whether election be by districts or at large.

Thus with a council chosen by proportional representation the last serious objections to the city manager idea disappear. The way is opened for permanent, expert service in city administration and for the elimination of politics from that part of city government. Proportional representation will produce a council that may properly be allowed to choose a city manager—a council which is truly representative, whose members stand for policies and the fundamental interests of the community rather than for a more or less artificial party organization. The Ashtabula plan provides for a short ballot, a city manager, and a council chosen by proportional representation. That is the latest word in municipal organization, and no one has yet suggested any point at which further advance can be made.

But the Ashtabula experiment has promise beyond the domain of municipal government. The cities are now the only places in this country where any considerable amount of political experimentation is possible. They are making the largest contributions to our knowledge of new governmental devices. This is particularly true of the cities in those states which, like Ohio, have granted their municipalities a large measure of freedom. Instead of these cities modeling their governments after the

traditional state plan there is now a noticeable tendency of the states to copy city institutions. It is possible that Ashtabula has started a movement which will ultimately lead to the reform of the present demoralizing method of choosing the members of state legislatures and of the lower house of Congress.

THE DISCUSSION ON PROFESSOR HATTON'S PAPER

A RESUMÉ BY C. G. HOAG

The questions asked in connection with Professor Hatton's paper, printed in the foregoing pages, were answered partly by Professor Hatton, partly by W. E. Boynton as leader of the supporters of proportional representation in Ashtabula, and partly by myself as author of the Ashtabula plan and specialist in proportional representation.

QUESTION: Cincinnati is a much larger city than Ashtabula, and the number of seats in its council is 26. How could the system be applied in Cincinnati and how long would it take to count the ballots there?

ANSWER: If the Hare system were applied in a city like Cincinnati, and it were thought best to keep the number of seats in the council as large as 26, the city would first be divided into three or four wards each of which would elect several councilmen. For example, Cincinnati might be divided into four wards two of which would elect six councilmen each and the other two of which, containing a correspondingly larger population, would elect seven each. The councilmen elected by each ward would be elected, of course, by the same proportional system which is applied in Ashtabula to the election of the entire council at large.

Such an arrangement as this would mean that only about a quarter of all the ballots cast for councilmen in Cincinnati would be involved in any one of the four simultaneous Hare counts.

Just how long these counts would take it is impossible to say—perhaps from six to ten hours.

QUESTION: Did the candidates at the Ashtabula election put forward platforms setting forth the policies they would support if elected?

ANSWER: In most cases they did not. The Socialist candidate, Mr. Earlywine, was perhaps the only one who published a comprehensive platform. In this connection, however, it should be added that in the past it has not been customary, in Ashtabula municipal elections, for the candidates to formulate platforms and run on them. Usually the only issue on which candidates have lined up before the election has been that between the "wets" and the "drys."

QUESTION: Apparently the twenty ballots, taken from McClure's 392 first-choice ballots as the surplus to be transferred to others, were taken at random, in short by chance. Is it not possible that if a different twenty had been taken the result of the election might have been changed?

ANSWER: It is quite true that the element of chance is not absolutely eliminated by the Hare rules used in Ashtabula. From a practical point of view, however, the element of chance left is only infinitesimal. The whole number of valid ballots cast in Ashtabula was less than 3,000. The surplus ballots in question numbered only 20, that is, about two thirds of 1 per cent of all the ballots. Of course, the number of surplus ballots might sometimes be larger; but it would seldom be more than a small percentage of all.

Next, it is to be remembered that all of McClure's ballots were cast by voters of pretty much the same type: they were all cast by men who preferred McClure to any of the other thirteen candidates. Is it not likely that any batch of twenty of these ballots, taken at random, but in equal numbers from the ballots cast in the different precincts of the city—as provided by the Ashtabula rules—will show *nearly* the same next choices as any other batch of twenty taken from McClure's ballots in the same way? The element of chance involved is very trifling.

Finally, this element of chance, small as it is, can be wholly eliminated if it is thought worth while. As a matter of fact it *is* wholly eliminated where the Hare system is used abroad, namely in Tasmania and South Africa. The method by which it was eliminated in those places—as a concession to people who had not given the Hare system enough thought to understand the trifling magnitude of the element of chance involved—can be illustrated by a simple parable. A mother had three equally beloved children and three very unequal apples. She wanted to distribute the apples to the children fairly. What she did was to cut each of the apples—the fine large one, the medium-sized one, and the mean little one—into three equal parts, and to give a third of each apple to each child. That was a perfect solution of her problem. The solution of the problem of eliminating chance in distributing surplus ballots in a Hare election is quite as perfect. Wherever it is thought worth while, therefore, the mathematically perfect method of transferring surplus votes can be adopted instead of the simpler, and practically satisfactory, method used in Ashtabula.

QUESTION: Would there not be difficulty, in cities where there did not happen to be any thorough students of proportional, in having the ballots counted correctly?

ANSWER: In Ashtabula the count was conducted entirely without aid from those who introduced the system. It was conducted by the regular county board of elections, and the knowledge of the system possessed by the members of that board who took the lead in the count was gained almost exclusively from reading the proportional representation provisions of the charter amendment itself. Any election board having on it one intelligent man who would give the matter a little thought beforehand could conduct the count.

On page 65 will be found a table showing the result of the Ashtabula election at different stages of the count.

A minus sign before a number indicates the taking of that number of ballots from the candidate indicated (whose name is given also at the head of the column) for transfer to other candidates, each ballot according to the will of the voter who cast it.

A plus sign before a number indicates the adding of that number of ballots to the candidate indicated, in accordance with the will of the voters who cast those ballots.

The figures of the table are to be read column by column from left to right, not line by line. Each "result" column shows the results, as regards all the candidates, after the transfer of votes recorded in the preceding column.

ASHTABULA, OHIO. ELECTION OF COUNCIL, NOVEMBER 2, 1915

RESULT SHEET

Number of Valid Ballots, 2,972 Number of Seats, 7 Quota or Constituency $\left(\frac{\text{No. of valid ballots}}{\text{No. of seats} + 1} + \right) = 372$

Names of Candidates	Total First choice Ballots	Transfer of Surplus Ballots (McClure's)	Result	Transfer of Lampela's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Loose's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Cook's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Carlson's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Flowers Ballots	Result	Transfer of Tilton's Ballots	Result
Fred A. Briggs.....	211		211		211	2	213	3	216	16	232	20	252	34	286
John Carlson.....	138	2	140	1	141	14	155	10	165	Defeated	Defeated				Elected
M. R. Cook.....	114		114	1	115	2	117	11	211	32	243	30	273	9	282
Nick Corrado.....	196		196		196	5	201	10	309	8	317	6	323	38	361
Robt. W. Earlywine.....	289	2	291	1	292	6	298	5	165	29	194	Defeated	Defeated		Elected
James H. Flower.....	147		149	1	150	10	160	6	298	12	310	9	319	24	343
C. O. Gudmundson.....	292		292		292	13	336	5	341	24	365	7	372		Elected
J. J. Hogan.....	322		322	1	323										Elected
Robert Lampela.....	25		25	25	Defeated										Elected
George H. Loose.....	107	1	108		108	108	Defeated								Elected
J. M. McClure.....	322	20	372	3	372	372	372	3	336	1	337	27	372	8	372
E. R. McCune.....	309	11	320	3	323	10	333	1	245	2	247	2	249	14	263
Arthur Rinto.....	237	1	238	4	242	2	244	3	200	4	204	25	229	229	Defeated
E. N. Tilton.....	193	1	194		194	3	197	3	114	37	151	68	219	102	321
Non-transferable ballots.....				13	13	41	54	60	2,972		2,972		2,972		2,972
Total valid ballots.....	2,972		2,972		2,972		2,972								

SHORT ARTICLES

STATE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE MEETINGS

BY WILLIAM PARR CAPES¹

Albany, N. Y.

THE interest in and the need for municipal home rule in the United States has been forcibly demonstrated in the year's work of the 32 state municipal leagues. If the American cities do not have their powers of local self-government increased through a constitutional delegation of authority, it will not be the fault of the co-operative efforts of city officials. A review of the activities of the state leagues during the year shows that in nearly all states the need for it exists and is appreciated, and that at least eight of the twenty-four active leagues are at work on the problem.

Among the other problems which have generally received the co-operative efforts of organized municipal officials are public utilities and municipal ownership, taxation, forms of government, public health, city planning and the collecting and disposal of garbage.

The reports of all leagues, with the exception of those in Canada, show increased activity in nearly all municipal functions. Several for the first time have publicly recognized the importance of the human side of municipal government and have devoted much time to the consideration of social welfare activities. The Canadian organizations, however, have been compelled chiefly to devote their time devising ways and means for their cities to cope with the unusual disturbed conditions arising out of the war.

The eyes of home rule students during the last six months have been on the efforts of New York state cities through their State conference of mayors and other city officials to secure a delegation of adequate home rule powers by a revision of the municipal article by the constitutional convention. After having conducted a six years' campaign, during which time the conference and co-operating organizations increased municipal powers by state legislative action, the conference during the summer presented to the convention, a proposed amendment drafted by a committee of officials representing all classes of cities and all sections of the state.

It was resolved at the beginning of the campaign that all cities should work shoulder to shoulder, and that no particular class of cities and no

¹ Secretary, New York state conference of mayors and other city officials.

single city should demand or accept any more or less grant of power than the convention would be willing to confer upon all the cities. This action not only made it possible for the cities to present a solid phalanx all through the strenuous campaign, but it put to a severe test the new spirit of unity which the conference has created among the New York state cities. It forced public recognition of the fact that no longer are New York and the so-called "up-state", or other cities, arrayed against each other.

After the defeat of their own proposal the city officials turned the tables on the cities committee by stirring up a strenuous opposition to the amendment. As a result the convention sent the committee's proposal back for revision. The amended municipal article as finally presented to the people was regarded by the conference as merely a constitutional recognition of the principle of home rule. The cities through the conference contented themselves with a statement simply pointing out the defects in the proposal without either approving or disapproving it. With the proposed constitution as a whole, it was buried under an avalanche of ballots. The conference, believing that it is now in a strategically better position than ever before, is preparing to ask the incoming state legislature favorably to consider its original proposal.

While watching and studying New York's campaign and proposal, eight other state leagues have either made demand for legislative action on the problem of self-government or have pointed out the need for a revision of the constitution. Nearly all have laid the foundation for an effective educational campaign.

The leagues of New Jersey, Washington, Kansas, Iowa and New York have during the year taken positive action. Minnesota has called for a constitutional convention. Texas is advocating an enabling act, and Ohio has discussed home rule in taxation. At the same time all of these and others have adopted legislative programs, which show the pressing need for the extension of municipal powers and absurdity of the limitations under which their municipalities are now struggling in an effort to give efficient public service. A review of the legislative authority asked by city officials forces the conclusion that American cities do not deserve so much condemnation for their shortcomings as they do commendation for what they have been able to accomplish under existing grants of power.

The program adopted by the Kansas league is perhaps as striking an illustration as any. At the annual meeting it was decided to ask for legislation on the following subjects: serial bonds which shall not exceed twenty annual installments; giving cities of the second class the right to cut weeds on vacant property and to assess the cost against the property; permitting cities to provide for the collection and disposal of garbage; enabling any cities to adopt the city manager form of government by a

referendum vote of the people of that city; making delinquent water and light bills of municipally owned plants a lien upon the property receiving the service; authorizing cities to assess the cost of water mains against the benefited property; a constitutional amendment reserving to the people the power to initiate and refer laws and constitutional amendments to a vote of people and reserving to localities the powers of the initiative and referendum as to local legislation; reserving to voters of all cities the right to initiate and refer to voters measures of local legislation; authorizing cities to condemn land outside of the city limits for drainage purposes and permitting cities to establish municipal ice plants.

The western state leagues are apparently more keenly interested in municipal ownership and utility problems than are those in the east. The discussion of these questions was one of the features of the annual meetings in Washington, Wisconsin, Montana, Kansas, Illinois and Minnesota. The Pennsylvania league for third class cities has demanded the right for cities to erect and operate municipal boat and bath houses. Washington is seeking legislation relating to the power of municipalities over public utilities. Montana wants municipally owned public utilities eliminated from the control of the state public service commission. In its home rule campaign, New York asked for a constitutional amendment granting to municipal corporations within the state the right to engage in any business or enterprise which may be engaged in by a person, firm or corporation by virtue of a franchise from said corporation. This did not get beyond the consideration of the convention's cities committee.

The Washington league is following the lead taken and brought to a successful conclusion by the New York organization in demanding a reorganization of the state health work. A committee has been appointed to co-operate with the state health department in revising the public health code. New York is now, in co-operation with the state health department, making a health survey of the Empire state cities. Illinois, Connecticut, Colorado and California have discussed various phases of public health regulation and administration.

City planning propaganda work and legislation have been a part of the year's work of Washington, Virginia, Illinois, New York, Minnesota, Texas and California. A city planning survey of the cities of the state and a report thereon was completed by the advisory committee of city planning experts of the New York state conference. This committee also prepared a model ordinance which, if adopted by any municipal legislative body, puts into effect the city planning law enacted by the 1913 state legislature. Washington has appointed a committee to work out a proposal for a city planning conference in connection with the work of the league. California held a three days' city planning conference in connection with the annual meeting of the league. The others discussed at one or more sessions of their annual meetings some phase of the subject.

The interest that city officials through their state organizations are now taking in the collection and disposal of garbage is one of the new features of the year's work. The leagues of five western states, Wisconsin, Indiana, Kansas, Iowa and California, have devoted a part of their annual meetings to a discussion of the problem.

Judged by the action on various plans suggested, the indications are that the state leagues are not yet ready to take a definite stand in reference to the solution of the taxation and assessment problems. All seem still to be groping. Nearly one-half the leagues discussed various plans but definite action along constructive lines was generally lacking. Pennsylvania voted down two propositions, one that taxes be collected semi-annually and the other that a license tax of \$100 be levied on professional men. Speakers at the California meeting advocated the proposed constitutional tax amendment in that state. Indiana refused to take any definite action on the proposition to make property assessments at actual value the rule. Connecticut, Virginia and Indiana discussed various phases of municipal taxation and proposed legislation. The meetings in Ohio and Alabama were almost wholly devoted to a discussion of taxation problems. Among the legislative proposals considered by the Ohio league were the constitutional amendment providing that taxes shall be uniform upon the same class of property within the territorial limits of the authority limiting the tax; that federal, state, county, school district and municipal bonds be exempt from taxation; that the exemption of household goods be raised from \$100 to \$500, and that no bonded indebtedness shall be received unless provision is made to pay interest and at maturity redeem the bonds. New York attempted to secure legislation requiring all cities to provide tax maps and to name the true consideration in all deeds, mortgages and leases, but the legislature refused to act.

As in former years the leagues have continued to discuss forms of government, and at least two, Washington and Kansas, are demanding legislation, which will give a city power to select its form of government by a referendum vote. Connecticut, Michigan, Virginia, Colorado and California have discussed prevailing forms or new ideas in city charters.

Besides these seven subjects, each league has during the year introduced some new function for discussion. Among these have been public milk and water supplies, university training for service, the merit system, street improvements, the initiative, referendum and recall, public libraries, the homeless man, municipal financing, budget making and accounting, excess condemnations, municipal engineering, telephone legislation, sanitation including sewage disposal, grade crossing elimination, sealer of weights and measures, public markets and annexation of adjacent territory. A new problem that is now demanding the attention of city officials and was discussed at three league meetings is uniform auto and jitney ordinances. Montana has been interested in securing an effective

gambling law and several other leagues have introduced the discussion of municipal welfare subjects, such as economics and the woman's movement and child welfare and hygiene.

Along with the legislation and propaganda work which the leagues have been doing, several have been giving practical assistance to their cities through municipal reference libraries and bureaus of research and information. New York has launched a new experiment in this kind of service. The conference in September established a state bureau of municipal information at Albany. This activity is financed by the cities of the state and operated under the direction of a council of five mayors elected at the annual session of the conference. Its purpose is to furnish to any city in the state upon request or when informed through newspaper clippings all available information about municipal activities under consideration; to gather information about municipal problems and improvements and to distribute the data among cities of the state; to keep city officials in touch with each other by distributing among them any new plan devised by any official; to distribute such reports and other literature about municipal government and activities as will aid municipal officials; to watch state legislation affecting municipalities, also, upon request, to represent any city before any sub-division of the state government located at Albany; to keep on file for ready reference the catalogues, price lists, pamphlets and other literature issued by corporations, firms and individuals manufacturing municipal apparatus or products of offering expert municipal service.

While the leagues in the United States have thus been extending their influence and helpfulness along many lines, the Canadian organizations have been compelled to devote their entire attention to the disturbance of municipal finances and the unemployed. In many cities there have been a contraction of income and a curtailment and difficulty of borrowing which have meant the stopping of municipal work. Early in the year the Union of Canadian municipalities prepared a form for the municipalities to fill in the requisite information when they issue and sell a series of debentures. This definite information has helped in selling to bond brokers, and investors. The unemployment problem has been and still is a most serious one in the cities. The union is organizing a conference of representatives of the federal government, municipalities and civic trade and charitable organizations for the purpose of discussing the unemployment problem and co-operating in some practical way to mitigate the effect of the industrial and commercial depression.

In the work of the leagues as a whole, there is no cause for pessimism; in fact all have more than justified their existence. Even the three new ones, New Jersey, Montana and Louisiana, have adopted ambitious programs for the year. Each is contributing its share to the progress that American cities are making and stimulating the keener interest that all

citizens are taking in the efficient management of their municipal affairs. They are blazing trails through the maze of obscurity and uncertainty through which municipal officials have been groping in their search for the health, comfort, and welfare of those they are serving. This is the result of bringing experts and officials in touch with one another, by framing and advocating needed municipal legislation and by acting as a clearing house of municipal information.

Co-operation within states through leagues of officials and in America among the leagues is now one of the potent factors in making municipal service more efficient.

"THE HARRISBURG PLAN": CELEBRATION OF A DOZEN YEARS OF MUNICIPAL BETTERMENT

BY J. HORACE MCFARLAND ¹

President American Civic Association

THE chamber of commerce of Pennsylvania's capital city, Harrisburg, conducted during the third week in September a celebration of the improvements which have made that city over within slightly more than a dozen years. The celebration itself was unique, in that there was included in it a reception tendered to those who had been most influential and efficacious in the improvement movement, and a tour of the city to see the things that had been done.

It is worth while to briefly describe not so much the celebration as the reason for it, because of its relative importance. I believe that there is no other instance on record of so considerable a body of public improvements, so well worked out, being completed within anything like the same time.

Other cities have obtained filtered water; other cities have revised sewerage systems; other cities have proposed and developed park systems; other cities have paved their streets; but I am not aware that any other city than Harrisburg has done all these things concurrently and under expert plan and supervision, as a consequence of the initiative of interested citizens and without the slightest suspicion of misapplication of funds.

Indeed, one of the high lights on the situation is the conspicuous efficiency of the municipal expenditures which have regenerated Harrisburg.

¹Mr. McFarland, who writes this interesting article about the Harrisburg plan, was himself one of the foremost proponents of the plan in its early days, and has been actively identified with its execution ever since. Under the inspiring leadership of himself and his colleagues, Harrisburg has been transformed from a dull, uninteresting inland city to a community where life is really worth living.—C. R. W.

Not only has the expenditure of the public money been honestly conducted, but it has been intelligently conducted.

At the inception of the Harrisburg improvement movement, some sixty citizens raised \$5,000 with which to secure municipal diagnosis and prescription. When the reports of experts which resulted were published, and when the same citizens, with a few others, raised \$5,000 additional to convince the citizens of Harrisburg that they should tax themselves to their debt limit to conduct the improvement work, it was *The Philadelphia Press* which first denominated the movement "The Harrisburg Plan," because it proposed municipal expenditure under conditions of expert and intelligent direction, not then as frequently known of as at present.

The story of the inception of the movement and of the successful election which began it was first told at the Boston conference of the National Municipal League, in May, 1902.² The celebration of September, 1915, very properly took account of the fulfillment of the fair promise of 1902, and of the carrying through, under the same conditions, of extensions of the original plan.

It is believed that the work thus celebrated presents an almost unique combination of democracy and efficiency in municipal expenditure. Every item in the program was first recommended by experts retained by the Municipal league of Harrisburg, and then voted upon by the people, so that the completest knowledge was had as to what it was proposed to do. In other words, there was the fullest democratic expression upon the propositions for improvement.

The work was done, however, outside the ordinary governmental provisions of cities of the third class in the state of Pennsylvania. The councils delegated the power and the expenditure of the funds, for the most part, to two boards—a board of public works and a park commission. The more important of these boards was named before the first vote was passed, so that the people knew who were to spend the large sums of money they were voting.

Without a break the campaign of efficient and expert supervision has prevailed through the dozen years of active municipal regeneration.

It is not assumed that the September celebration in Harrisburg was of wholly completed enterprises. On the contrary, the people of Pennsylvania's capital city are looking forward to much greater achievements in the future, and it is believed that they will see to it that these further improvements are carried forward in the same efficient manner.

As has been said above, the inception of the movement was with the citizens who formed the Municipal league of Harrisburg. During the

²See Proceedings of the Boston Conference for Good City Government, p. 119. Also published in leaflet form by the League entitled "The Awakening of Harrisburg." Price 10 cents.

time since that body came into existence, in 1901, something more than \$15,000 has been spent in the obtaining of expert advice, in its publication, and in the promotion of campaigns to bring the facts to the people.

Four loans in all have been promoted successfully, amounting to a total of \$2,431,000. In addition, through legal assessment for the paving of nearly seventy miles of streets since the movement began, the people have paid or engaged to pay \$2,364,209, making a total of expenditure made or authorized within the improvement period under consideration of \$4,795,209.

The scope of these improvements is as notable as is their effectiveness. To begin with, the city has provided and perfected a successful method of filtration of its water supply, under which there is now an abundance of pure water (it is called in Harrisburg "municipal Apollinaris"), kept pure by daily bacteriological and chemical examination; the buildings and machinery handling which provide show places to visit because of their sightliness and cleanliness. The result has been to change a typhoid fever rate more than eight times above the normal for American cities to a rate much less than the normal, within a dozen years of clean water.

Beginning this movement with $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles of paved streets, seldom cleaned, and put down at an excessive cost, the city has since paved and curbed $69\frac{1}{2}$ miles; mostly of sheet asphalt, at a very low cost. All of this paving is swept every day, and Harrisburg's streets are continuously clean.

In 1902, the notable river shore in Harrisburg was principally notable because it was a dump. The outfalls of various sewers made this dump most unpleasantly odorous. A small stream known as Paxton Creek, running parallel to the Susquehanna carried an excessive amount of sewerage, and was a continuing and disgusting nuisance.

In addition to revising its general sewerage system by the installation of many important sewer lines, Harrisburg has built two great intercepting sewers to care for all its drainage, and has as well removed all the nuisance of Paxton Creek by paving it throughout its entire length in the city. The nuisance on the river front was also removed by erecting, in connection with a notably beautiful park development, some three miles of step protection along the whole of its water front. These steps are in two stages, between which a fourteen foot concrete walk, properly lighted, affords a promenade of unique attractiveness.

An important viaduct connecting two parts of the city, and affording relief from several serious and dangerous grade crossings, was rebuilt in concrete upon a monumental and beautiful design, giving Harrisburg, in addition to the transportation facilities, an exceptionally handsome and substantial viaduct which was built at a cost so low as to afford continual wonder to investigating engineers.

In 1902, Harrisburg had two small unmaintained parks, aggregating 42 acres. In 1915 it enjoys the use of 21 parks, parkways and playgrounds, aggregating 958 acres, efficiently maintained for the use of the people.

In 1902, Harrisburg had one acre of parks to each 1,260 of its population, while in 1915 it was one of the three cities in America having a notable acreage relation in supplying one acre of parks for every 76 of its population.

The change in park attendance has been no less notable, for in 1902 it is estimated that there were less than 50,000 visits, while in 1915 there were approximately 1,800,000 visits to the Harrisburg parks.

All this notable and harmonious body of public improvement work, which has resulted most favorably in every way for the city of Harrisburg, has been carried out upon shrewd and capable financial lines, with constant reinvestment of the city's sinking fund and interest savings, and with the gratifying result that whereas in 1902 it was promised that the tax rate would not increase to more than ten mills by 1906, that rate has not yet been reached in 1915.

The total cost, on the basis of the present population of Harrisburg, has been \$65.54 per person for the entire term of the improvement effort, or an average of \$5.04 per person per year for improvement work.

When in the celebration the question was asked "Has it been worth the money?" the answer was a vociferous shout of "Yes!"

Incidental to these municipally-financed improvements there have been going on many other betterments which would hardly have occurred had not the city undertaken in its own capacity to advance its living conditions. Several other important bridges have been erected. The Pennsylvania railroad has changed and greatly improved its freight facilities, has removed grade crossings, and has made ornamental a great bridge which was previously very ugly. Very many private business buildings of fine character have been erected. Streets have been parked, and residences of an improved grade have been built in large numbers. A new residence suburb, involving an expenditure approximating a quarter of a million dollars, and working into the city's park plan, has been put through.

It would be unfair in this survey to omit reference to the fine spirit of the people that has made so great an improvement possible, and that has continuously supported those who have done the work in economy and efficiency. It is for this reason that I may again and properly recur to the statement that the work done is a conspicuous instance of that proper combination of democracy and efficiency which can only come about when the people are consulted and convinced.

To get a fair comparative view of the Harrisburg achievement it might be well to note that to parallel it the city of New York would have had to spend upon the unselfish subject of expert advice for municipal betterment, \$975,000, to guide a municipal expenditure in complete efficiency of approximately \$320,000,000.

Or, to do as well, Philadelphia would have had to pave with complete efficiency about 1,400 miles of streets, provide 18,000 acres of parks, improve with parking and protection all its river front, both of the Schuylkill and the Delaware, change its lighting, and efficiently filter all its water—and all without even a suspicion of graft!

That Harrisburg does not intend to stop was well shown in the forward vision of Hon. Vance C. McCormick, at the celebration.³ He drew a fascinating picture of what the city might do and probably would do, and the enthusiasm of the people upon finding that municipal expenditures of this sort are actually investments is likely to make his dreams come true.

THE SUNDAY QUESTION IN CHICAGO

BY VICTOR S. YARROS¹

Chicago

ONCE more Chicago is wrestling with the eternal Sunday question—by which, of course, is meant the question of Sunday liquor selling. It has a certain periodicity; it has come up every five years or so, but Mayor Thompson's recent *coup d'état* has introduced dramatic variety into the familiar comedy. His action was like the proverbial bolt from the blue sky. It was a startling surprise to the whole community, and apparently even to some of his close political friends. Everybody is still wondering and asking what his motives were and under what compulsion he acted as he did. Many are wondering also how long this act of the comedy will last, and whether there is soon to be a mayoral order, or wink, or nod, that will bring the curtain down and announce another act.

But the better to understand the present queer situation it is necessary to summarize the earlier parts of the story.

Legally speaking, Chicago has no special Sunday saloon question. The Sunday closing law is state-wide, is in full force "on paper," and

³Former Mayor McCormick in his speech on this occasion said: "I wish I could enumerate to you from my own personal experience the names of those faithful citizens to whom honor is due, but if there is one man above others who stands out pre-eminently as a patriot in all these years of improvement campaigns, it is J. Horace McFarland, the creator of our park system, and who, to my mind, has done more than any other man for the parks and public improvements of Harrisburg." Editor.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 448.

makes no distinctions or exceptions. If the saloons have been open in Chicago and a few other Illinois cities on Sunday, and closed everywhere else in the state, the reasons for the discrepancy are found in the facts of life. In Chicago it has been, for over forty years, deemed "impossible" to enforce the Sunday closing law. The cosmopolitan character of the city's population; the size of the city and the number of its subdivisions and foreign "colonies"; the influence of the Germans and other citizens of European traditions with reference to Sunday amusements and recreations; the organization of "the United Societies" of hyphenated Americans for the purpose of defending "personal liberty" and local autonomy, and of defeating "dry" candidates for local or state offices—these and other factors account for the fact that the Sunday closing law has been a "dead letter" in Chicago.

Few aldermanic candidates and no mayoral candidate (except the avowed Prohibition candidates) could be induced expressly and definitely to promise, even before an election in which the Sunday law was made an issue by certain embattled groups, to enforce that law or to breathe life into it. Sincere, aggressively honest and intelligent men like Professor Merriam have, as candidates for mayor, either avoided that issue or frankly told the voters that it was not their intention to shake the dust off the Sunday law and try to enforce it regardless of popular sentiment, or the pendency of other and more vital issues, just because "it is law." The newspapers of the city, as a rule, have discouraged the Sunday law feature of local political campaigns and approved of the passive or the hostile attitude of the candidates. Occasionally a newspaper changed its position between campaigns; but when vital and important issues were being fought out—issues like public utility regulation, compensation for franchises, etc.—the press ignored the Sunday question or even boldly advises the candidates to tell the people that the saloons would be left severely—or genially—alone.

It is merely stating a fact to say that heretofore the progressive and broad-minded citizens of Chicago have taken little interest in the Sunday question. They have realized that it meant political suicide for any mayoral candidate to pledge himself to enforce that unpopular statute. They have not cared to invite candidates to commit suicide. They have had work to do, or to get done, which demanded the serious attention of the mayor, the council, and the public.

But latterly there have appeared indications that the Sunday question was entering upon a new phase. For example, Professor Merriam, as a member of the city council, has urged legislation which the liquor and saloon interests have regarded as being deliberately unfriendly. His wife has personally investigated various low-grade dives and dance halls and has furnished proof of the fact that many of the saloon keepers will not obey even elementary regulations designed to protect the young, to

impose external decency and to restrain commercial vice. Professor Merriam wants the liquor interests to refrain from meddling perniciously and destructively with municipal politics. He has proposed a certain tentative classification of saloons and suitable regulation for each class. Other aldermen of independence and creditable records have declared war on the law-violating saloons for other reasons or from other motives. In short, the atmosphere was changing. A few hotels recognized this and closed their bars on Sunday at the demand of the Prohibitionist or Sunday-closing crusaders. The steady advance of prohibition in the country at large has been a factor of considerable influence, no doubt, especially with impressionable aldermen. And if a few convictions for violation of the Sunday closing law had at last been secured, it can hardly be doubted that public prosecutors, mayors and aldermen would have come to regard their respective duties in the premises in a new light.

So far, however, it has been impossible to secure any convictions. Juries in Sunday saloon cases have either disagreed or else have returned verdicts of acquittal, and this in spite of explicit instructions from the Bench, the clearness and completeness of the evidence submitted by the prosecution, or the manifest legal weakness of the case of the defence. Juries have maintained this attitude simply and humanly because they know that in Chicago the Sunday closing law had long been honored in the breach rather than in the observance. They have regarded attacks on particular offenders as unfair, spiteful and unreasonable. Several years ago a firm, if narrow-minded, state's attorney persevered and tried case after case; but not a single conviction was he able to secure.

The Prohibitionists and the advocates of "law enforcement" have also vainly tried other methods—for instance, they have sought to obtain a writ of mandamus against the mayor compelling him to close the saloons on Sunday. The highest courts of the state have decided, however, that mandamus will not issue in such a case, and their reasoning has been approved by the fair-minded and informed lawyers. There has repeatedly been talk of an effort to impeach or indict the mayor of Chicago for failure to perform his sworn duty and enforce the law as it stands. This talk, when indulged in against a "radical" mayor like Dunne, was regarded as insincere and reaction-inspired. Certain privileged interests were believed to have conceived the idea of using the Sunday issue as a club, or, at least, as a means of diverting and confusing the public mind. When the same threat was renewed against Mayor Thompson, whom no sensible person regards either as a civic reformer or as a competent, consistent and vigorous administrator, it was not taken seriously by anybody; the "interests" were with the dashing, impulsive, boyish mayor, and neither impeachment nor indictment proceedings, had they really been attempted and pushed, would have had the slightest chance of a successful issue.

Hence it is literally true that no one expected the mayor to pay any attention to the agitation or the threats of the dry leaders or the advocates of law enforcement "because it is law." Not a single editorial appeared in the Chicago daily press advising the mayor to close the Sunday saloons. Even though the conditions, as stated above, were undergoing a change, none of the neutrals thought the time was ripe for such an order from the mayor, and certainly none thought that the particular gentlemen who calls himself "Big Bill," who was known as a "sport" and friend of the sporting fraternity, who was elected largely on the sham "Prosperity" issue, and who loves parades, displays, proclamations and pomp, would suddenly issue such an order.

However, the order came. It was an order which, if the mayor "meant business," had to be obeyed. It was not an order to arrest offending saloonkeepers and start the judicial mill grinding. Such an order would have caused little alarm. But under our code the mayor has the power to revoke licenses for cause, and the deliberate violation of a state law would naturally be treated as ample and sufficient cause for revocation of licenses.

Why did Mayor Thompson issue the order? His own explanations are rather mixed and contradictory. In the first place he took the bold and virtuous or heroic line: He had been informed by the corporation counsel, his legal adviser, that the Sunday anti-saloon law was valid and binding, and that left him without an alternative. His own affiliations and habits, his own views concerning Sunday, his own desires and preferences, were irrelevant and immaterial. He was mayor; he had taken an oath to obey and enforce the laws—all laws—and he could not make an exception of the Sunday law. Now, if Mayor Thompson had only stuck to this explanation, his position would have been plausible enough. True, few would have believed his protestations; he would have been charged with political ambition, with vindictiveness—for the wets are said to have contributed but little to his campaign fund and to have spoken slightly of his chances—with spectacularism and love of notoriety and sensations. Still, officially and formally the position would have appeared unassailable.

Unfortunately, the heroic attitude was too unnatural and trying for the mayor. He too soon offered further and different explanations—he had heard that his enemies were seeking to procure his indictment by the grand jury; he had heard that the foreman of a grand jury was privately conferring with prohibition and law-enforcement leaders; he did not care to face indictments and trials. A touch of opera-bouffe was added by his reported remark that the Christian Scientists had been praying for him and for the enforcement of the Sunday law.

Furthermore, when the united societies for local self-government, or the wets gave out a copy of the pre-election pledge signed by Mr. Thomp-

son—a pledge against Sunday law enforcement which was too explicit an evasion—proof even for far more artful dodgers, the mayor floundered badly. He had “forgotten” the pledge incident; he could not tell whether the signature was genuine without carefully examining it; at any rate, the pledge was merely “personal, not official”—as if a promise to veto certain ordinances and disregard certain laws could be made by a candidate for office in a “personal” capacity, and as if anybody would ever care to obtain personal pledges from otherwise important men in such circumstances.

In a word, the more the mayor talked, the more his enemies, old and new, rejoiced. Even those who approve of his action are pained and embarrassed by his maladroitness and tactless utterances. Only some of the aggressive Prohibitionists are lauding the mayor and predicting great things for him. The average observer is distinctly contemptuous. Nothing will surprise him, for his faith in the mayor is weak, if not a negative quantity. The mayor is not enforcing “all laws.” His appointees are emasculating the city civil service law. He is opposing budget reform and resisting attempts of the city council at investigation of certain city departments. Nothing about his “policies” is calculated to inspire the least confidence or respect.

Very typical, for instance, are these comments of Chief Justice Olson of the Chicago municipal court:

The situation is getting somewhat mixed, evidently. It reminds me of the old days, when our Sunday school teacher seemed to take great satisfaction in bringing in reformed gamblers and drunkards to tell us “kids” how to live. We winked at each other and saw the humor of the situation, and I now know that the “kids” had the situation sized up correctly. We always took more seriously the advice of men who had always lived right rather than in talks of the men who had sown their wild oats.

In these days of mixed politics the “old soaks” are going “dry” and the “drys” are going after the “old soaks.” But it won’t last long. We will soon sober up and be for the fellow who, as the girl says in the play, “is a regular fellow.”

The future, therefore, is uncertain. There will be much fighting and political scheming and plotting in and out of the legislature, and the situation is bound to get more and more mixed before it begins to clear up. We are to have a sort of referendum on the dry and wet issue in Chicago. A direct referendum on Sunday closing is apparently impossible, for how can you submit, at public expense and under public authority, the question whether a state law held by the courts to be valid and live is or is not to be obeyed by mayors and other local executives? “Home rule” with regard to Sunday, a measure generally advocated by reasonable men, the legislature is not likely to grant in the near future.

Meantime the attitude of the press is very curious and comical. The mayor's action is formally and half-heartedly "approved," but are the authorities of the county, and of the villages and small towns in Cook county, urged and admonished to follow Thompson's example and to enforce the Sunday law because it is law? By no means. The officials in the aforesaid places are doubtless perplexed, but the press is not anxious to come to their relief by any definite line of advice and reasoning. Furthermore, as ex-Mayor Harrison has reminded us in an anti-Thompson speech of a most uncompromising kind, no newspaper has advocated the enforcement of the law imposing the general property tax on the ground that law is law and that the way to repeal a bad law is to enforce it strictly and to the letter. On the contrary; the disregard of that law has been generally applauded and defended.

The simple truth is, there is much cant and hollow pretense in the local treatment of the Sunday question. It is safe to say that the future of that question depends on the future of the Prohibition and anti-saloon movement. Facts and public sentiment will—as they should—determine future policy with reference to Sunday closing. The melodramatic and sensational antics of this or that big or little politician have their ephemeral interest, but important questions are not settled by cheap and erratic demagogues, any more than they are settled by dogmatic fanatics. Mayor Thompson is a symptom. His coup is a symptom. Sober-minded citizens know that they have a real and difficult problem to solve in connection with the saloon and with Sunday recreation and amusement for the masses. The American saloon must be reformed; the poor man must have his "club"; substitutes must be found for the institutions we abolish because of their vileness or demoralization—or our last state may be worse than the first.

FIRE LIMITS DISTRICTS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE

BY C. T. BISSELL¹

New York City

A PERSON building a house in the country may have a right to jeopardize his own life and property and those of his family, and take chances with the companies selling indemnity against loss; but there is no question that the owner of property in a city or town has no right to erect a structure which will be a menace in case of fire to the safety of the property of the adjacent owner. The latter principle has long been recognized. It has been conjectured by some that the great fire in Rome of A.D. 64 was started by Nero's orders, for the purpose of

¹ Engineer, Committee on Fire Prevention, National Board of Fire Underwriters.

getting rid of the congested timber dwellings with thatched roofs in narrow, irregular streets, so that he could have the thoroughfares straightened and widened, and build thereon large and beautiful palaces and public buildings; this was a harsh remedy to serve the purpose. Boston first passed building regulations in 1679, and it is to be presumed that these effected construction in a restricted district or what was becoming the business center.

Most American cities of over 15,000 population have established fire limits districts. The primary and essential idea of establishing these districts is to afford protection to the business sections of towns and cities by prohibiting the erection within and in close proximity to them of readily burnable construction. Manufacturing sections should properly be included in these districts, but very often are not. It is not consistent to assume that districts containing the better construction in a city do not need to be protected from exposure from buildings of frame and ordinarily cheaper types. More frequently than otherwise a conflagration starts in a wooden section and if the wind is right and the buildings are dry it gains sufficient magnitude to destroy the brick, stone and concrete sections also. The Hot Springs, Arkansas, conflagration of 1913 started in a low value, frame dwelling section, swept over a large residential area, communicated to and destroyed part of the business district, involving 133 acres of ground space in all. The Houston, Texas, conflagration of 1912 started amongst a group of low value buildings, spread over a section three to seven blocks wide and one and a half miles long, destroying thirteen industrial plants, eight stores, 119 dwellings and two cotton compresses.

Restrictions of these districts usually prohibit combustible roof coverings and frame construction, though allowed exceptions to the latter frequently seriously detract from their value. The size of districts, or distances beyond the actual grouping of high value buildings in a business center, varies between very wide limits in different cities. It is an exceptional case when they are sufficiently extensive to fulfil their intended purposes and not need extension at intervals of a few years in the growing city. Their extent is often determined without apparent foresight. Not infrequently persons whose properties would be affected by the building restrictions have sufficient influence with governing city officials to have their property exempted. This leads to ragged and ludicrous looking lines between the restricted and unrestricted sections resulting from the special privilege granted through personal influence and friendship governing their establishment. Limits are frequently along lot lines instead of including whole blocks. It is not an uncommon practice to establish limits at certain distances back from street lines; this allows almost any kind of a building or shack to be erected in close proximity to one of the best kind.

Physical improvement of the fire hazard of a city may reasonably be gradually accomplished by restricting construction in three divisions. The first should apply to the whole area within the city limits, with mandatory minimum of requirement for construction and anticipating future development. Stricter regulation should then be made for construction of buildings, and their internal and external protection against fire in the secondary district or primary fire limits, and finally for superior construction and protection in that section which is strictly mercantile, with valuable buildings closely built, containing high values in their contents and housing few to many employees.

Outlying and residential sections in most cities have been and are still being built largely of frame, and probably will so continue until owners appreciate that it would be a part of wisdom and self-interest to adopt a better method in every case where the building is to be of a permanent character. Points that seem to be overlooked are the greater rate of depreciation, greater cost of repair, less rental revenue and that less money can be borrowed on them on satisfactory terms. The insistent and plausible arguments of the lumber interests, the speculative builder and over-zealous tenement landlord are doubtless largely responsible for this prevailing type. Allowing that this class of construction will continue, the record of conflagrations should awaken city officials to their responsibilities and cause them to insist that the flying brand hazard in these sections be made negligible by requiring the substitution of the incombustible for the prevalent and somewhat cheaper combustible roof covering, usually shingles. The records of causes of fires in fire department reports show a surprising proportion to be from sparks on shingle roofs in cities where they are prevalent.

Cities are slowly awakening to the necessity for action. Among those having an ordinance prohibiting shingle or wooden roofs in any part of the city, either on new buildings or in renewing roofs on old buildings are Augusta and Savannah, Georgia, Tampa and Jacksonville, Florida, Richmond, Virginia, Birmingham, Alabama, El Paso, Texas, New Orleans, Louisiana, Wilmington, Delaware, and Paterson, Perth Amboy, Hoboken and Trenton, New Jersey. Some others have partial restrictions. Meridian, Mississippi, adopted a city-wide shingle roof ordinance in February, 1914, to take effect May 1. The operation of this was suspended until July 1 and during the period of suspension renewals of shingle roofs were unusually frequent, to get the benefit of a new lease of life for the commonly used roof covering. It is reported that the ordinance has been rescinded.

The necessity for restriction of building construction as a means of protection to a central mercantile section is self evident and almost universally recognized as such by municipalities in the adoption of fire limits which usually include and cover a varying amount of territory

outside this section. It is highly important that these limits be extensive and since it has been demonstrated that the cost of superior construction is only slightly in excess of frame, to practically prohibit the latter in all except outlying residential districts would entail no real hardship upon owners or lessees of property; in other words to make the fire limits practically coextensive with the city limits. Improvements along the line of better construction can only come gradually; old buildings cannot be torn down at once and rebuilt, but city governments and the individual should see to it that the building construction of the future should be a benefit and not a menace to other structures. Better building construction will gradually reduce the excessive annual fire waste. A pre-requisite to the successful operation of fire limits districts is a set of adequate, comprehensive and stringent building laws, competently and impartially enforced. The laws of many cities have in the past been insufficient and loosely drawn, indifferently observed, and seemingly considered self-operative. Previous to last October an Ohio city of about 90,000 population had no regulations covering the design and construction of reinforced concrete buildings. In that month a reinforced concrete building in course of construction there fell down and killed three men. The city has now adopted modern regulations providing for competent supervision of this commonly used type of building construction. During the past few years the laws of numerous cities have been revised and generally with considerable consequent improvement. Several states have also enacted buildings laws or regulations applicable throughout the commonwealth. Prescribed standards of construction promulgated as federal regulations would be an excellent and most desirable means of obtaining country-wide structural betterments.

Boston for several years has been considering the extension of its fire limits and the prohibition of future frame construction which predominates in its suburbs. An extension of the fire limits was made last year; after having been in force only a short time the council voted to abolish the new limits, but this action was vetoed by the mayor. It may be presumed that after the Salem conflagration, the opposition in Boston to the new fire limits will find less argument to oppose them. Prior to 1912 the fire limits of Chicago covered about 40 per cent of the area within the city and in that year about 35 square miles were added to the territory. Recent proposals for further extensions advocate fire limits extending to the city boundaries.

Philadelphia and St. Louis are notable examples as having fire limits covering practically all sections of the city that are well built up. Frame structures are few and far between. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is in the same class.

Most American cities for some years to come are not likely to succeed in enacting a law prohibiting the use of wooden structural material, at

least in buildings up to four stories in height. However, Seattle has established a district which includes part of the congested value district, within which fire-proof construction is required and New Orleans has an inner section within the fire limits known as the fire-proof area, including about two-thirds of the congested business district, within which certain buildings of specified occupancy must be of this type of construction; several other cities have advocated restrictions of similar kind. The beneficial effect of such restriction will doubtless be seen in the next few decades. The hoped-for character of the fire-proof building as a conflagration break has been considerably discredited in two great conflagrations, and in the recent Edison fire; but it has also been shown that the American tall building is, in conflagrations, the innocent victim and not the aggressor. If conflagrations are not to involve the valuable fire-proofs, the latter must maintain a proper system of window protection.

OMAHA'S PERSONAL REGISTRATION LAW

BY JOHN EWING ORCHARD

Swarthmore College

POLITICAL intrigue and corruption of every kind have been common in the politics of Omaha and Douglas county, Nebraska.

At one time it was the usual thing for a band of floaters to be imported from a neighboring city to the river wards at every important election. The better citizens endeavored to clean up; but the interests in control of the public officials were too powerful and the efforts of the reformers bore little fruit. Finally a movement was started to bring relief from without. Due to the fact that Douglas county is by far the most densely populated county in the state, it has an important influence on the politics of Nebraska, for it is in Omaha that the gubernatorial or senatorial races are usually decided. For that reason, the citizens of even the most remote agricultural districts are interested in the manner of conducting elections in the state metropolis.

Accordingly, a bill changing the election system of Douglas county was introduced into the legislature in 1912 as a general act, but worded to apply only to the one county. It was passed in spite of the opposition of "the organization." The law itself was modelled after similar legislation in Oregon, Ohio, and New York.

The new law, sometimes known as the "Honest Election Law," has three features that distinguish it from the old law: The management of elections is placed in the hands of an election commissioner; registration is permanent, and a citizen may register any day in the year during the regular office hours.

The election commissioner is appointed by the governor for a term of two years and is subject to removal by him at any time for cause. The expense of his office is borne by the county. The commissioner has control of all the elections held in the county,—state, national, city, school district, and special, as well as the regular county elections. In his hands is placed the appointing of all necessary officials—judges, clerks, and office assistants. He also appoints as his personal representative in each voting precinct a deputy commissioner or inspector who has charge of the polling place on election day. All these officials are removable at his pleasure. All election supplies are ordered through the office of the commissioner and the ballots are returned to him after the election. The official canvass of the votes takes place in his office. The efficiency of the law, of course, depends primarily on the character of the election commissioner and the officials appointed by him.

Probably the most important feature of the new law is the change in the system of registration. Under the former law, three days were set aside each year for registration. The registrations were taken in the voting precincts by officials hired only for the occasion and therefore inexperienced. A voter could register in several precincts, if he so desired, with small chance of being detected. Only his name and address were taken and there was no organized system of checking up the registrations. At the end of a year, the registration expired and all the work had to be done over again.

With the enactment of the present election law, there came a change in the old order of things, as the political gangs soon found out. Registrations are taken every day in the year during the regular office hours at the office of the commissioner by experienced clerks. The registration is very complete. Not only are the voter's name and address taken, but also his birthplace, the length of time he has lived in precinct, county, and state, his party, a detailed personal description, his age, his occupation, and his signature. Four copies of each registration are made, one registration to a sheet, known as the original and duplicate registrations and the original and duplicate election registrations. The registrations for each precinct are bound in loose-leaf, locked ledgers. The original registration copy remains in the central office and the other three copies are for the use of the inspectors, judges, and clerks on election day. Thorough as this system is, there is still the opportunity for fraud. To eliminate this as far as possible, the inspectors, the officials who are in charge of the polls on election day, are sent out during the ten days preceding each election to investigate personally the new registrations. If a man cannot be found at the address he has given on his registration, he is challenged. This challenge stands and the man cannot vote unless he can produce an affidavit signed by himself and two duly registered voters of the precinct proving that he has told the truth regarding his place of

residence. Every two years, immediately before the general election, a complete census of the voters of each precinct is taken by the inspectors and the registration lists are checked with the census. In this way the registration records are kept up-to-date.

Finally, the registration is permanent. Until the voter moves from the precinct, his registration remains on the books. A removal automatically acts as a cancellation. The permanent registration saves money for the county and time and trouble for the voter. When a voter was required to register every year, many preferred to lose their votes. Now, with the permanent registration and a chance to register at any time, even the most indifferent citizens are taking an interest in the elections.

Many reform laws have seemed ideal in theory, but have proved to be failures in actual practice. The important question is how has the new election law worked in Douglas county. To begin with, the governor of the state was particularly fortunate in his selection of the first commissioner. In 1913 he appointed Harley G. Moorhead, an Omaha attorney, who organized the new department and is now in charge.

Perhaps the greatest recommendation of the reform is the storm of protest it has brought forth from the political bosses and gangsters. Not an election passes, but some ward-heeler, whose henchmen, temporarily residing in the city, have been turned away by the registration clerk, savagely denounces the reform methods. Threats of personal violence have even been made against election officials. The better class of citizens, republican and democrat, are unanimous in their support of Commissioner Moorhead.

A few figures may be interesting. On July 1, two years after the office of election commissioner was created, there were 30,000 voters registered in Omaha. In addition there were 5,000 on the records with challenges entered against their names. These challenges are for various reasons. Some are entered merely because a man has moved since registering; others are on account of mistakes or lack of information on the registrations; and still others are because of fraudulent registrations. In the two years that the office has existed, about 7,500 registrations have been challenged. Of this number, only about 500, or 7 per cent, have been removed. It is a significant fact that of the 5,000 challenges on the books at the present time, 2,300 are from the four wards considered as the machine wards, four of the smallest wards in the city. The four wards, containing a little over 20 per cent of the voters, have almost 50 per cent of the challenges.

As well as the system has worked, there remains one necessary addition. It is an addition already in force in New York City. There the keepers of all hotels and rooming houses are compelled by law to furnish to the election authorities before each election a sworn list of the guests

in their establishment together with the length of their residence. This list is used in checking up the registrations. An effort was made to pass such a law at the last session of the Nebraska legislature, but this time the politicians were on guard and, after the bill had unanimously passed the house, it was buried in a committee of the senate.

POLICE TELEPHONES IN NEW YORK CITY

BY HENRY JAY CASE¹

New York

WHEN a boy was lost in Peter Stuyvesant's time, the town crier clanged the warning through the lanes of Nieuw Amsterdam. To-day, the telephone speeds the alarm for lost boys, automobiles, murderers, thieves, over the length and breadth of Manhattan Island, and four other great boroughs as well, in less time than it took the town crier to get his staff and bell.

New York City is credited with being the most difficult city in the world to police. Its great area of land and water and its cosmopolitan population combined make it difficult to patrol. Some of the police precincts are larger than the biggest cities on the Atlantic coast. Some of them contain 250 miles of streets. The largest foot-post is two and one-half miles long. The largest bicycle post is 50 miles. Without electrical devices it would take an army corps to do so acceptably the work now performed by the small division of uniformed men.

Police telephone and flash-light lines completely wire the greater city, and the business transacted over this system is almost beyond belief. There are 6,000,000 connections made annually from the telephone bureau alone. Police headquarters is directly connected with all police courts, hospitals furnishing ambulance service, district attorney and coroner's office, public and semi-public institutions and every elevated and subway station as well as ferry stations.

An alarm raised in any precinct of the city may be immediately flashed to headquarters, and from there to each one of the 96 precincts of the city, and even beyond into the region of the suburban zone in a remarkably short space of time—less time, indeed, than it takes to record the fact on paper. Railroad stations may be covered, bridges closed and ferries watched in case it is necessary to shut the doors of escape across the Hudson to New Jersey, or over the East river or the upper bay to Brooklyn or Staten Island. All this is done by men of the uniformed force sitting before the switch-board at headquarters, and through them by the invisible fluid to the sharp-eyed detectives and patrolmen. But as good as it is, under the present administration each

¹ Of the New York Police Department.

meeting of the inspectors and the commissioner brings out the perfection of some detail, and a resultant steady improvement.

Notwithstanding the growing efficiency of this wonderful system of control, those wanted by the police not infrequently get away. Sometimes they slip through the first line of communications, to be picked up by the second. And again, they get by precinct lines, ferry and railroad terminals, only to be caught in the outlying suburban zones by police officers of another city or state.

Up to a short time ago, the system of communication consisted only of telephone lines from headquarters to precinct stations, and on to a limited number of posts in each precinct. These posts or "boxes," so called, were originally installed for the purpose of placing in the hands of the patrolman a direct wire to the lieutenant on his station-house desk. But when the patrolman had left his box, there was no way of calling him back until he returned to make his hourly report. The flash-light fills in this break in the connection. It is attached to the electric light posts on the street curb, and has five lenses. It may be seen in the day-time at a distance of 600 feet, and at night it is discernible nearly 2,000 feet. Attached to the same post is the iron "box" containing the telephone equipment. By turning a switch in the station-house, the lieutenant on the desk flashes the light on any post at intervals of four seconds. That light continues to flash until the officer wanted sees the call and goes to the telephone box and removes the receiver from the hook.

A citizen call-button is also attached to the "box," by means of which he may call an officer by merely pressing the button and lighting the lamp overhead, which throws a steady ray while the button is being pressed. Thus, by telephone and flash-light combined, all policemen on patrol are placed under the immediate supervision of the commanding officer at the station-house. He in turn is in direct communication with police headquarters and in case of an emergency the entire patrol force may be concentrated in a very short time.

The alarms at ferry houses, bridges and railroad terminals (flash-light and telephone) play a most important part in the interception of criminals, and the recovery of stolen property, particularly with the apprehension of automobile thieves and persons attempting to avoid arrest by trying to leave the jurisdiction of the city, is made possible although the fugitive may have a start of minutes and sometimes hours on his pursuers.

In the suburban sections of the city, such as the outlying districts of Queens, Brooklyn and Richmond, where the police stations are far apart, there has been established a system of police booths. In each booth, officers provided with a bicycle or motor cycle are stationed at all times. These booths have direct telephone connection with the station-house, also with the public exchange service. Booklets and

maps are distributed to the residents giving the telephone number and location of booths, and other important information.

By these means, the large number of patrolmen otherwise required to cover that great amount of territory is eliminated, and the resident is provided with means of calling an officer, even more quickly than if a thousand patrolmen were walking posts. It takes but a minute to call the police booth, and only another two or three minutes for the patrolman to respond on his wheel, his place being immediately filled by another man from the precinct house who is sent out to relieve him.

Police Commissioner Arthur Woods is a firm believer in this auxiliary electric service, because it not only increases the physical efficiency of the department, but as such immediately becomes a powerful moral hazard to the crook who is about to commit a crime, and is therefore one of the very best preventive facilities that the Department possesses.

For many years, about twice the number of men on patrol during the day were assigned to patrol the city at night. The day force required is now fully as large as the night. But at the present time, however, few commanding officers will go back to the old idea of doubling the night patrol, and the utilization of electrical devices is, in a large measure, responsible for the change.

AN INDUSTRIAL TENDENCY WHICH PROVIDES THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CITY PLANNER

BY THOMAS ADAMS ¹

Ottawa

IN "Satellite Cities"² we have an illuminating study of a modern tendency in industrial conditions in America—the tendency to remove industries from crowded centers to rural and semi-rural districts. It was precisely such a movement, among some of the great industrial concerns in England in the eighties, that formed one of the chief arguments that were used to secure the necessary public support to enable the first garden city to be established in that country. Fortunately for England two of the concerns which took part in this movement had at their heads men of great vision and statesmanlike qualities with the result that they took the opportunity which the transfer of their factories to spacious surroundings provided, to lay the foundations of two model industrial communities. The Bournville, of Messrs. Cadbury, and the Port Sunlight, of Messrs. Lever, both referred to in

¹Town Planning Expert, Canadian Commission of Conservation.

²Satellite Cities. By Graham Romeyn Taylor. New York: D. Appleton & Company. National Municipal League Series. \$1.50.

Mr. Taylor's work, became object lessons not only of the success which could attend industrial migration into comparatively rural areas, but also of the great value to the manufacturer of having healthy living conditions for his workers. There is paternalism in both schemes, but it is no more than is exercised in many American communities from more selfish motives, and in any event it is more than counterbalanced by the benefits which accrue to the citizens. Both schemes have been successful; they have retained all their original spaciousness and beauty, and they have that appearance of orderliness, architectural quality and social amenity which is unfortunately still lacking in those satellite cities of America which have their origin in industrial decentralisation. These two examples were largely responsible for the more democratic schemes that have since been carried out at Letchworth, Hampstead and elsewhere, and they were not without considerable influence on the British government in connection with the town planning legislation of 1909. Bournville and Port Sunlight have been specially successful because they possess those social qualities which, as Mr. Taylor deplors, are still lacking in the American industrial suburbs he describes. The chief source of trouble in the American examples of suburban development, even when planned and regulated on improved lines, is the absence of any control over land speculation. The desire to improve the homes of the workers must be strong enough to inspire those who have the power to create new industrial settlements to face the difficulties which have to be met in preventing gambling in real estate. When actually faced, these difficulties will be found to be less formidable than they appear, and, unless faced at the outset of each scheme, no real success can be possible. It is this difference in the motive underlying the paternalism of the American and English industrial suburbs of later years rather than in the fact of the presence or absence of paternalism that furnishes the chief difference between them.

There are parallel cases to Gary and Pullman in England, equally successful up to a point in maintaining a certain æsthetic standard, and equally unsuccessful after a period of time in securing any real improvement in the living conditions of the workers. Saltaire near Bradford is perhaps the most prominent example. It was founded by Sir Titus Salt with the same benevolent intentions as those which inspired the founder of Pullman, and it ended in the same way in leaving its founder disappointed and misunderstood. Perhaps in both cases the promoters were in advance of their time or were subject to unfortunate local circumstances, but in any case neither experiment can be cited as an example for others to follow. Of the more recent developments the absence of control over land speculation appears to be the chief cause of failure to get satisfactory results.

If, however, Mr. Taylor leaves the American reader somewhat disappointed with the measure of success which has so far attended these benevolent enterprises on this side, he has shown us that lessons are being learned and that a gradual improvement is taking place. The mere fact, which he proves, that decentralization of industry is going on, is in itself a matter for congratulation. It gives America the opportunity which England has been putting to good use for the past generation, to attack congestion and land monopoly by a flank movement from the outside. As systems of transportation improve, the centrifugal tendency will be encouraged, and, as it develops, the pressure in the centres will become more and more relieved. Until this relief takes place, the carrying out of reconstruction schemes like Mr. Burnham's for Chicago will be more or less impracticable. That is one reason why it is of greater urgency to plan and control suburban development than to prepare re-planning schemes for central areas. Preparation should be made at once to control these new developments as they occur, to secure the proper planning of the areas likely to be built upon, to lessen the evils of speculation in land, and to secure co-operation between cities and adjacent municipal areas. State legislation to give the necessary power to effect this control is the most urgent need in America to-day in connection with any question relating to civic improvement.

As Mr. Taylor says, "While we spend years in reconstructing civic centers only to have our schemes stalled by costly obstructions of brick and mortar and suspended by condemnation proceedings, city extension as a process is going on every week and every month on the edges of our cities." That sentence is both a criticism of and a challenge to American city planners, who have been somewhat slow in realizing the urgency and importance of planning suburban areas. If proof of this urgency is needed it will be found in the work under review, and even in the bare figures given on page 5 which show that whereas the increase of workers in thirteen large cities was only 40.8 per cent in ten years it was 97.7 per cent in the surrounding zones during the same period; and this "sweeping current" is surely only the beginning of a movement which will be accelerated by every improvement in systems of transportation and every increase in the pressure of taxation in the central areas.

The satellites of Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis illustrate what Mr. Taylor rightly says is a "general failure to bring city planning to bear where it will count for most," namely, in the expanding suburbs of the great cities. This is his principal message and he delivers it with all the greater emphasis because he has understated rather than overstated his case. The parenthetical chapter by Miss Jane Addams dealing with the paternalism of Pullman and entitled "A Modern Lear" is of course good reading, although I think it would have been more appropriately included as an appendix, as, for my part, I should have preferred to

have followed Mr. Taylor's practical argument straight through without a break.

This book is timely. It is a clear and judicial statement of a case which needed presentation and it should be closely studied by every town and city planner. The appendices contain interesting comments and give an added value to the book. Perhaps the most significant communication is that of Mr. Bush, president of the Bush terminal company, New York, who refers to what is certain to be a potent cause of industrial decentralization in the future, namely, the planning of suburban factory areas adjoining union terminal depots of railway companies. Schemes of this kind have been successfully promoted in several large cities, *e.g.*, its success in St. Paul has led to the planning of a similar depot in Minneapolis. We are only at the beginning of developments of this character on this continent and it is because we are at the beginning that there is urgency in dealing with the problem.

The accumulation of town and city planning literature makes it difficult for students of the subject to select what is most helpful and informing. As one who is forced to make a selection and has read every word of Mr. Taylor's book, I am glad to recommend it as worthy of careful study by every one interested in civic improvement, and particularly by those who are engaged in the practice of city planning.

THE DEFEATED NEW YORK CONSTITUTION¹

BY WALTER T. ARNDT²

New York City

THE defeat of the proposed constitution in New York State last November represents a lost opportunity for the people of the state to accept an instrument of government vastly superior to the one they are living under. This statement may be contradicted; but no student or expert in government or administrative efficiency and no man who has kept abreast of the times and understands the lines along which progress is being made to make our forms of government fit new conditions and meet new demands, has any doubt on the subject.

The proposed constitution did not go nearly so far in many directions as men who have been devoting themselves to governmental reform could have wished. It did not include many provisions that have come to be considered, in greater or less degree, essential to a proper reform of the machinery of local and state government. It left many things undone

¹ See article by Prof. Charles A. Beard on "The New York Constitutional Convention." NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 637.

² Secretary of the Municipal Government Association of New York.

that most publicists and students of government heartily hoped would be done. It was a foregone conclusion that no constitution that could be drafted would please everyone. Probably no one expected such a result. Necessarily there had to be an adjustment of differences of opinion to meet the wide divergence of views among members of the convention as well as among those groups of citizens, organized and unorganized, outside of the convention, who had specific proposals for reforms which they hoped to see incorporated in the completed instrument. As a result many of the provisions bore the marks of compromise. To the uncompromising radical, as well as to the equally uncompromising reactionary, such adjustments appeared to be enough to damn the whole document. To those who recognize that almost all progress and reform has been the result of compromise the completed constitution represented a logical and natural "next step forward." To them it promised a real improvement over existing conditions and an advanced ground from which future progress would be less difficult.

Had the constitution been defeated by a narrow majority or even had the majority against it been under 100,000 votes, it might do to analyze the instrument section by section and endeavor to discover in what respects if at all this adverse majority might have been turned into an affirmative majority. But with a majority of more than 400,000 votes cast against it, the application of any such analytical method would be a mere waste of time. It is clear that the defeat of the constitution was not so much due to what it included or to what it did not include, as to certain conditions and factors that only indirectly and secondarily were determined by the constitution as submitted.

An examination of these conditions brings to light certain facts that are well to bear in mind whenever and wherever a similar attempt to revise or reconstruct the machinery of a state government is attempted. These facts have an added significance for the reason that the total number of votes cast on the constitution probably exceeded in number the votes cast at any previous referendum in American history. They have an added interest because the constitution was not submitted as a partisan document and, as the result showed, the division of sentiment was not along party lines. What then were the elements in the defeat of a constitution framed by some of the keenest and best trained minds in American public life, a constitution which admittedly was an unusually satisfactory product of constructive statesmanship, a constitution which was probably the most progressive ever submitted as a whole to any large body of American electors?

A glance backward in the history of New York State is necessary to bring to view the political background which had an important influence on the result. The constitutional convention of 1894 was contrived by the Democratic party. Presumably safely entrenched in power, they

submitted the proposition for the constitution and it was adopted. The convention elected in 1893, however, was very largely Republican in its make-up. Republicans controlled the body and the Democratic delegates left the convention refusing to sign the instrument and thereafter opposed it at the polls. It was carried in the fall of 1894 by a majority of 83,295 in a total vote of 738,099.

That constitution, still remaining in force, provided that the question of a revised constitution should be submitted to the electors in 1916, or earlier if the legislature so determined. The Progressive movement of 1912, with its emphasis on constitution reform, brought up the subject somewhat earlier. The Democrats, after being out of power almost continuously for sixteen years, were again in control of the legislature and the state government. Expecting to take advantage of the Progressive schism they had the question of a revision of the constitution submitted to the electors of the state in the spring of 1914. There was very little discussion of the matter in any part of the state. The strong Republican counties showed, with few exceptions, majorities of from two to five to one against the question. An unexpected vote in New York City, however, in response to Democratic organization "orders" carried the day for the proposal. But the total vote cast was pitifully small. Out of 1,781,712 registered electors, only a little over 310,000 voted on the proposition which was carried by a margin of 1,353 votes.

Irregularities in the count in New York City resulted in judicial proceedings in the course of which it developed that approximately one thousand votes recorded for the proposal were fraudulent. It has always been contended by those who were familiar with the situation that many more could have been proven fraudulent had it not been for a decision of the court of appeals which virtually estopped the proceedings.

The "demand" then for a revision of the constitution was voiced by only 153,000 voters in the state. This fact has an important bearing on the result of the referendum on the completed constitution. It is clear, therefore, at the start that there was no widespread or organized advocacy of a general revision of the constitution. Whatever some people may have thought respecting the necessity for constitutional changes—and doubtless there were many thousands who did believe and still do believe in that necessity—there was certainly a very small proportion of the electorate who felt that a general over-hauling of the basic law was required. There could be no other explanation of the fact that only about 8½ per cent of the registered voters held this view with sufficient conviction to cast a favorable vote in favor of such a revision.

Attempts were made to provide through the legislature a method by which candidates for delegates to the convention might be chosen at the primaries and at the general election on a non-partisan basis; but both parties looked with distrust on such a plan and it was defeated. When

the time came for the election of delegates the political pendulum had begun to swing back. As a result the Republican delegates-at-large were chosen by an average majority of approximately 100,000 votes and the Republicans, and not the Democrats, elected a large majority of the district delegates thereby insuring that whatever revision was done would be done by a convention under Republican control. This, however, as events proved, did not mean that the Republican party as such was committed to a revision in which it had shown little interest and to the proposal for which it had probably contributed a majority of the votes in opposition.

Both Republicans and Democrats had nominated able men for membership in the convention. Both had adopted platforms setting forth certain things which they declared ought to be included in a constitutional revision. How many of these proposals were advocated for political effect it is hard to say. Certainly, the result seems to indicate that some of them were of that character. For, as the campaign subsequently showed, it was not the proposals which were first voiced in the convention itself that were most violently attacked in the revised constitution, but proposals for which both political parties in state convention had declared their advocacy. A large proportion of the electors who had been stirred in greater or less degree by the reforms in social and governmental methods during the past few years, were convinced that little or nothing in the way of progressive constructive statesmanship could be expected of the convention. The strongest group in the Republican majority was made up of men of wide repute in the state and in the nation. But whether these delegates came from New York City or from the up state cities they were recognized as lawyers—"corporation lawyers" they were usually called—of a conservative stamp. Few of them had been interested in any movement of a progressive nature in the past. The same was true of the Democratic delegates, who naturally divided themselves into two groups. The first group consisted of a number of influential lawyers who were or had been closely connected with great public service corporations. The second consisted of an active group of younger men, most of whom had won prominence in Tammany Hall or in the legislature.

Looking at the make-up of the convention, therefore, the average voter, who had hoped any revision might embody certain progressive principles, felt that he had absolutely nothing to hope for from anything it might produce.

The convention met in April. Almost three months was consumed in what to the man who was not closely following the convention seemed to be merely an attempt to get under way. A large number of proposals were submitted to the convention. The newspapers, devoting a considerable part of their space to the European war, had little to record or

little to say editorially, in fact could say but little of what was really being done in organization of the committees and the consideration of the scope and character of the proposed revision. They did, however, take the opportunity to chronicle the introduction of a vast number of fantastic or reactionary proposals. Their readers early got the notion that the convention was doing nothing, or that what it would do eventually was to bear some resemblance to the sort of propositions which were submitted to it. They were in error, but there was no one to correct the error and the impression remained. An electorate alive to a demand for a revision would have looked farther than this but an electorate whose interest had not been aroused simply did not take the trouble to find out. Democrats generally, disappointed at being unable to control the convention, were inclined to see nothing good in it and rather expected that it would be made a Republican party measure which they could safely vote against when it was submitted.

Machine politicians of both parties, who had accepted with equanimity the demands for the short ballot, budgetary reform and reorganization of state departments and municipal home rule, when they were submitted merely as platform propositions, suddenly awakened to a realization that these reforms put into practice would increase the demand for efficient public servants and thereby decrease the opportunity for the use of public office as patronage. Long before the convention adjourned, the machine politicians of both great parties, therefore, were pretty generally lined up against it.

The Progressives, starting with the idea that nothing was to be expected from the convention, passed through a period when they began to be disappointed that it was really accomplishing so much, and ended by being hopelessly divided in advocacy or opposition, according as to whether they were willing to subordinate their party advantage to the accomplishment of real results or not.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is probable that no convention ever met for which so much intelligent preparation had been made. All over the state groups of men interested in constitutional reforms had been working for months studying the needs of the situation and trying to formulate definite proposals to remedy abuses or meet new conditions. There had been general discussion of constitutional problems in newspapers and in conferences and conventions. Organizations like the Academy of political science, the Bureau of municipal research, the state and local bar associations, the City club of New York, Citizens union, and Young Republican club of New York, the Municipal government association, Civil service reform association and the State conference of mayors, had had special committees at work on the subject months before the convention met. The labor unions met and formulated their demands. The state granges considered various prop-

positions, and an "agricultural conference" made definite proposals for constitutional reform. Engineering bodies were active in studying propositions that entailed a reorganization of the state's public works policy and administration.

This, then, was the situation, when the convention adjourned on September 11 and submitted the result of its labors to the people.

Two points are important to bear in mind in this connection. One is the date of adjournment; the other is the form in which the constitution was submitted. The present constitution which consists of 154 sections is considerably longer than the average state constitution. The convention made it longer. While the greatest and most fundamental changes were incorporated in entirely new articles or sections, there were many lesser changes scattered throughout the constitution. Many of these were merely verbal or rearrangements of old material. As a matter of fact, 74 sections remained wholly unchanged and a majority of the remaining sections were changed only in some minor and comparatively unimportant detail. Nevertheless, the substantive changes and new matter were really of considerable length. When printed in black-faced type as new portions of the revised constitution, they appeared to be much more extensive than they really were. Unimportant and superficial as this factor may seem, it nevertheless contributed to the result by giving the voter who attempted to study the new constitution by himself the idea that very little of the old constitution remained and that in voting for the new he was voting for a complete change in the state's basic law. This frightened many voters away. They complained with some justice that they had not time to get an understanding of such a far-reaching revision. Those who were provided with means whereby they might acquire such an understanding, probably as a general rule, supported it. Those who were frightened away from it by the extent of its proposed changes or by inability of themselves to understand it, voted against it.

There remained after the adjournment but six weeks in which to acquaint the electors of the state with the extent of the changes and their meaning. As a matter of fact the active campaign for its adoption was scarcely under way a month before election day. A "committee for the adoption of the constitution" was organized to carry on a non-partisan campaign in its favor. This committee, consisting of some of the leading men of the state, with Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., as chairman and Judge Alton B. Parker as vice chairman, distributed over 2,000,000 pamphlets explaining and advocating the revised constitution. Local committees were formed; meetings were held throughout the state. Three-fourths of the daily newspapers urged their readers to support the constitution. But the time was too short. Three months would have been little enough time in which to accomplish such a difficult task.

Assuming that the average voter will not vote for a proposition that he does not understand, even if he has a high regard for the opinions of the men who framed it, the proportion of electors who voted against the constitution merely because they did not have the time or opportunity to find out for themselves what was in it, must have contributed very largely to its overwhelming defeat.

Closely related to the shortness of time as an element in its defeat, it must be admitted, was the form in which the constitution was submitted. Had it been submitted as a series of amendments to the existing constitution or had the important articles been separately submitted as revised, there would have been a strong possibility that some if not all of them would have been approved. Here again the shortness of time would have rendered the campaign difficult; but it is certain that the policy of the convention, however logical and reasonable, in submitting the constitution practically as a whole resulted in much opposition which might have been focused on specific amendments.

Many people who acknowledged that the constitution contained many valuable constructive proposals, nevertheless opposed it because it contained some single thing to which they objected. To them the inclusion of this one objectionable proposal—or in some instances the omission of something they desired—justified them in opposing the whole instrument. They were not ready to forego their own advantage or subordinate their feelings in regard to a single defect in order that the people as a whole might have a better constitution. Had the various articles been separately submitted their objections could have been very largely met. They could have voted against the particular thing which they objected to and could have given their support to other reforms which they approved. Why, then, it may be asked, realizing that such a pooling of interests in opposition might have been avoided, did not the convention submit the various articles separately? The answer is that the framers of the new constitution considered that their work represented a coherent and systematic attempt to make the government of the state more responsible, more representative and more efficient and that they believed its submission in separate articles would result, if some proposals were adopted and others failed, in a disjointed and unworkable governmental structure.

The defenders of the constitution thus found themselves in the position of a prize fighter who enters the ring and issues a challenge to all comers to meet him at one and the same time. Naturally, he is set upon from all sides and many of the blows he receives are "under the belt." However logical the attitude of the convention in submitting the constitution as a whole instead of as separate articles, it is certain that this method had the disadvantage of attracting the opposition to the whole constitution of men who were really opposed to only one or two things in it.

Although, as has been pointed out, it was not so much what the constitution contained or did not contain that brought about its defeat, as it was due to other factors of a political and social character, all predicated on the underlying fact that there was no real demand for a revision of the constitution, anyway, nevertheless, the elements that were lined up against the constitution are worthy of some consideration in any survey of the forces that led to the overwhelming defeat.

In the first place, politicians of all parties were against it. They were against it because they disbelieve in efficiency in government when that efficiency means, as it almost always does, a cutting down of the party patronage, and an elevation of the qualifications necessary for office holders. They were against it because it tended to consolidate offices; they were against it because it tended to fix responsibility, which no politician enjoys; they were against it because it tended to bring the government out into the open, when they would rather have it do its work in the dark; they were against it because political machines through habit have always favored a government that is invisible rather than one that is visible. Secondly, the state office holders were against the proposition, their objection, like almost all of the other objections, being a selfish one; they did not want to see the state government made more efficient and more responsible if that efficiency and responsibility entailed a consolidation of departments and an elimination of waste and duplicated effort.

Thirdly, the municipal civil servants were against the constitution. Their opposition was based on a fear of municipal home rule. Heretofore, municipal office holders have seldom gone so far as openly to oppose the principle of municipal home rule, however much they may have opposed it in secret. The fight on the constitution brought them out in the open. It brought together on the same plane not only the policemen and firemen and street cleaners and office clerks, but the school teachers. All made common cause in opposition to a proposal which would enable cities to be the masters of their own employees and control their own payrolls. These civil servants have formed the habit of going to the state legislature when they want anything done. To their minds this method had these advantages: In the first place, the civil servants of one city could count on the support of organizations of other civil servants of the same class in other cities. A proposal advocated by the policemen of Buffalo could almost always rally to its support the policemen of Rochester, Syracuse, Albany, and New York City. In the second place, this habit found favor with the civil servants because they could operate in the legislature as a general thing with less danger of publicity for their methods, than if they had to seek the same thing from a local legislature. This opposition of the civil servants to the municipal home rule in the New York constitution indicated the growth of a class feeling among municipal employees

which is certainly one of the most dangerous menaces to efficient municipal government.

It is especially disquieting to find the school teachers, on whom devolves so much of the duty of teaching the rising generation a proper conception of good citizenship, making common cause with and descending to the level of those who, to use the words of Croker, are "working for their own pockets all the time." It is well that this opposition has been disclosed as clearly as it has been in this campaign. It ought to be possible to remove this menace by proving that there is no danger in having the control of municipal office holders vested in the government of the community which they serve.

The labor unions were against the constitution. Their state organization submitted a great many proposals to the convention. These were introduced in the regular way and referred to the appropriate committees. Some of them demanded that certain portions of the constitution be left unchanged; others demanded radical constitutional changes. Practically half of these requests were agreed to. No other class or group of the state's population received a favorable response to so many of its demands. Yet, because they did not get all that they asked for, they decided to oppose the whole constitution. Their chief opposition was due to the fact that there was not removed from the constitution a provision conferring certain powers on military tribunals which has been in every constitution of the state for almost a century, which has never heretofore proved in the least dangerous and which nobody until very recently, had thought might be dangerous.

These constituted the chief elements actively opposed to the constitution. But there were others that are worthy of notice. Organizations of sportsmen were led to oppose the constitution largely through misstatements which made them fear that they were to be restricted in their shooting or fishing privileges. Opposition among the granges was fostered on the old argument that the short ballot undermined the representative character of government. Many radicals opposed the constitution because it did not provide for the initiative, referendum and recall and because they apparently believed in good faith that were this constitution defeated another convention would be held in a few years which would be more radical.

The Republican state committee formally endorsed the proposed constitution. Their action was little more than a form due to the urging of Republican leaders who believed that the work of a Republican controlled convention meant Republican responsibility. As events showed it met with little response. Democrats remained, on the surface, neutral. As a matter of fact, they were hostile. No public action was taken by them, but some influential Tammany delegates who had voted for most of the articles, and signed the document, believing they saw political

advantage in the constitution's defeat, eventually came out against it. The day before election the Tammany organization, without public explanation, sent to every enrolled Democrat a ballot showing how to vote against the constitution. This move was more effective than any number of high-sounding resolutions.

The opportunity lost in November does not mean that everything that was accomplished by the convention is lost. There is little chance that the electors will vote favorably on the proposal to hold another convention, which must be submitted next fall. Their adverse vote last November was not so much in opposition to the revision submitted, as it was an indication that no thorough revision is demanded. Many of the great constructive reforms embodied in the defeated instrument are certain to be submitted as separate amendments in the near future. And it is more than likely that when the voters of the state have an opportunity to pass on separate proposals for a state budget, or state reorganization or municipal home rule, their affirmative response will be clear and unmistakable.

The fact that the women's suffrage amendment was voted on at the same time as the proposed constitution unquestionably increased the size of the vote on the latter. Oddly enough, judging from a survey of the returns, it probably increased the majority against it. The granting of votes to women was a proposition on which most men had definitely made up their minds one way or the other and were ready to express their opinion by their votes. Yet thousands of these same men had formed no definite notion as to the more complex problems involved in a vote on the constitution. In this frame of mind thousands who were convinced so far as suffrage is concerned but who would ordinarily not have voted for a constitution one way or the other that they were not ready to favor definitely, followed a natural inclination and cast their votes against the constitution.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Charter Revisions.—*Attacks on the Commission Plan.* The first principle of commission government, the unity of powers, still has a fight to maintain itself. *Spokane, Wash.*, succeeded at the election on November 2 in defeating two amendments. One would have made the corporation counsel and the other the comptroller, elective officers. The administration of the corporation counsel had been unpopular owing to what was popularly regarded as his excessive compensation under a contract of services entered into with the commission. An amendment to reduce the salaries of the commissioners from \$5,000 to \$3,600 was successful. A well-informed local correspondent says: "It is probable that the commission form will receive a severe strain as the result of this election, since we have failed for the first time to get unusually capable commissioners. This was the third attempt in five years, and it was the more serious in that the proposals were masked. We won out by pounding it in that the amendments were really aimed at its destruction."

On the same day as the *Spokane* election, the people of *Salem, Mass.*, adopted Plan B, that is the old federal form of municipal government, under the optional city government law to supersede the commission plan which has been in force under a special law since 1912. The reasons for this change the writer has been informed are:

"The compelling sentiment lay in the fact that as a result of the *Salem* conflagration it became necessary this year either to increase the tax rate by at least 33 per cent or to increase the valuations throughout the part of the city which was

not burned. The assessors found that the valuations in the city had been very much lower than the actual value of the property, and went through the entire city reversing valuations.

"This, in itself, aroused great indignation on the part of the people whose pocketbooks were affected; and, added to that was the fact that the assessors were very untactful in handling complaints, and the city council, for a time at least, was apparently backed up the assessors. A few days after the tax bills went out the disgruntled element started a petition for the adoption of the new charter, and over one thousand voters signed it in two or three days, seeing in this the opportunity of reaching the assessors."

Lynn, Mass., turned down precisely the same proposition, on the same day, leaving to *Salem* the distinction of having been the first and only city in the United States to abandon the commission form.

The city manager plan continues to receive accessions. *Watertown, N. Y.*, on November 2 adopted Plan C under the optional city government law by a vote of 2488 to 1891; *Portsmouth, Va.*, also adopted the plan. A new charter of this type was also adopted in *Albion, Mich.*, on November 9, the vote being 601 for to 281 against.

Richmond, Va., has one of the most complicated charters of any city in America. In addition to a bi-cameral legislative body, the voters elect a treasurer, commissioner of revenue, city sergeant, sheriff, collector of taxes, high constable, chancery court clerk, city circuit court clerk, law and equity court clerk, mayor, and an administrative board. The mayor appoints no one but a stenographer;

the administrative board appoints all the institutional, public utility and engineering officers; the bi-cameral council appoints all the fiscal, public safety, and legal officers. The superintendent of schools is appointed by the state board of education.

That this system is thoroughly unsatisfactory appears to be universally admitted, for both the City Council and the civic association have appointed committees to study the problem of a new charter. The city manager idea seems to be in the air but none of the interested parties appear to be reconciled to a complete simplification of the city government. The latest step on the part of the council committee is to adopt a resolution recommending that the legislature be asked to pass a bill allowing a judge of the hustings court to appoint a charter commission.

It should be borne in mind, however, in Virginia cities are for most political purposes not included with the counties of which they are a part. County officers are, therefore, to a considerable extent duplicated in cities.

Passing of the New England Town Meeting. After 175 years of continuous existence as an incorporated town, the citizens of Leomister, according to the Worcester, Mass., *Gazette*, changed its form of government on November 2 and adopted a city charter. A total of 1,264 voted in favor and 1,123 against a change. The new charter will take effect immediately, a city election being held the third Tuesday in December.

From general statements made by prominent citizens of this town, a change has been thought desirable on account of the increase of population, and the need of a new form of management of town affairs.

H. S. GILBERTSON.

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Preferential Voting.—In *Spokane*, Mayor Fassett was widely known from his election by the preferential ballot during his absence from the city out of a list of 92 candidates for the city council. Later chosen mayor by the council he was re-

elected on November 2. He made no contest whatever but simply attended to his duties as mayor. His margin, though slight, was sufficient. The number of candidates of whom he was one of three chosen, was 36. He is the first mayor to be re-elected in twenty years in that city.

In *Cleveland*, the preferential ballot enabled the clearly predominant sentiment of the voters to prevail over the minority. Peter Witt, the highly progressive candidate—more progressive it appears than the city was ready for—had a comfortable plurality in first choice votes, but was defeated by the second and other choice votes accumulating behind his chief opponent. There were six candidates in the field.

Recent results in Spokane and Cleveland fulfil the expectations of the more thoughtful advocates of the preferential ballot that in large cities it will for some years at least be unusual for any candidate to prove sufficiently widely and favorably known, purely on his own personal merits, to secure the support of a majority of those who express first choices. It may be well to state once more that the preferential ballot is advocated merely as the safest and simplest known means for protecting, in the choice of public officials, the majority interest against machine, special or too advanced interests. It cannot, of course, insure a majority for the winning candidate—no system of voting can do so in any but a factitious sense—but it probably offers a greater likelihood than any other known practicable procedure that the winner will be of a type reflecting the majority sentiment of the community.

It should not be overlooked that the explanation of the confessedly good results in Grand Junction which the opposition offered in the recent campaign, namely, that there has been such an abundance of good candidates, is evidence in support of the familiar argument in behalf of the preferential ballot, that the elimination of the primary and the introduction of the preferential system together operate strongly to induce candidates of high grade to stand for office.

Since the last report in these columns the number of American cities which have adopted the preferential ballot, has increased to 48 with a total (1910) population of 2,514,260. The cities to be added to the list¹ are:

Population 1910	
1915, Bradley Beach, N. J.....	1,807
1915, Irvington, N. J.....	11,877
1915, Paterson, N. J.....	125,600
1915, Asbury Park, N. J.....	10,150
1915, Bayonne, N. J.....	55,545
1915, New Brunswick, N. J.....	23,388
1914, Columbus, Ohio.....	181,548
1915, Toledo, Ohio.....	168,497

In Columbus, it should be noted that the system is applied only to offices for which only one candidate is to be chosen, these being the offices of mayor, city attorney and auditor. For some reason it was locally considered that election of several from a group as in Spokane, by the preferential ballot, was not expedient. For these offices they quite unnecessarily clung to the double election system.—

LEWIS J. JOHNSON.

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Street Railway Decisions at the Polls.—

The month of November, 1915, was notable in the struggle for the settlement of long-standing street railway controversies. Detroit voted on a municipal ownership plan, and Toledo and Des Moines voted on franchise-renewal plans.

The *Detroit* plan was recommended by the street railway commission appointed by Mayor Marx to carry out the municipal ownership mandate given by the voters in April, 1913. This commission is composed of three extremely able business men. Two of them, James Couzens and John F. Dodge, belong to the new Detroit group of "gasoline millionaires." Couzens was for a dozen years the financial wizard of the Ford motor company, but has recently withdrawn from the active management of that concern. The Detroit campaign of 1915 was full of local excitement and general significance.

(1) It presented to the voters for the first time in any large American city a

definite and concrete plan for the immediate municipalization of the entire local street railway system.

(2) It offered an opportunity to institute municipal ownership on a large scale under a commission of the highest type of business ability appointed for indefinite terms and given practically complete responsibility for the administrative success of the project.

(3) It offered a plan by which a great street railway system could be acquired without immediate cash payment, with only a moderate encumbering of the city's credit and with the promise that the entire cost of the system and its future extensions could be paid out of net earnings at rates of fare much lower than the standard rate charged in most American cities.

(4) It put to the test the constructive genius of a city electorate which has long been struggling for freedom to initiate its own policies and decide its own destinies.

The result was defeat and more confusion. The street railway commission, when it took up the problem of municipal ownership two years ago, had its choice among three methods of procedure: (a) It could institute condemnation proceedings against the Detroit united railway, which, if approved by a unanimous jury, could enable the city to acquire the entire local street railway system by paying for it in spot cash; (b) It could proceed to drive the D. U. R. out of the city, street by street and block by block, where and as its franchises expired, and gradually build up an independent city system, with the certainty of litigation, double fares, incomplete service and disjointed operation at least until December, 1924, when the franchises of the three-cent lines fall in; (c) It could attempt to purchase the D. U. R. lines within the one-fare zone by agreement. The commission chose the third course and employed Professor Bemis to make a valuation. As was natural under the complex conditions, it proved to be impossible for the commission to agree with the company on the fair value of the property. It may be stated generally that street railway officials *never could, even if they wished, agree*

¹ NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, pp. 483, 484.

directly to sell the property of their stockholders and bondholders at a price which a city could afford to pay. The result in Detroit was an agreement to leave the fair value, all things considered, to the determination of the six judges of the Wayne circuit court after the city had taken possession of the property and commenced to operate it. The city probably could not have hoped for a more favorable tribunal for the arbitration of the price. But most of the active leaders of the old municipal ownership committee campaigned against the Couzens contract on the ground that it was a "blank check" or "pig-in-the-poke" scheme.

Two questions were submitted—first, the contract itself, which would require a three-fifths affirmative vote for its approval; and second, a modification of the municipal ownership charter provisions to adapt them for the execution of this particular plan, such modification requiring a majority vote only. The contract was defeated by an adverse majority of 3,162 and the charter amendment was carried by a favorable majority of 121. The result appears to be the defeat of the purchase plan and the cutting away of the means by which the street railway commission could proceed with any other plan.

The results of the referenda taken in Detroit in recent years on big street railway issues are interesting as shown by the following table of votes cast for and against the several propositions:

Proposition	Year	Votes for	Votes against
Codd-Hutchins settlement franchise.....	1906	14,411	30,978
Thompson-Hutchins settlement franchise.....	1911	22,246	30,651
Municipal ownership charter amendment.....	1913	40,531	9,542
Modification of municipal ownership charter amendment.....	1915	32,739	32,618
Street Railway commission's purchase contract	1915	32,514	35,676

About the only safe conclusion to be drawn from these election returns is that the people of Detroit do not like the D. U. R.

In Toledo a 25-year franchise which professed to keep the door open for municipal ownership and to provide for the fixing of fares upon the basis of cost of service, with seven-tickets-for-a-quarter as a maximum rate, was defeated by a vote of 15,565 for, 21,781 against the proposed franchise. The wise editor of the *Electric Railway Journal* made a wry face and remarked that apparently Detroit would have accepted this Toledo franchise. He does not know Detroit, and his conclusion ignores the fact that the Detroit purchase plan was bitterly opposed by most of the original, no-compromise municipal ownership men. Detroit appears to be in favor of municipal ownership, but opposed to anything that the D. U. R. wants or will agree to take.

The Des Moines franchise, which was submitted to the electors on November 29, is in itself more important than the Detroit and Toledo measures, for it was approved by a vote of 7,787 to 1,883, and is now, for weal or woe, the charter of privileges of the Des Moines city railway company, with a prospective life of 25 years. Space will not permit an analysis of this franchise, but it should be noted that Des Moines approved this measure out of sheer weariness of conflict. The streets were clean of franchise rights, by decision of the Iowa Supreme Court; but the Iowa legislature had not granted to cities the right to own and operate street railways nor prescribed the procedure by which municipal ownership could be brought about. The company was theoretically helpless, but the necessity that the service be continued and the city's legal inability to serve itself were trump cards in the company's hands. The franchise is elaborate without being altogether sound. On the essential matter, capital value, the company seems to have won a substantial victory.



New Orleans Electric Lighting Victory.
—Nothing has happened in New Orleans for some years of more general and lasting importance than the settlement in November of the two-years' controversy between the commission and the New Orleans

railway and light company, resulting in a complete victory for the city, which has secured everything for which it was contending, and more than it expected in the beginning of the negotiations. Electric light and power rates, of which this company had held a monopoly for a number of years, and which were abnormally high, have been radically cut, and the contract for the city lighting for the next ten years will be upon a basis more favorable to the city than any previous contract of this sort.

The city will no longer, as in the past, pay the larger proportion of the cost of installing street lights which become the property of the company upon the expiration of the contract, leaving the municipality helpless to bring in effective competition when it is ready to form its new contract. Under the new contract, the company pays all installation expense, but when the contract expires the city will have the option of redeeming that of the last five years at cost less depreciation. A new lighting system will be installed in the business and main residence streets, at a total estimated cost of \$160,000, municipal lighting and power bills will be cut 22 per cent, small commercial power bills 20 per cent, and residence and commercial lighting bills over 30 per cent, on an average, by the new rates, which went into effect December 1, 1915, and, on a basis of 1914 consumption, will reduce the revenues for 1916 by \$253,882. It is confidently expected, however, that there will be a marked increase in consumption as soon as the reduction in rates is felt, and the public realizes the advantages of the new basis of rating, which is far simpler than the "maximum demand" and "connected load" basis heretofore in use.

Credit for the successful settlement of both the city's contract and the rates for the general public is due to Commissioner of Public Property E. E. Lafaye, to whom the matter was turned over by the commission in November, 1913, when the company, a subsidiary of the American cities company, controlled by the United gas and electric engineering corporation, and financed by Bertron, Griscom, and Company of New York, applied for a re-

newal of the ten-year contract. Commissioner Lafaye took the stand that no contract would be signed which placed the city at a disadvantage, nor considered unless the rates to the general public were first adjusted to meet the complaints that they were higher than similar rates in other places served by the same and other companies. He refused to discuss rates upon any other basis than cost of service, and as the representatives of the American cities company continually endeavored to base their pleas for a continuance of rates, which they admitted to be too high, upon the alleged necessity of paying interest upon their capitalization, the negotiations were twice broken off, and the city made a serious investigation of the feasibility of constructing a municipal plant to supply its own needs and serve the public in competition with the existing corporation. For this purpose it secured the services of Frederick W. Ballard of Cleveland, Ohio; but the surrender of the company in August, and its offer to simplify and reduce its rates to meet the requirements of the city, and to throw open its books to the inspection of the Commissioner of Public Property and his committee of experts and two local engineers from the municipal staff, made the construction of a city electric plant needless. At the end of the investigation, which took in every phase of the company's electric light and power department, the committee reported that in view of local conditions of area, climate, and industrial conditions, a municipal plant in competition with the existing company could not offer more advantageous rates than the block system of 7, 6, 5, and 4 cents per kilowatt hour, with a service charge of 25 cents, proposed by the company.

To the diplomacy, tact, and patience of Commissioner Lafaye is due the successful settlement of this matter upon a basis which fixes the policy of the city toward the public service corporation upon a new plane. It is significant that the officials of the lighting company have publicly acknowledged his fairness and declared themselves ready to accept him as an arbiter in any case of dispute with the

public. Until their surrender last summer, every possible political and financial wire was pulled to gain their end, and there were crises in the negotiations when only the personal determination of one man stood between the corporation and its purpose.

ETHEL HUTSON.



Chicago Commission on the Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities.—The Illinois legislature in 1913 passed an act providing for a state public utilities commission. This act placed the control and regulation of municipal public utilities in the hands of the state commission and practically divested and took from the Chicago council all essential and necessary powers for local control and regulation of municipal public service enterprises. Considerable effort has been made during the present year to have the legislature restore to Chicago the power of local home rule and control of its public utilities, but without avail.

It is felt that the action of the legislature withholds from Chicago control over public services of vital importance to the community, and deprives the city council of powers which it should properly possess as a responsible representative body.

At the municipal election held April 7, 1914, a public policy proposition was submitted to the voters that the legislature be requested to amend the act so as to provide for home rule and control by the city of public utilities within its limits. 182,335 votes were cast in its favor while 172,335 votes were cast against it.

The Chicago council on July 6, 1915, passed a resolution authorizing the mayor to appoint a committee of nine aldermen to investigate and report not later than January 1, 1916, upon the feasibility and desirability of public ownership of municipal public utilities; to consider the various systems of public ownership, operation, partnership or other like plans employed in various cities; to consider in a comprehensive way the problems and results of such ownership, including legal and financial questions; the cost and quality of service rendered; improvement and

extensions of service; wages and working conditions of employees; liability to interruption of service by strikes or lock-outs; and effect upon the public interest in and attachment to the government. The resolution adopted is an indication of the feeling prevalent in the community to the effect that if the city is denied the right to regulate and control its public utilities through its council, it proceed to take steps leading to the public ownership and operation of such public service enterprises.

Mayor William Hale Thompson on July 12, 1915, appointed the following nine aldermen to make an investigation into the public ownership of municipal public utilities in pursuance of the terms of the resolution: Otto Kerner, Chas. E. Merriam, Robt. M. Buck, A. A. McCormick, George Pretzel, Harry E. Littler, John C. Kennedy, Wm. E. Rodriguez, Thomas A. Doyle. The commission shortly thereafter held a meeting and elected Alderman Kerner chairman, and Alderman Merriam secretary.

FREDERICK REX.



Chicago's New Crime Commission¹ was appointed on October 5, 1915, by Chief Justice Harry Olson of the municipal court and Judge George Kersten, until recently chief justice of the criminal court. It is composed of the city's leading authorities on law, crime and social welfare, and it proposes to make a searching investigation of criminal practice and procedure. There are five women members of the commission, five aldermen and a number of lawyers and civic and social workers.

The commission will especially consider an improved system of criminal statistics; methods and practices in police and criminal courts; methods in vogue in the offices of the city prosecutor and the state's attorney; necessary changes in criminal law and procedure and drafts of such proposed changes; operation of the parole and probation systems; creation of a con-

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. IV, pp. 111 and 529.

solidated court system for Chicago; and improved methods of electing judges.

The scope of the work entrusted to the commission is large enough to embrace practically everything pertaining to the administration of criminal justice in Chicago, including even the matter of electing judges, although efficiency in administering criminal law in the courts of Chicago necessarily involves reconstruction and consolidation of numerous local departmental agencies which in turn will depend upon constitutional changes.



Public Markets.—*Co-operative Fruit Markets.* That effective co-operative organizations offer the best means for profitable marketing of apples is brought out in Bulletin No. 302, "Apple marketing investigations, 1914 to 1915," issued by the United States Department of Agriculture. It is shown that where apples are boxed instead of barrelled, growers' associations handle a large percentage of the output and are much more successful than individual producers in securing uniformity of packing and advantageous distribution. It is shown in the Chicago market that 25 per cent of the apples received in earload bulk, the equivalent of 350 earloads, and 10 per cent of the barrelled shipments, the equivalent of about 160 earloads, were of such poor quality that the proceeds would not have paid the freight charges had the apples been shipped by express. If this poor fruit had been thrown out the farmers not only would have saved the cost of packing and shipping but also would have cleared the market for their good stock. Conditions similar to these are found elsewhere. The crate and package laws now operating in a number of states are proving very effective in stabilizing the market.

During the last year the city of *Baltimore* maintained eleven public markets under the supervision of the comptrollers' department. The total expenses of these markets were \$91,484.62, and the total receipts from licenses, rents and per diems, \$75,390.72. This shows a net loss. It must be remembered, however, that the expense items include several not charged

against markets in most cities, such as cleaning streets and carting refuse. If these items alone were deducted the loss would be changed into profit.

Portland, Oregon, has three markets, one of which is permanent, novel in construction, and a financial success. It occupies the sidewalk and railway space along both sides of 100 feet of street in the heart of the retail business district. The stalls are of wood. When not in use they fold up. Cutting meat is prohibited in the market although its sale is permitted provided glass cases are installed. A meat-cutting room has been fitted out in the basement room of the building adjoining the market. The market is rented exclusively by producers who must show, upon demanding a lease or a deed, a satisfactory proof that they are producers. The market contains 189 stalls. The total receipts from July 1, 1914, when the market was established, to September 15, 1915, were \$4,898.45. Since the market was first established it has more than paid its way. The city will have soon paid for the entire cost of the permanent shops and will have an income of several hundred dollars per month from the market.

Philadelphia. The recent report of the bureau of city property in Philadelphia recommends that the two old public markets of the city, which have stood the test of 169 and 129 years respectively, be continued. "To allow the markets to go," says the report, "would be doing a great wrong to the poorer classes of people who are dependent upon them." The markets netted the city an income of \$17,207.50 in the year 1914, an increase under the Blankenburg administration of \$4,698 per annum. But inasmuch as the present buildings are poorly drained and exposed to the dusts of the streets the report concludes that the city "must enclose and underdrain them, or better still, erect modern, sanitary constructions."

According to the 1915 annual message of the mayor of *Jamestown, N. Y.*, the public market of that city represents an investment of \$11,905, on which there has been paid from rental receipts during the past year \$4,070. In less than three

years the entire expenditure will be liquidated, and the taxpayer will not be called on to contribute toward the expenses involved in the market. The weekly market attendance totals 10,000 people. During the past year there has been a reduction of 25 per cent in the cost of market produce.

Wilmington, Del., is demonstrating what can be achieved by a well-regulated curb-stone market. On Wednesdays and Saturday mornings for eight blocks the farmers' wagons are backed to the curb, and produce of every description is displayed for sale. The market is limited to farmers and truckers whose principal business is the raising of farm produce. Special measures are taken to insure the sanitary condition of the market.

The municipal markets of *Columbus, Ohio*, earned for that city during the past year a dividend of over 7 per cent on the investment, which is fixed at \$249,233.26. The receipts from the market, over operating and all other expenses, were \$18,569.95. There was an increase in receipts for 1914 over the previous year of \$4,023.84, and, at the same time, a decrease in expenses of \$2,800.

Municipal Cold Storage Plant. The new municipal cold storage plant recently erected in *Cleveland, Ohio*, is proving to be a potent factor in reducing the cost of living. Lockers in the cold storage plant may be rented for a nominal sum, by private families as well as by retail merchants. By using these lockers, it is possible to buy such supplies as butter, eggs, apples, cheese, etc., when prices are lowest and store them for future use. For example, a crate of eggs, containing 30 dozen, may be stored from April to January for 40 cents. Under normal conditions, eggs are not only better but cheaper in April than in other seasons of the year. By storing eggs at this time, the cost is increased but $1\frac{1}{3}$ cents a dozen whenever used within the succeeding months—a decided saving on what eggs would cost if purchased as needed. Great savings can also be effected in the purchasing of butter, cheese, etc., if stored in quantities.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

Chicago Municipal Flag Commission.—

Approximately 35 cities in the United States at the present time possess municipal flags. Nearly all European cities have chosen colors, as the universities and colleges have done, and these are called the municipal colors. Chicago has been far behind other cities in the adoption of a municipal flag. A careful examination of the proceedings of the Chicago council and of other municipal records fails to disclose any official action by which the city has ever proposed or adopted a municipal flag or emblem.

Alderman James A. Kearns, a member of the council, on July 12, 1915, presented an order providing for the appointment of a commission to make a thorough investigation and select a suitable design for a municipal flag to give the city a fitting and proper emblem of its history, progress, enterprise and achievement; to symbolize the civic spirit of Chicago; visualize local patriotism; stimulate industrial progress; and instill in the hearts of school children and of citizens a concrete evidence and example of the reality of the city as a corporate community.

Mayor Thompson on November 1, 1915, appointed a Commission consisting of aldermen and representatives of the University of Chicago settlement, the woman's city club; the association of commerce; the daughters of the American revolution; the city club; the historical society; the municipal art commission; and the federation of labor.

Alderman Kearns was chosen chairman and Frederick Rex, municipal reference librarian, its secretary.¹



Chicago Commission on the Liquor Problem.—On July 12, 1915, the Chicago

¹ A very interesting book on "The Seal and Flag of the City of New York, 1665-1915," has been published under the authority of the New York mayors' society committee, commemorating the 250th anniversary of the establishment on June 24, 1665, of municipal government under the mayor and board of aldermen of the city of New York, as successors in office of the burgomaster and schepens of the city of New Amsterdam. The book is published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, price \$1.—EDITOR.

council passed an order authorizing the mayor to appoint a commission of six aldermen and three citizens to consider in a comprehensive way the medical, moral, political, social and economic aspects of the use of intoxicating liquors in Chicago; to consider the chief methods of licensing, regulating and prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors and to recommend the best practical policy to be pursued by the municipality in licensing, regulating or prohibiting the use of intoxicating liquors.

Alderman John Toman was elected chairman and Frederick Rex, municipal reference librarian, secretary.

A sub-committee was appointed to prepare a plan of organization and procedure and to decide upon a program to enable the commission to arrive at the necessary facts in the most expeditious and effective manner.

Sub-committees on the financial and economic aspects of the use of intoxicating liquors, on the political and social aspects of the use of intoxicating liquors, and on the medical and moral aspects have been appointed.

All meetings of the commission will be open to the public. In order to facilitate the investigation, however, the work will be divided and each session will be confined to the particular subdivision under inquiry and consideration, so that on the days when the financial and economic aspects of the liquor problem are being considered, nothing relating to the other aspects will be touched upon.



Public Safety Notes.—*Policemen's Memorandum Books.* The unofficial memorandum books which are carried by all policemen, and in which the policemen are expected to enter full particulars of all police action taken by them, are frequently used as evidence in court and are often found unsatisfactory. Even efficient policemen do not always make satisfactory entries in their memorandum books. To assist the policemen in the performance of this important duty, Police Commissioner Woods of New York has introduced experimentally in some of the New York

precincts a loose-leaf memorandum book containing sheets of distinctive color for reports of arrests, observations, lamp-outages and conditions requiring the attention of other municipal departments. Each sheet contains blanks for all essential data for each case and it is hoped that in this way full, accurate and complete memoranda will be secured.

Efficiency Records for Policemen. Commissioner Woods of New York has introduced experimentally in several precincts an elaborate amplification of the efficiency record system for policemen devised by Chief Corriston of Minneapolis several years ago. The New York system provides for a tabulated number of merit marks for each act of police work successfully performed, which vary with the nature of the post to which the policeman is assigned in order that the man assigned to a busy post may not have an unfair advantage. A similar system of demerit marks has also been tabulated. Provision will be made for considering these efficiency records in promotion examinations, and for giving additional time off each month to the most efficient policeman in each precinct and an additional week of annual vacation to the most efficient policemen on the force. It is yet to be determined whether this system is susceptible of equitable administration in a large city.

Joint Trial Board for Highway Employees. Marcus M. Marks, President of the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, has introduced a disciplinary system for the employees of the bureau of highways under his jurisdiction, by which an employee against whom charges are preferred is given a hearing before a joint trial board, consisting of two department officials and two fellow-employees of the man on trial. The trial by a joint trial board is more democratic and more deliberate than a hearing before a single commissioner, it brings more points of view to bear, removes any possibility of prejudice and in this way obviates the useless expense of a court review. Forty-seven trials have been held and in each case the recommendation of punishment was made by a unanimous vote of the four members of

the joint trial board. The effect upon the discipline of the department has been excellent. The judgments of the board have not been too lenient and the members of the board have gone back in each case to the rank and file with the story of a square deal, punishment for the guilty and proper consideration for the trivial offender.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.



Excess Condemnation and the New York Constitution.—The defeat of the new constitution drafted by the New York Constitutional Convention of 1915 had no effect on the excess condemnation situation in that state. The convention itself, exceedingly conservative in its attitude toward property rights, and having a large proportion of rural members without any real comprehension of the desirability or need of municipal control of real estate for its own protection and development, had already declined to accept any of the changes in the organic law offered by various civic bodies in New York City. The following is the text of the amendment introduced by Hon. Herbert Parsons at the instance of the fine arts federation of New York:

"Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation. The legislature may authorize the taking of more land and property than needed in the creation, laying out, widening, extension or re-location of parks, streets, highways and public places, or for the protection or development thereof, including rights in, easements over, and limitations upon the use of neighboring property; but unless the excess land or property shall be needed for a public purpose incidental to such primary purpose, the excess shall be no more than sufficient to form suitable building sites abutting on such park, street, highway or public place. So much of the excess as shall not be needed for the primary purpose may be sold or leased. Different localities and classes of property may be subjected to different regulations for the protection or development thereof, or for any other public purpose, including the destruction

of buildings in areas that are insanitary or vicious and the prohibition or restriction of uses or structures inappropriate or offensive to the neighborhood or detrimental to the appearance of public streets or places."

The above was drafted as an amendment, in effect, to the general regulative or police power of the state, so that the power conferred might be exercised either by the state legislature or by localities to the extent that legislative power over local affairs should be delegated. Other similar amendments introduced as grants of power to cities received little more consideration. Constitutional amendments drafted on the latter theory are obviously open to the objection that they may have the effect of granting broader powers to municipal legislatures than are possessed by the state legislature itself, a somewhat anomalous situation. They, however, take advantage of the strong current in favor of home rule for cities, and do cover the cases most in need of such regulative power—the congested urban communities.

The present New York constitution contains an excess condemnation clause in somewhat different form from that in the federation proposal quoted above. Some attempt was made to drop the existing provision, but it was included unchanged in the proposed constitution. Accordingly it made no difference in this respect whether the new constitution was adopted or rejected by the people at the general election of November 2.



Pueblo and Tax Receipt.—A single tax amendment was adopted in Pueblo, Col., two years ago, but, as it provided for a graduated operation, it was never in full force and effect. "Thus," in the words of a correspondent, "we cannot say that the plan was fully tried out."

The first year the reduction of taxes on real estate improvements was to be 50 per cent., and the second year, 99 per cent. of their full value. Last year was the first that the effect of single tax was felt, and a great many people were of the opinion that it was detrimental in that a large

number of vacant lots were offered for sale for delinquent taxes, and there were no purchasers, and thus the lots had to be bid in by the county. This practically retired them from future taxation. This year the amendment was repealed a week or so before the tax sale, and the vacant lots that were offered at tax sale were more readily sold than last year.

It was argued that if single tax remained it would be only a question of time until all the vacant property in the city would be held by the county for delinquent taxes, which would result in putting a greater burden of taxation upon other taxable property. It was also argued that personal property, such as goods, wares and merchandise, exposed by merchants for sale, required and obtained more protection from the city government in the way of police and fire protection than any other property, and that it was manifestly unfair to have such property exempt from taxation when, as some stated, 60 to 75 per cent of all the city revenues were devoted to the protection thereof. It was also argued that the plan had not attracted to the city, as was claimed for it on the outset, manufactures, or any other industries, whose personal property might be exempt from taxation under the plan.

The advocates of the single tax con-

tended that it was unfair to ask for its repeal at this time, for the reason that it had not been in force a sufficient length of time for a full demonstration of its merits, and that its merits would come forward, if it were allowed to remain in force. One correspondent writes: "Personally I took no part in the matter at all. I was inclined to the view that it would have been well to allow the amendment to remain for at least two years longer to the end that it might be demonstrated that it was a thing of value or that it was not.

"A considerable number of our wealthiest citizens who seemed to be benefited to the largest extent on account of single tax, because of being large owners of personal property, advocated its repeal and contributed money for the same. A great many of them told me they believed that ultimately the plan would be very injurious to our city, and that they felt it was inequitable for any portion of the property within the city limits to escape its just burden of taxation.

"My opinion is that there can be no conclusions drawn for or against single tax insofar as it was tried in our city, save and except that it did not seem to attract outside capital as its friends claimed it would. However, the answer to that may be that it was not in force long enough to attract attention."

II. POLITICS¹

The "Near Recall" of the Mayor of Boston.—The new charter of Boston makes it possible to recall the mayor of the city at the mid-term election if one half of the total registered electors so vote. There were 113,979 registered voters in Boston for the November 2d election, of which one half would be 56,989. There was a clear majority in favor of the recall of Mayor Curley, the vote being 47,396 for, against 37,784 against, but as the affirmative vote was less than half the total regis-

tered vote, the measure failed. It will be interesting to note whether Mayor Curley will change his policies in the light of this declaration of public opinion.

In commenting on the situation, Professor Munro writes as follows:

"The movement to recall Mayor Curley had no particular significance. In fact there was no earnest movement in that direction. The Republican City Committee, despite the fact that partisanship is presumed to be abolished in city elections, advised Republicans to vote for the recall. A great many of them did so. Many discontented Democrats and likewise a great

¹ Unless otherwise indicated the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

many of those who think there should be a mayoralty election every two years anyhow voted to recall the Mayor. In this way a considerable majority was put together although not enough to secure the recall . . . The size of the vote in favor of recalling the Mayor was a considerable surprise to every one, including His Honor!"



The New York City Political Situation is summed up in a New York *Times* editorial which declared on the day after the November 2 election:

"Tammany will now continue hopefully and with vigor preparations so auspiciously begun for electing the next mayor of the city. Much water will run under all the bridges before the election of 1917, but after the triumph of yesterday in Manhattan it cannot be denied that Tammany is in a position where it can look forward to victory two years hence with more confidence than it has felt in any one of the mayoralty elections of the last fifteen years, save only that in which Mayor Gaynor was chosen. It is an old, old story, perfectly familiar to those who from years of observation have come to understand the habits and the capacities of Tammany, so often forgotten by the cohorts of reform, that Tammany thrives by defeat and when in opposition can organize for victory better than when in power. In possession of the offices its evil practices disgust the voter, when it is out of office it is its habit to lull the anti-Tammany forces into complacent slumber until it can regain the majority position.

"That is what has happened this year. Tammany put forward for the district attorneyship Judge Swann, a candidate far more presentable than the average Tammany choice, and for sheriff ex-assemblyman Smith, a candidate so worthy and acceptable that he won the approval of the Citizens' union. Then the talk began that there must be a united Democracy in this city because of the coming presidential year. As *The Times* remarked the other day, most of the sentinels of anti-Tammany seemed to be

asleep at their posts. . . . The federal office holders drifted along with the current or actually helped to guide it, and as a result Judge Swann is elected by a plurality of some 38,000 votes and Mr. Smith, sheriff, by 46,000 or more; and Tammany will control the board of aldermen, earning the choice of a Tammany man as president of that body, with a seat in the board of estimate and apportionment.¹

"The recapture of the district attorneyship by Tammany is a serious matter. It is one of the chief citadels of opposition to Tammany. The organization will be visibly strengthened by that triumph and the fusion city government loses the sympathetic and practical co-operation of the public prosecutor of the county. Tammany will not find much encouragement in the behavior of Brooklyn in yesterday's election, but the anti-Tammany forces in Kings County may be put to sleep in the coming two years just as they have been in New York County this year. Tammany has made a good start in the mayoralty race, and its success is due to the short memories of the reformers and independent Democrats, who in a real anti-Tammany campaign are the most vociferous foes of the old organization."



New York Local Campaigns.—In *Schenectady* the former Socialist mayor, George R. Lunn, was re-elected, along with Dr. C. P. Steinmetz, of the General electric company, another leading Socialist, as president of the board of aldermen.

In *Buffalo*, out of 29 offices for which the local municipal league expressed a choice, the voters selected the better men in 21 cases, not counting one who was "well spoken of." In the other offices, out of the 44 filled, the league expressed no choice. Sometimes both candidates were well spoken of and sometimes both were disapproved. Three had no opponents. A religious fight left over from last year between the Roman-Catholics and anti-Roman Catholics probably was a material factor in a number of cases. Last year the anti-Catholics swung about

¹ This is due to the resignation of President George McAneny, effective Jan. 1, 1916. H. L. M.

12,000 votes in the city (15,000 in the county) about as they chose, sometimes to the poorer candidates. How strong the movement was this year has not yet been figured out. The Roman Catholic education league supported four candidates for the new council, the first to be elected under the commission form of government, only one of whom was a Catholic, who probably would not have been elected without its support. Former commissioner of public works Ward, endorsed by this league, was defeated in spite of this and of the complete organization he had built up during the past decade. Of the new commissioners, two are Democrats and two Republicans, the present mayor being continued. The secretary of the municipal league of Buffalo in commenting on the situation, said: "I think we are more fortunate in the selection of our new council than we had reason to expect our defective primary system (though one of the best of its kind) would yield." Among the candidates endorsed by the Municipal league who were defeated at the polls was Knowlton Mixer, a member of the council of the National Municipal League. He made a strong showing, however, and it is believed that he has materially strengthened his political position by reason of his effective campaign.

In *Niagara Falls* the first commission under the new commission manager plan, approved a year ago was elected.

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Philadelphia's Mayoralty Election.—There has been a good deal of comment, wise and otherwise, about the municipal election in Philadelphia. Nearly everyone commenting on the situation seems to have a different reason for the results. Two years ago in commenting upon the Philadelphia election we quoted an extensive editorial from the *North American* because that paper has for several years been persistently opposed to the Republican organization and was one of the foremost supporters of Mayor Blankenburg's election in 1911, and it would seem that we could not do better than give the views of this paper at this time, especially as they coincide with a very considerable number of the thoughtful observers in and well-wishers for the city:

"The people of Philadelphia voted to turn back the management of their municipal affairs to the city contractors. . . . Never were the issues of a campaign more clear cut. McNichol and Vare, the principal contractors, openly designated their personal choice for the office, and frankly announced that he was their selection and pledged to their interests.

"His opponent, George D. Porter, appointed director of public safety four years ago by Mayor Blankenburg, was put forth by the mayor and his political strategists upon two issues equally plain: he was to represent not only the opposition to the contractors, but the record of the administration. His candidacy was an appeal for a vote of confidence. The Smith plurality of approximately 78,000 must be accepted, therefore, as the verdict of the public upon that issue. But the result was even more conclusive than the figures indicate.

"Four years ago, on the anti-contractor issue, Mayor Blankenburg was elected by about 4,500 plurality. The forces behind him had no power of office to wield, while the contractors controlled every department of the Reyburn administration. Moreover, they had been compelled to put forward a decent and able citizen, George H. Earle, Jr., the highest type of nominee the organization had selected in twenty years.

"This time the opponents of contractor rule had the administration with them.

. . . They had adequate funds, and an army of sincere, volunteer workers conducted a vigorous campaign. Yet despite all these advantages they were overwhelmingly defeated. The people declared for a return to government by the contractors.

"Those who were misled, because of enthusiasm or inexperience, into believing that Porter could win will seek an explanation, perhaps, in mistakes or inefficiency in the campaign. There were, as always, errors of judgment and blunders in tactics. But the fatal handicap upon the cause was that the candidate put forth to represent it was the personification of its weaknesses, a man whose incapacity has been

revealed in his management of a department which should have been the right arm of the administration, but which instead was a source of enfeeblement. But this is not the whole case. The best candidate available could not have won when the issue was an indorsement of the Blankenburg administration. The fight was lost, not during the campaign, but during the first year of the present régime.

"The mayor's failure to devise a rational policy to meet the financial needs of the city; his utter inability to command either respect or co-operation from organization councilmen, or even to hold those elected with him on the reform ticket; his absurd recommendations for unscientific and unjust tax innovations, and his broken pledge on 80-cent gas—all these features of his first twelve months in office brought about such a revulsion of sentiment that from that time forward any candidacy embodying an administration indorsement was foredoomed to defeat.

"In the second Blankenburg year there was a clear-cut fight for control of councils. There were no confusing side issues, and everybody was aware that the mayor still had two years of authority, during which he could make or mar the influence of members. Yet at the election he lost 50 per cent of the strength he had had in the chambers, and now even the remnant has been virtually wiped out of existence.

"It is undeniable that during the interval much admirable constructive work has been accomplished, which goes to the lasting credit of the Blankenburg administration—by the transit department in its transportation projects; by the department of public works in its grade crossing work and other developments and the elimination of contract jugglery; by the department of wharves, docks and ferries in great waterfront improvements.

"These achievements might be considered of sufficient magnitude to save even a vicious administration from condemnation. But it is clear that in the public estimation they were not enough to counterbalance the utter failure of the administration to do what it was elected to do—namely, destroy contractor rule.

"The fact which seemed to overshadow all others was that from the time when Mayor Blankenburg revealed the extent of his capacities until now the contractors have steadily grown stronger, and have done so because of his deficiencies and weaknesses. Disappointment and resentment over his failure to carry out the commission given to him inspired the final repudiation.

"No one has ever questioned his motives or his desire to do right. But public opinion demands something more than passive virtue in an executive who possesses ample power to deal with flagrant wrong, and it would even seem as if inaction under such circumstances has a more inflammatory effect than downright viciousness.

"While the anti-contractor and pro-Blankenburg issues were most emphasized in the Porter campaign, a third was injected. The religious issue had no determining influence on the result, but it cannot be ignored in a frank analysis.

"A Protestant organization formed to promote aims which may be conceded to be legitimate was used by designing men to serve the political purposes of the administration candidate. Porter and his backers imported a man of shady reputation to manage the movement, and under his guidance a secret political organization was formed to utilize the membership and influence of the larger body. . . .

"But there is one fact which stands out against the depressing background. Last Tuesday there lined up at the polls nearly 88,000 voters who, despite a feeble candidacy and an uninspiring administration record, stood true to the cause of decency and good government. These are the 'last-ditch' defenders of the city, and they still represent a formidable force. For they exceed in numbers those which can be commanded by either McNichol or Vare; they constitute the balance of power in public affairs. . . .

"One hopeful factor is the deadly enmity which exists between the two groups, which eventually must lead to a division. One or the other, to save itself, will seek the assistance of the decent citizens of the community, and it may be that finally the

city will come into its own through an alliance between the forces of good government and one of the contending factions which sees in honesty a measure of self-defense against the other.

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The Re-election of Philadelphia's Controller.—Captain John M. Walton was elected for the fifth term as controller of Philadelphia on November 2. Not only has Controller Walton been acceptable as an administrative officer, but he has also been one of the pioneer controllers to take up and work out a comprehensive budget. His budget statement for 1916 is well worth the study of everyone interested in budgetary reform. Under his leadership a complete inventory of all the property of the city of Philadelphia has been made.

There was an interesting contest over the orphans' court judgeship. There were two candidates, one the sitting judge, Morris Dallett, the other George McCurdy, president of common council. Judge Dallett having incurred the enmity of an influential ward leader, there was a definite effort to defeat him mainly on that ground. He was elected, however, through independent votes and the support of the Penrose-McNichol faction of the Republican party. McCurdy who had always been a political follower of McNichol receiving the support of the Vare faction.

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Ohio's Municipal Elections.—*Cleveland.* The preferential ballot led to the election of H. L. Davis, the Republican candidate, over Peter Witt, Democrat, for mayor, although the latter had a plurality of first choices. The total unofficial figures give Davis 36,844 first-choice votes; 8,549 second-choice and 2,378 other choices, a total of 47,771. Witt's figures were 39,869 first-choice votes; 3,569 second-choice and 1,510 other choices, the total being 44,940 on all choices. This computation shows Witt led Davis by 3,017 on first choice votes; Davis led Witt by 4,980 on second-choice alone. Davis failed by 3,863 of getting a majority of the total first-choice votes, which was 103,269.

The recommendations of the civic league were more closely followed than in former years. Twenty of the twenty-six councilmen were the League's first or second choices, sixteen being first choice. The first three names recommended for the school board were elected. Fifteen of twenty-six candidates for assessor were chosen and five of the eight members of the municipal court. Two charter amendments were adopted, one initiated by the labor organization establishing a minimum wage of \$2.50 on contract work for the city. The other gave newly annexed territory more adequate representation in the city council. Under the charter before it was amended, if East Cleveland should have joined the city it would have been annexed to one of the adjacent wards. The amendment is designed to make annexation more attractive in that it gives annexed territory in which at the preceding election 2,000 votes were cast one representative in the city council until the next federal census.

Bond issues aggregating approximately \$2,000,000 for municipal improvements were approved by the voters of *Dayton* on November 2 by more than the necessary two-thirds majority required by the Ohio statutes. This overwhelming vote in favor of this outlay was a striking indication of how thoroughly the civic spirit has been aroused and how strongly the present administration, including City Manager Waite, has become entrenched in the good esteem of the people. Only one of the two candidates for council endorsed by the citizens' committee was successful, and he only by two votes. It is understood, however, that the successful candidate who did not receive the committee's endorsement is friendly to the commission manager form of government. It is generally believed that the defeat of one of the citizens' candidates is due to the fact that practically the whole campaign was directed to the bond issue.

Springfield. The overwhelming victory of the administration candidates on November 2 in the words of the *Springfield, Ohio, Sun*, "marks the passing of the old political régime in Springfield. The con-

test was a clean-cut battle between the old and the new methods of vote-getting, and the defeat of Miller and Lawrence, than whom there were no better vote-getters under the old system, was decisive enough to show that in Springfield at least a new order has begun. Miller and Lawrence are popular with a large number of Springfield voters. They have proved that they will aid the individual when in need and that they will do all in their power to aid their friends after they have been elevated to office. The success of Miller in a dozen campaigns testifies to the persuasive influence of his smile and handshake, while the vote rolled up for Lawrence during his race for sheriff and at the commission primaries shows that he is scarcely less efficient in vote-getting. Yet in a campaign unmarked by offensive personalities and without abuse of any kind, Miller and Lawrence went down to defeat before men who are not as well known to the rank and file and who would have been defeated overwhelmingly under the former system of politics. The results show clearly that the voters of Springfield are learning to discriminate between pledges carried out and promises made with a view of securing votes. A new class of public officials is demanded, men who will do things without a view to the probable political effect their action will have and who will place the welfare of the majority above that of a few men who are active politically."

In *Zanesville*, Carl H. Stubig, a newspaper man, won the election in spite of the combined opposition of the daily papers and of the "old guard" organizations of the city, and he carried two or his slate with him giving him a majority of the commission.

In *Toledo*, Mayor Keller was overwhelmingly defeated for re-election by Charles M. Milroy, former law partner of Brand Whitlock, now minister to Belgium and formerly mayor of the city. Mr. Milroy's plurality approximated 1,000. His nearest competitor was former Chief of Police G. A. Murphey, who made a spectacular campaign during which he was dubbed "the political Billy Sunday." The

franchise issue elsewhere referred to by Dr. Wilcox was one of the main issues of the campaign.

The *Ashtabula* election was principally interesting because of the first application in the United States of the Hare system of proportional representation. This election formed the basis of an animated discussion at the Dayton meeting of the National Municipal League and will be described at length in the April issue in a special paper on the subject by Professor Augustus Raymond Hatton of Cleveland, who was present at the election.



A Michigan Mayor Recalled.—Thomas G. Sullivan, mayor of Munising, Michigan, was recalled at a special election on October 16, being defeated by Dr. J. B. Truman. The majority for the recall was 102 in the largest vote ever cast in the city. The charges against Mayor Sullivan were that he appointed as chief of police a man who had previously been found to be short about \$2,500 while serving as county treasurer and that he had failed to enforce the laws against gambling and the liquor traffic.



The San Francisco Mayoralty Election.—Mayor Rolph was re-elected mayor of San Francisco at the primary on October 26, he having received a majority of all the votes cast. The *San Francisco Chronicle* is responsible for the following figures which are published with the comment that it looked as if the people of the city were "tired of governing themselves and proposed to let things drift":

Registration (for primary).....	179,591
Total vote at primary.....	119,357
Total vote, October 26 (amending constitution).....	48,884
Total vote, final city election.....	83,138

The *Chronicle* makes the further comment upon the situation:

"Some of the changes in the vote for Supervisors are interesting and may help to explain what will be regarded in some quarters as a reversal of the verdict of the primaries. They deserve attentive study.

Name—	Number		Loss in
	voting at primary	voting at final	
Hayden.....	50,956	37,287	13,669
Vogelsang.....	47,160	33,529	13,631
Payot.....	41,950	30,928	11,028
Murdock.....	39,749	30,051	9,695

"Now here were four Supervisors, all of long experience on the Board and known to be competent, honest and public-spirited citizens and officials. No objection was or could be made to any one of them by any who care only for the public welfare. Of the four only Mr. Hayden was re-elected, and he got \$13,669 less votes than he received at the primary.

"Upon the whole, it seems to have been the 13,000 stay-at-homes who decided the election."

The view of the California *Outlook*, which represents the Progressive party, is practically to the same effect. In its issue of December, it said, editorially:

"These ebbs and flows of the tide of progress are inevitable. They happen everywhere, but they never permanently reverse the current. The stream flows on even more irresistibly after the temporary check. The reaction had struck the East a year ago, and was due here. Perhaps it is fortunate that it has come now, rather than later, when it might do more harm. Evidently for the moment 'Give us a rest,' 'Let us alone,' and 'the full dinner pail' are once more acceptable slogans in California. We shall wake up in due time, probably soon. But just now we are sleepy and cross. Don't bother us!"



Non-Partisan Amendments in California Defeated.—The defeat of the so-called non-partisan amendments to the California constitution was not at all significant of public opinion on the questions involved, but simply serves as another proof of the value of organization in a contest against an unorganized public, part of which is invariably apathetic. In this case, however, over-confidence may be set down as being responsible to a large extent.

Up to the day of election it was generally conceded that public sentiment was on the side of the state administration and

that the non-partisan amendments would undoubtedly be sustained. This feeling was largely due to the fact that considerable difficulty had been experienced in securing sufficient signatures to the petition required in order to have the measures submitted to the voters under the referendum.

The different party organizations united their forces in opposition to the measures, although most people regarded their efforts as a forelorn hope. On the other hand, many friends of the measures, satisfied that they would be sustained, did not take the trouble to go to the polls at all.

Another cause for their defeat may be attributed to the failure sufficiently to educate the public as to the objects sought to be attained. Comparatively few public meetings were held and these were not well attended. The results showed that the means provided for educating the voters on the various amendments submitted to them from time to time is woefully insufficient, and as a result many people make a practice of voting in the negative simply because the propositions are not clearly understood. Among the defeated measures was one designed to authorize the use of the principle of "excess condemnation" in taking private property for public use; a similar measure was defeated at another election held about two years ago. It is certainly a mistake to submit measures of this kind to the electorate without taking the proper steps to acquaint them with the reasons for their adoption.

The amendments in question provided for non-partisanship in state as well as municipal elections; rural credits; the deposit of public moneys; excess condemnation; exempting property from taxation, and county charters. Still others made some changes in the initiative and referendum, but all were defeated. The secretary of state published an analysis of the various amendments and the Commonwealth club in its transactions for October, 1915, published a series of reports dealing with the merits of the various propositions.

Defeat of Woman Suffrage.—In three of the larger Eastern states—Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania—constitutional amendments providing for woman suffrage were defeated on November 2, the adverse majority being largest in Massachusetts and smallest in Pennsylvania, where the cause received very much stronger support than was at first anticipated. There were those who felt that the amendment would be defeated overwhelmingly in Pennsylvania due to the opposition in Philadelphia. The negative vote in the latter city was much smaller than was anticipated and the amendment would have been defeated

even without the adverse majority in that city.

A few weeks earlier at a special election a similar amendment in New Jersey was overwhelmingly defeated.

In all of the states affected, the women and organizations responsible for the amendments have taken steps to begin new and more vigorous campaigns.

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Errata.—On page 670 of the October issue, the caption "Oakland, California, Politics" should be corrected to read "Berkeley, California, Politics." The election to which the note refers took place in Berkeley.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS¹

Valuation of Public Utilities.—In the case of *Des Moines Gas Company v. City of Des Moines*,² the United States supreme court has made serious additions to its body of doctrine on this important question. The master in the lower court refused a separate allowance for "going concern value" on the ground that the physical value had been determined with reference to the fact that the plant was in operation. This position the supreme court affirmed. The implication, therefore, is that "going concern value" is nothing more than the difference between the physical value of the plant as junk and its physical value in use. If this is a sound deduction from the decision in the *Des Moines* case it means that the supreme court, without expressly saying so,

has executed something very like a *volte face* on the "going concern" question. Another important phase of this decision is the refusal of the court to consider the cost of cutting through and replacing present pavements in determining the value of mains laid before the pavements were put down. This apparently settles what has been one of the most disputed points with regard to the application of the replacement theory of valuation.

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The Referendum.—The question as to when the acts of a commission plan city council are of an executive nature and not subject to the referendum arose in the case of *Hopping v. Council of City of Richmond* (Cal.).³ The acts in question were a series of resolutions accepting the gift of a piece of land conditioned on the erection thereon of a city hall. The opponents of the accepted site filed referendum petitions in due form against these resolutions. The council, however, on the ground that the acts were executive in their nature, refused to call the election. On mandamus to the district court of appeal the contention of the city was upheld. The supreme court, however, decided that the resolutions were legislative because they "constituted a declaration of a public purpose and a

¹ It is a matter of sincere regret to the editor that Charles D. Mahaffie who has been preparing the department of Judicial Decisions for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW was compelled by pressure of professional duties to give up the work. It is a matter of equally sincere congratulation that he has been able to persuade Professor Thomas H. Reed of the University of California to take Mr. Mahaffie's place. Professor Reed, in addition to his academic work, is a member of the California bar, and has had very considerable public experience as secretary to Governor Johnson and in various civic work, so he will bring to the department not only the trained experience of a practising lawyer but also the broad sympathies of a professor and civic worker. C. R. W.

² 35 Sup. Ct. Rep. 811.

³ 150 Pac. 977.

provision for ways and means of its accomplishment."

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Reasonableness of a Smoke Ordinance.

—An interesting decision on the validity of an ordinance directed at the smoke nuisance is that of the supreme court of Michigan in *People v. Detroit B. I. & W. Ferry Co.*¹ The ordinance declared the emission of dense smoke from any chimney or smoke stack, including those of steam vessels, to be a nuisance *per se*. The court held that, in the absence of a practical and efficient appliance for smoke prevention applicable to marine engines, the ordinance must remain in abeyance until the progress of invention made its provisions reasonable.

*

Liability of a City for Property Destroyed by Mobs.

—In the case of *Wells Fargo v. Mayor etc. of Jersey City*,² the circuit court of appeals for the Third Circuit held that the word "property," as used in the New Jersey statute establishing the liability of cities for damage to property inflicted by mobs, did not include the right to do business. The court classed this right as intangible property and said that the statute only covered tangible property. In this decision the court exhibited a contrary tendency to that usually displayed by the courts in enforcing property rights, especially in labor disputes.

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Nature of City's Right in the Streets.

—Among many other issues decided by the appellate division of the supreme court of New York in the case of *McCutcheon v. Terminal Station Commission of the City of Buffalo*³ is a discussion of general interest with regard to the nature of the city's right in its streets. It was contended by the plaintiff that the closing of certain streets and surrendering them to the railroad for terminal purposes was a violation of the New York constitution,⁴ which, like many other state constitutions, forbids a city to give money or property

to, or in aid of, a private individual or corporation. The court held that where the city owns the fee of the street it holds it in trust for the public at large. Where the city does not own the fee of the street the only public interest involved is the right of the public at large to use it. The public at large is the public of the entire state. In either case, therefore, the legislature has the right "to release the public right therein, and to provide for closing the same whenever public interest requires."

*

Jitney Bus Ordinances.

—Several jitney and motor bus ordinances⁵ have now passed through the final courts of appeal unscathed. In *ex parte Cardinal*⁶ the supreme court of California upheld the validity of the San Francisco ordinance. This ordinance required all jitney owners or lessees to put up a surety company bond of \$10,000 to cover possible accidents or to carry a policy of liability insurance to the same amount and effect. Each jitney driver must be licensed and must have had thirty days' experience in the operation of an automobile in San Francisco. A jitney is defined as a self-propelled motor vehicle carrying passengers between fixed points for a fare of not more than ten cents. The court held that there was nothing unreasonable in this classification or in any of the other provisions of the ordinance, and that it constituted a proper exercise of the police power.

The ordinance of the city of San Antonio requiring a franchise for the operation of jitney buses in that city was defended by the Texas court of civil appeals in the case of *Greene v. San Antonio*.⁷ It took a very different ground from the California court, basing its decision primarily on what it conceived to be the well-nigh plenary power of the legislature over highways, which power the legislature has transferred to the city. It declared that the privilege of persons carry-

¹ 153 N. W. 799.

² 219 Fed. 699.

³ 154 N. Y. Supplement 711.

⁴ Article 8, Clause 10.

⁵ See articles in recent numbers of the REVIEW by W. R. Littleton and W. J. Locke.

⁶ 150 Pac. 348.

⁷ 178 S. W. 6.

ing passengers for hire to use the streets must depend on a grant or franchise as in the case of other common carriers.

The Texas court of criminal appeals had a simpler task in the case of *Ex parte Sullivan*,¹ which arose out of ordinance of Fort Worth that required a license fee based on the number of seats in the vehicle and a bond or insurance policy of \$10,000. The opinion of the court is very long, taking up most of the questions economic as well as legal connected with the jitney problem. Shorn of verbiage, however, it upholds the ordinance under the police power.

*Ex parte Dickey*² upholds the ordinance of Huntington, West Virginia, which requires a license fee of \$50 for a vehicle of four seats or under and of \$70 for all others. The court draws a very clear distinction

between the right of the citizen to travel or transport his goods on the public highway and the right to maintain the business of a common carrier thereon. The latter may be regulated in any way required by public necessity. The court also declared that defining a jitney as a vehicle carrying passengers for a fare of fifteen cents or less does not constitute discrimination unless it be proved that there are other jitney buses charging more than fifteen cents.

From these decisions it is apparent that the courts will in all probability uphold any ordinance, no matter how stringent, regulating the operation of the jitney bus either as a proper exercise of the police power or on the ground that it is a common carrier subject to regulation in its use of the streets.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The Fourth National Housing Conference.—The success of the fourth national housing conference, Minneapolis, October 6-8, 1915, was a proof that the housing movement has really become country-wide. Starting as an attempt to reform the intolerable conditions which had developed in some of our largest cities, it has during the past five years spread from ocean to ocean, though its communication with the Pacific coast is maintained only through Texas. The prairie states are just beginning to show an interest; the Rocky mountain states have not yet begun. It was for the purpose of strengthening those who are beginning their fight that the conference this year went to the western verge of the awakened territory. Because of the war it was known that Canada would not be represented by its usual delegation, and because of the distance few representatives of the east and the south were expected. Dependence was placed on the northwest. The result exceeded expectations. Though the number of eastern delegates was reduced, those who came were representatives of the best

work that is being done. Chicago sent an influential group; but the significant thing was the interest shown by such committees as Madison, Wis., and Kansas City, Mo., and most of all by Minneapolis itself. There the good work done by the Civic and commerce association during the past two years has borne fruit and the local attendance and participation in discussions exceeded that at most of the preceding conferences. The delegates who registered represented 37 cities in 15 states and the Canadian government.

The program was designed to meet a situation which confronts other conferences which have passed the purely propaganda stage and yet must keep propaganda as an essential part of their work. The housing awakening has proceeded apace, yet one of the great functions of the annual conferences must continue to be that of interesting people to whom their messages are still news. At the same time there is now a considerable group who are actively engaged in housing work and who attend in order that they may take part in discussions of technical detail in which the broad human appeal is implied rather than asserted. That they assume, as the

¹ 178 S. W. 537.

² 85 S. E. 781.

new recruit without their background can not. In order to provide for both groups the evening sessions, when the largest local attendance might be expected, were devoted to questions of general interest, such as the causes and the effects of bad housing, presented by Elmer S. Forbes of Boston and tenement house commissioner John J. Murphy of New York; and taxation and housing, presented by C. B. Fillebrown of Boston, a single tax advocate, and Prof. E. R. A. Seligman of New York, America's greatest authority on taxation. In the afternoons the discussion was on rather more technical subjects.

In the mornings there were section meetings arranged especially for those who are engaged in active housing work, two under the general head of laws and administration, two under that of construction and management.

In one of the construction and management meetings land subdivision was again considered, this time from the point of view of a development company. At the other the discussion was on the planning of the low cost house. At the first, Frederick Law Olmsted outlined a policy in regard to size and shape of lots and formulated a rule which will be of very great service to those who are concerned in new developments either as responsible public officials or as real estate operators. His paper was an admirable supplement to the more general presentation of the subject by Dr. Nolen at the preceding afternoon session. At the second meeting, Walter H. Kilham, who has demonstrated in Salem, Mass., that cottages are a better asset than three-deckers, presented the results of his experience in a way that aroused keen local interest, for Minneapolis is at present suffering from an apartment house aberration.

One of the main purposes of the conference is to strengthen local interest, so a round table discussion was devoted to the needs and opportunities of Minneapolis in which both local delegates and those from out-of-town took part. The latter had been prepared for the discussion by an inspection trip the day before, during

which they had been given at least a glimpse of the Minneapolis problem.

No description of the conference would be complete which did not include mention of the housing institute held on the succeeding day by the Civic and commerce association. Three subjects were discussed: promoting garden suburbs for workingmen, standards for housing codes, and woman's part in the housing movement.

JOHN IHLDER.



Co-operation Between Universities and Cities.—The second annual conference of the Association of urban universities held in Cincinnati, November 15-17, was deeply significant for many reasons. Of first interest is the increasing number of American universities that are relying in whole or in part or would like to rely in whole or in part upon public appropriations from city treasuries. The University of Cincinnati is the dean of this class of institutions. The association is not limited to universities so supported as its privileges are extended to all those situated in large cities. Yet it is very clear that the primarily urban university is very naturally placing first emphasis on city problems, as the state university has been interesting itself primarily in problems of state co-operation.

The second interesting feature of the association was the large number of co-operative activities now being actually undertaken by the universities situated in cities. It would be indeed difficult to find a phase of university work which had not in one university or another already been correlated with the activities of cities and their officials. The university, its faculty, its library, its experts, are being looked upon as community assets in which the public has a right to democratized services. The motive power back of the university is probably the desire to prove its title to increasing public appropriations on the one hand and to get high grade faculties on the other; for the best signs of the times are that young men are willing to work where co-operation is encouraged, as they may thereby learn the actualities of

their respective specialties at much lower salaries than in institutions where their work is limited to academic functions merely.

Another feature of the conference was the growing desire and demand for junior colleges open to the men of talent and experience who had not had the education and qualifications requisite to traditional university entrance. The University of Pennsylvania has long done just such work in its evening school and its extension school. Other universities, such as the University of Chicago, are now developing the so-called junior colleges.

Just as the extent of actual co-operation has extended, it has become clearer that such co-operation makes for better teaching and makes for better educational results. Thus President Foster, of Reed College, pointed out that if the graduates of Tuskegee were to talk about the same things that the graduates of the larger universities do when they get together, some people would regard it as "conclusive evidence that you could never educate negroes." The want of practicality in the university graduate was pressed home many a time throughout the conference due to the want of practicality in university teaching. Numerous instances were cited to show to what extent classroom work had been improved through co-operation between the professor and the urban official. The reality given to the work of the classroom and seminar arouses the student to his best endeavor. He feels that he is right in the midst of the storm and stress of life itself; that he is not going through motions with a man of straw.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.



Social Hygiene Meetings.—At the public meetings held jointly by the American social hygiene association and the Massachusetts society for social hygiene, in Boston, October 8, 1915, frank and wholesome presentation of such subjects as the venereal diseases, especially in relation to public health, and the legal and moral problems of prostitution, and the earnestness and interest with which they were discussed showed how far the movement

has progressed within the past few years, how largely the feeling that these subjects are not fit for public or even private discussion has passed away, and how the air has been cleared of the sensationalism and morbid curiosity once so often urged against the public presentation of such topics.

Dr. Donald R. Hooker of Baltimore, in his address at the first meeting, ascribed to the advance of medical science the transformation of the problem of social hygiene from one of pure morals to one of burning practical importance. Together with this advance goes the change of attitude regarding prostitution, namely, that it cannot longer be officially tolerated in any community, and the grounding of sexual morality not only in ethical ideals, but upon the most convincing scientific facts.

This shifting of point of view was again emphasized by Dr. Edward L. Keyes, Jr., of New York City, who, in speaking upon morals and venereal disease, pointed out the growth of the movement from small and specialized beginnings until "to-day there is not a social or religious organization in the country that has not at least taken cognizance of it. . . . We may well hope that the combination of ancient ideals and modern methods shall result in a material reduction of the great black plague. But we must not permit ourselves to be discouraged into complacent contemplation of the 'narrow limits' within which passion may be influenced. Until the freedom of medical students from infection bears witness to the contrary we must grant to moral education the first place in the campaign against venereal disease. The bright light of our new and wonderful science of hygiene must not blind us to the fact that we are still human, that in youth at least the sexual appetite is indeed man's strongest passion, that this passion is indeed the essential cause of venereal disease, and that for the control of this passion we have but one weapon, the education of the will, moral prophylaxis."

Dr. A. J. McLaughlin, secretary of the Massachusetts state board of health, now

on leave of absence from his duties as surgeon in the U. S. public health service, outlined a program for state departments including the propositions that syphilis should be included with reportable diseases; laboratory tests should be made by the state laboratory free of charge upon requests of physicians; and salvarsan should be furnished free by the state to physicians for cases reported and found positive by the laboratory.

Dr. George W. Goler, health officer of Rochester, speaking of the municipality and the venereal disease problem, pointed out the limited knowledge which even physicians have of the problem, and education as the one recourse to solve it. "This," he said, "is both a medical and social problem . . . it is not to be solved until the . . . diseases cease to be a matter for jest, and until the services of medical workers become social, medical, and moral, and are firmly, more intelligently and thoughtfully brought to bear upon the conquest."

Dr. Charles W. Eliot, toward the close of the conference, suggested that the organization which would most successfully promote social hygiene might well include not only the specialized departments which attempt to deal with the problems usually associated with the movement, but also the related problems of the feeble-minded, recreation, and the like. He expressed the belief that if the several organizations now interested in these problems were united as co-ordinate parts of one general body, public interest, confidence and support would be more surely obtained.

President Abram W. Harris of Northwestern university was elected president of the association to succeed Dr. Eliot who, however, retains his association with it as honorary president.

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The Ohio Municipal League.—The fifth annual meeting was held in Dayton on November 17. Heretofore it has held its annual meetings in Columbus, during a session of the legislature. As the next regular session of the legislature will not come until 1917, and the present indica-

tion is that there will not be a special session in 1916, it was decided to hold an autumn meeting of the league in lieu of any 1916 convention. By meeting in Dayton at this time delegates of the league were afforded the opportunity of attending sessions of the National Municipal League and the other municipal associations convening in Dayton during the same week.

The convention was confined to a single session, which was devoted to the problem, still pressing for Ohio cities, of city finances.

A committee was created for the purpose of devising and conducting a campaign of education for tax reform to be secured either through the popular initiative in 1916 or from the legislature of 1917. It is hoped that by this method such efforts can be pursued with better effect than the league has recently achieved when their plans have been formed during the same session of the legislature from which they were seeking relief.

F. W. COKER.¹

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Valuation Conference.—We had hoped to have a report of the very interesting and instructive conference on franchise valuation held in Philadelphia, November 10 to 12, under the auspices of the Utilities bureau. An article detailing the more important points was submitted, but as we are going to press we have just discovered that a duplicate was furnished to another periodical and published by it, so that we will have to postpone our consideration until the April issue.—EDITOR.

*

The American Society of Municipal Improvement held its twenty-first annual meeting in Dayton the first week in October. This society was organized September 18, 1894, five months after the National Municipal League had been organized. Originally containing a membership of 60 municipal officials, it now has over 600. It is the only society of its

¹ Of the Ohio State University and secretary of the Ohio Municipal League.

kind in this particular field, being composed of those who are connected with municipal construction work. The program as usual dealt largely with technical questions. Andrew F. McCallum, Hamilton, Ontario, was elected president, and Charles Carroll Brown, editor of *Municipal Engineering*, Indianapolis, was re-elected secretary.



League of American Municipalities.—The nineteenth annual convention met in New Orleans in the midst of a tropical hurricane, the wind blowing 60, 90 and finally 130 miles an hour before the day was over. The attendance was small, perhaps 60 delegates out of some 4,000 invited being present. Many of the officers were absent, among them the president. Most of the program for the first day was carried over to the second on account of tardiness in the arrival of important officials. The New Orleans papers were most interesting and have already been referred to in notes in this and previous issues of the REVIEW. Mayor Behrman of New Orleans was elected president, and Robert E. Lee of Baltimore, re-elected secretary.



Dayton Municipal Exhibit.—"The tax dollar is your best spent dollar" was the slogan of Dayton's first exhibit of city manager government, recently concluded. The exhibition was held in the basement and first floor of Memorial hall during the week beginning October 9, and was supervised by the local bureau of municipal research, co-operating with the city government, the schools, and the county. An effort was made to present a very creditable exhibit, and in character and size it has probably not been outclassed except by New York City.

The show was informally opened, and there were no speeches except as each bureau of the government was required to have men constantly on the ground to demonstrate its exhibit and receive and answer questions from the visiting public. It was an effective presentation of community work and community needs, and was designed to tell the people in a simple

and straightforward manner what the government had done, and was proposing to do.

At a total cost of \$1,500—which is less than that of printing many a city report—50,000 people were brought into intimate contact with the government. Here was a report in models, charts, photographs, and music, and folk dancing, and word of mouth explanations by the men and women doing the work; and it was seen, and read, and studied by half of the city's population; and that population went away knowing that city employes are earnest human beings, conscientious in the service which they are rendering, and who are stimulated to better things by the interest which their employers show.

The exhibit had a further significance since it offered to students from all over the country an excellent opportunity to judge critically the results of two years of a unique type of city administration. Throughout the show there were emphasized some new characteristics of local government—the clean-cut character of men who are carrying out public policies; the co-operation which exists between departments; the use of police by the health department, the service being rendered by the department of correction in the cleaning and maintenance of parks, etc. Also, there was a certain inspiration obtained by departments in learning what other departments are doing, and in realizing the advances which have been made.

Finally, the exhibit was the worst blow that the unfriendly critic of the new government has received. No person having a knowledge of municipal administration in America, and familiar with the standards by which municipalities must be judged, can hesitate in believing that Dayton has marched far ahead of most cities in the country.

LENT D. UPSON.¹



Training for Municipal Service.—*Kommunale Praxis*, of August 14, 1915, announces the appointment of Dr. Hugo Lindemann as privat-docent of municipi-

¹ National Cash Register Co.

pal affairs at the technical high school in Stuttgart. The appointment is significant for several reasons. In the first place, training for municipal service in Germany had hitherto been given only in special schools, from which the growing number of desirable candidates were, for various reasons, excluded. The Lindemann doctentiate inaugurates municipal training in a school where the privileges are open to all. A further reason which makes this appointment significant has a political bearing. Dr. Lindemann is a declared social-democrat, and his accession to the educational forces of Germany, from which persons of socialistic tendencies had been studiously excluded, indicates the end of the assumption that affiliation with social-democracy discredits a man as political economist.

Dr. Lindemann is known as co-editor of the *Kommunales Jahrbuch*,* and as author of *Arbeiterpolitik u. Wirtschaftspflege in der deutschen Städteverwaltung*, 1914, 2v.; *Die deutsche Städteverwaltung*, 1906, ed. 2; *Die Städtische Regie*, 1907; *Wohnungsstatistik*, 1901; joint author with Paul Hirsch of *Das Kommunale Wahlrecht*, 1911; as well as author of numerous magazine articles. Dr. Lindemann, furthermore, has been active politically in the German Reichstag, the diet of Württemberg and in the municipal government of Stuttgart. A. R. Hasse.

*

Resignation of Health Commissioner Goldwater.—By the recent resignation of Health Commissioner S. S. Goldwater, the city of New York loses the services of an efficient head of the department. Possessed of strong executive ability and capacity for initiative, Dr. Goldwater, during his brief administration, introduced a number of important reforms and was able to secure the adoption of others which had been urged by his predecessors but not authorized by those in control of the city purse strings. Among these achievements are the establishment of bureaus of public health education, industrial hygiene and statistical research, the revision of the sanitary code, the campaigns against unmuzzled dogs, fraudulent patent medicines and overcrowded street cars, and the annual physical examination of employees.

"The Town" is the title of a civic journal which is to be published for eight months of each year by the Woman's Civic League of Baltimore. The first issue contains a number of short articles dealing with important local problems. The editor is Miss Harlean James, the secretary of the league.

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Alberta Utility Commission.—The province of Alberta has created a utility commission consisting of three members to exercise a general supervisory control over all public utilities in that province, and to act as an advisory board on all municipal improvements involving bond issues. A considerable report on municipal ownership of public utilities was published in "Commerce Reports" for November 16, 1915.

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Mrs. Edward W. Biddle has been elected president of the Civic Club of Philadelphia. Mrs. Biddle, a member of the National Municipal League, was formerly president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Women's Clubs and as such contributed largely to promoting interest in civic affairs in the women's organizations of the state.

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Harvey S. Chase of Boston has been retained by the Goodnow commission to assist in reorganizing the affairs of the state of Maryland, and by Governor-elect McCall for similar work in Massachusetts.

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George McAneny, who since 1913 has been president of the board of aldermen of Greater New York, and who for four years prior thereto was president of the Borough of Manhattan, having accepted the invitation of Adolph S. Ochs of the *New York Times* to associate himself with him in the conduct of that paper, has resigned his public office to take effect the first of January.

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R. C. Journey has been put in charge of the recently established municipal reference library at the University of Missouri at Columbia, Missouri.

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Frederick P. Gruenberg has been elected director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, succeeding Ralph Bowman who has gone to the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY. Six volumes, edited by Paul U. Kellogg, Director. New York: Survey Associates, Publishers for the Russell Sage Foundation.

Women and the Trades. By Elizabeth Beardsley Butler. \$1.72.

Work-Accidents and the Law. By Crystal Eastman. \$1.72.

Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town. By Margaret F. Byington. \$1.70.

The Steel Workers. By John A. Fitch. \$1.73.

The Pittsburgh District. By a number of contributors. \$2.70.

Wage-Earning Pittsburgh. By a number of contributors. \$2.50.

No social investigation that was ever undertaken in the United States has attracted such wide-spread attention as the Pittsburgh survey.¹ Nor was there ever an investigation of the kind which so fully merited the attention it has enlisted. Conceived by the editorial staff of the *Charities and the Commons* (now the *Survey*), financed in principal part by the Russell Sage Foundation, and carried out by an efficient staff of able and inspired investigators, the prime object of the survey was to apply the spirit and the methods of science in bringing to light

the facts—or at least some of the facts—concerning the living and working conditions of the wage-earners of an American industrial district. For this purpose concentration was indispensable—concentration alike as to locality and period of time. The Pittsburgh district was selected as the locality. This was not from any desire to cast peculiar opprobrium upon Pittsburgh, but because it was a giant type of the modern industrial urban community. It presented perhaps all of the bad, and many of the hopeful, conditions that can be found in industrial centres throughout the county. But the study itself, localized as it of necessity was, was in fact national in purpose and in product. Pittsburgh may yet, if it has not already done so, have cause to be gratified that its name has been so closely identified with an investigation which, however distasteful some of its disclosures may have been, will loom large in the history of the progress of social and industrial reform in the United States.

A period of about a year, beginning in the early autumn of 1907, was selected as the time for the survey. Social and industrial facts are obviously not the product of a single year. They vary somewhat with the general conditions of industry. The reasons for some of them are deeply rooted in the history and traditions of races. Especially is this true in communities with large and unamalgamated foreign populations. It could not be expected that investigators, no matter how eager and capable they were, could unearth within the short period of a year *all* of the pertinent facts concerning the living and working conditions of the heterogeneous people of an industrial

¹ The first public statement of the results of the Pittsburgh Survey was made at the opening session of the fourteenth annual meeting of the National Municipal League held in Pittsburgh, November 16-19, 1908. The following addresses were delivered at that time and are to be found in the proceedings of the Pittsburgh conference: The Pittsburgh Survey. Discussion by Robert W. DeForest, Grosvenor Atterbury, H. D. W. English, Graham Taylor and Dr. Edward T. Devine.

community. But social facts are at best illusive. It may be that in the course of time social justice will be realized upon such a scale that reformers will be compelled to be more exhaustively scientific in offering facts. But that time is not yet. There is so much of patent injustice that exhaustive investigations are unnecessary. Time is the essence of any practical achievement where so much is immediately desirable. It would seem, therefore, that the survey wisely limited its investigation in point of time.

It would seem also that the directors of the survey displayed great wisdom in the matter of the publication of results. There is no doubt that had the six volumes which now represent the permanent form of the survey been the only medium of publication much of the public interest which has been aroused would have failed. Instead of this, many of the results of the investigations were given to the public through the medium of magazine articles (particularly the special issues of *Charities and the Commons* in 1909), newspapers, exhibits, and addresses. For this reason, as well as because four of the volumes were published as far back as 1909-11, it seems unnecessary to review the entire series in detail, even if it were possible to do so in the brief space allowed. A word as to each, however, may not be inappropriate.

Miss Butler's *Women and the Trades* is a study of the working conditions of 22,185 women wage-earners in Pittsburgh. It paints a picture that is not in all of its aspects pleasant to contemplate. But while the existing conditions described are in some instances manifestly inexcusable, the proper cure for others is not so apparent—perhaps not so ready at hand as the author seems sometimes to indicate. For example, there is nothing that is new in the distresses of seasonal occupations such as that of the manufacture of confections; but there may be those who would dispute the intimation that in this industry such distresses could be avoided by the manufacture of Christmas candies in the spring on the theory that a good cream chocolate "has a better

taste six months after it is made than the day after." However, this is a detail. The volume presents an excellent and doubtless accurate description of conditions. It is a matter of small consequence if some of Miss Butler's conclusions as to means of amelioration are open to criticism.

It must be a matter of some satisfaction to Miss Crystal Eastman (now Mrs. Benedict) that since the writing of her *Work-Accidents and the Law* such great progress has been made in so many states toward the solution of the problems of adequate compensation for industrial injuries and deaths. This volume is one of the best of the series, though it must be admitted that its picture is occasionally painted with a little more color than is warranted by the facts that are stated. The facts, however, are often difficult to get at and the occasional addition of color doubtless does not exaggerate the probabilities. The slight point of criticism is that while color makes for popular appeal and for impressiveness it is not scientific; to which it may not unreasonably be rebutted that this survey was not made for the closet anatomist of social conditions but for red-blooded people to think about and act upon. Surely this book must have had no inconsiderable influence in accelerating the steps that have been taken recently in the direction of ameliorating the conditions it depicts.

Miss Byington's volume describing the conditions of living in a single mill town, Homestead, which is seven miles from Pittsburgh proper, is a somewhat different study from that of other volumes of the series. The others deal with unit problems of the wage-earners of the district; hers with the general problems of a unit of the district. It is an absorbingly interesting study of housing and living conditions in relation to family budgets and of civic indifference and incompetence. Its statistics are admittedly incomplete, as such statistics must of necessity be.

Mr. Fitch's *The Steel Workers* describes and discusses conditions of the wage-earners of one of America's mighty industries. His volume involves far more

of historical investigation than any of the others, for, dealing as he does principally with the prime factors of wages and hours of labor, it was essential that he should develop the all-important evolution of the labor union in its relation to this industry. On the whole it must be said that he has handled an extremely controversial subject with admirable fairness. He has not slurred over the arrogances and stupidities of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. No more—perhaps less—has he glossed the inexorable attitude of the United States Steel Corporation (or its predecessors) in its successful determination utterly to break the grip of organized labor upon this entire industry. There is little of bias or prejudice in what he has written. In the portrayal he presents, the spot-light of present distress unquestionably rests upon the length of the working day. For this there ought to be some possible and adequately fair solution, in spite of the difficult demands of certain divisions of labor in the industry and the relations of these divisions to one another. But, as the author admits, even in the days of union operation the workers appear to have given little consideration to the problem of hours of work.

Mr. Fitch does not regard with approval the policy of benevolent despotism which has been substituted by employers in the steel industry for the more democratic policy of collective bargaining by the employes. There is much to be said on both sides. However wrong in theory may be the policy of the Steel Corporation, and however objectionable certain of its features may be in practice, it certainly has to its credit an era of industrial peace that is in point of duration probably unmatched in any of the other great industries of the country. It is nevertheless open to question whether democracy in labor, as in the state itself, in spite of its inefficiency, uncertainty, extravagance, and occasional unreason, does not offer to the individual spiritual rewards that are of infinitely greater benefit than any amount of material prosperity that springs from the compulsory benevolence of an autocratic superior.

The Pittsburgh District, though pub-

lished only in 1914, is properly the first volume of the series. It consists for the most part of papers or parts of papers which had previous publication, chiefly in *Charities and the Commons*. These papers give the setting of the entire survey and deal also with certain specific civic problems, such as civic improvement possibilities, the typhoid situation, housing conditions, aldermanic courts, taxation, schools, playgrounds, and libraries. It is impossible to review these studies in detail. All of them are valuable and many are of unusual excellence.

So also *Wage-Earning Pittsburgh* is a volume of collected studies. These deal with problems of industrial well-being rather than with civic problems, to which *The Pittsburgh District* is devoted. A larger number of the papers in this volume have not been heretofore published. There is a general summation of the findings of the survey by its director, Paul U. Kellogg, and a general review of the labor conditions of wage-earners in the various trades of Pittsburgh by John R. Commons and William M. Leiserson. In addition there are special studies of immigrant wage-earners, of the negro, of factory inspection, of industrial hygiene, and of child welfare.

In the six volumes of the Pittsburgh Survey there would indeed be much to criticize as to form of presentation if one failed to consider the inherent difficulties of dividing the labor of such a stupendous investigation among numerous field-workers and if one ignored the manner in which the results of the investigation were originally presented to the public. Had the findings been prepared merely for book publication there is no doubt that greater orderliness and system would have been possible. As it is, the student must "rummage" to find all that the survey offers on this or that subject, and there is some repetition. However, such a student will find rich reward for his pains; for these volumes are crowded with data and discourse of vital signification to every thinking man or woman in the United States.

HOWARD LEE MCBAIN.
Columbia University.

A HANDBOOK OF CIVIC IMPROVEMENT.
By Herman G. James, J.D., Ph.D.,
University of Texas. Presumably published by the Author, at Austin, Texas.
120 pp., 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Paper cover.
\$1.

That there is need for a simple, definite and comprehensive primer on the subjects generally grouped as civic improvements is certain. That this volume partly meets that need is probable. It is well written, modern, and evidently the result of knowledge, study and conviction.

In the preface, Dr. James sets forth his threefold intention; that the book shall "show the average citizen and city official alike what is to be expected of city government"; that it is to furnish "a handy guide-book for a community survey"; and that it shall serve as "a laboratory guide in municipal science for college classes."

In a discussion as to "what is good city government," the author makes the sound statement that "the test of good citizenship lies in the existence of an intelligent, continuing interest in the questions of good city government"; a statement as true as it is concise. Then follow chapters on public health, safety, education, morals, and on social welfare and city planning.

Each chapter is ended by a "question sheet," answers to which in respect of any community will assuredly disclose its actual relation of efficiency or inefficiency in dealing with its population. One can imagine, with some amusement, the average boasting citizen of "the finest town in the state, sir!" stammering in ignorance when he faces questions on the food supply, on school hygiene, on the public safety provisions, on the actualities and not the generalities of education, on public morals, and on the other plain details of a community life that ought to promote, guard and direct its citizens.

It is probably the desire for compactness and brevity that has caused Dr. James to give less attention to some subjects than one could prefer—as, for instance, the yet neglected matter of the

vital relation of public recreational facilities to community vitality and prosperity. Yet the suggestion on this subject is wholly sound, as are the suggestions and statements of the little book in general.

The physical form of Dr. James' book is a handicap to the usefulness it should have. An ill-proportioned page, stiff wire binding and a flimsy paper cover are unfair for a work definitely proposed as a text-book. It is unfortunate that the real value of such a primer should be blanketed by inexcusable mechanical deficiencies, in these days of the cheap but adequate making of books.

Dr. James' Handbook is of sufficient importance to warrant me in having it properly bound for use, and I trust others who read it will similarly recognize the practicability of putting it into a more convenient and permanent shape. I believe, also, that the fine possibilities for usefulness this handbook includes will warrant a new edition prepared in such fashion as to promote its wide circulation.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

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PURCHASING, ITS ECONOMIC ASPECTS AND PROPER METHODS. By H. B. Twyford. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. \$3.

It is remarkable, as the author of this book points out, that although to the making of many books, dealing with the reduction of labor costs, there has been no end, the literature heretofore devoted to the art and philosophy of buying has been neither extensive nor exhaustive. Occasionally the subject has been treated briefly in works on scientific management, but it is something new to make it the subject of a book. Accordingly the advent of this volume on purchasing is welcomed by those who believe that it treats of an economic field worthy of investigation and report.

The growing feeling, that municipalities no less than private institutions would greatly profit by systematizing their work in purchasing, makes this volume of interest to those concerned with good municipal administration. The author's

acquaintance with his subject has apparently been entirely with purchasing by private institutions, but his work as the purchasing agent for the underground electric railways of London, England, and his connection with the purchasing of such concerns as the Otis elevator company and the J. G. White engineering corporation give evidence of his fitness to deal with the subject. The avowed purpose of the author is to call attention to "the economies which can be effected by the use of efficient methods in the purchasing of materials, goods, and supplies."

In the first three chapters the subject of purchasing is handled very generally with headings of principles, functional position and ethics. Chapters IV to VII inclusive present the author's ideas on the organization of the purchasing machinery, considering it under the agent, his department, its organization, and its procedure.

The personality of the agent is given emphasis, and the advantage of securing one who is tactful, is pointed out. First importance is given to the ability to meet other men without arousing their animosity, as "being on a good footing with the men with whom deals are being made is a great advantage," and further that "it is essentially through the character and make-up of the man in charge that the best results are obtained." Having these necessary qualifications, he must acquire complete knowledge of supply, consumption, quality and prices. The sphere of the department, the necessity for its amicable relations with all others, the required clerical force and its proper handling, are next dealt with, and the advisability of having the traffic, the inspection and the storekeeping divisions directly connected with purchasing is considered, with the conclusion that it will depend upon what kind of institution is being served. In particular instances, as in the case of city purchasing departments, some of these divisions will not be needed and others would probably be consolidated with advantage. In the organization of the department there should be no "indispensable man," as stoppage or delay in the work of purchasing cannot be allowed

and provision must be made for the work to continue during the temporary absence of any employee. Where it is possible there should be an understudy who can handle the work in case of emergency. A temporary interchange of duties, between the members of the clerical force, occasionally, will tend toward intelligent co-operation between them, and it will be found conducive to "more enthusiasm which breeds loyalty and contentment which in turn beget efficiency."

In discussing procedure, the author shows that incompleteness of system will render operation laborious and inefficient but that over-systematizing will cause the structure to fall by its own weight. Good system produces order, regularity and expedition, and its justification is its effectiveness in covering with accuracy and dispatch all the points comprehended in the work, provided, always, that increased economy is the result.

Following the consideration of the purchasing machinery is the general consideration of its actual operating routine, in chapters VIII to XI inclusive, under proper records, requisition and order, handling invoices and storekeeping. This section of the volume is in reality a manual of office procedure and the description of individual steps is accompanied by the forms used in actual practice by the concerns with which the author has had purchasing experience.

The last section of the work, including chapters XII to XV, is a description of purchasing as practised by concerns (1) constructing and operating electric railroads, (2) doing a manufacturing and construction business, (3) doing construction work and operating in widely separate localities, and, (4) operating a small manufacturing establishment. Here, as in the preceding section, abundant use is made of forms to illustrate procedure and this frequently accompanied by comment as to their applicability to various business enterprises. No man capable of directing a purchasing department would attempt to use one of these four outlines as a ready-made plan of operation for his own department, but many will appreciate

this information about the handling, by others, of matters of routine in purchasing.

The treatment given the subject indicates a thorough study of the economic principles involved and actual contact with the problems of purchasing in various fields.

ROSCOE D. WYATT.

New York Training School for Public Service.



PURCHASING. By C. S. Rindfoos. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$2.

The incentive to write this book, according to the author, was a "realization of the importance of the art of purchasing, coupled with an almost total lack of literature on the subject." Purchasing is a matter of manifest importance from the viewpoint of a municipal administrator since increasing attention is to-day being given to buying material, goods and supplies for cities, towns and counties. Briefly, the business of the purchasing agent may be said to be buying the right material in the right amount for the right price at the right time, but the subject of purchasing is a broad one and the author has done well to deal with the underlying principles within the space of one hundred and sixty-five pages. Advertising, accounting, credits, traffic management and storekeeping have been omitted (except incidentally) and with good results.

The first three chapters tell in general of the knowledge necessary to the efficient purchasing agent. They treat in turn of how to obtain the right article, the lowest price and promptness in delivery. The weakness in most purchasing agents is unfamiliarity with the details of the business for which they purchase. It is essential to know the use to which the article is to be put, the article itself, the source of supply, the manufacturing process, the price and the demand. The methods of securing and keeping available this information, are dealt with under such heads as requisitions, inspection, catalogues, samples, analysis, price cards, bids, contracts and tabulations. The

importance of standardizing purchases and securing active competition among bidders is emphasized.

Chapter IV shows the advantage of having a definite policy, which if good should be well known. Cordial relations should exist between the buyer and seller. Slow pay is costly. It is credited with being "one of the principal reasons why irresponsible and high-priced middlemen are so often the successful bidders for the city's [New York's] supply contracts."

Chapter V indicates the usual cash discounts and terms in various lines of trade and the manner in which they may best be obtained.

In Chapters VI and VII the author again deals with the purchasing agent. In the former, he enumerates several qualifications other than that of knowledge, already mentioned, which are particularly desirable. Specialists are likely to become narrow. The purchasing agent is proverbially so, and he must be on the alert to develop a breadth of view. Tact should characterize the purchasing agent and it should be made use of within his own organization as well as without it. Knowledge of men is very essential. Aptitude, natural or acquired, is important. In the latter of these chapters, called "Strategy," the author points out some of the tactics, good and otherwise, which have been used. The need of knowledge is again emphasized, here a knowledge of human nature.

Chapter VIII is a short discussion of "Some of the legal aspects of purchasing," not by the author but by an attorney-at-law, and is intended to aid purchasing agents in avoiding unnecessary disputes and misunderstandings which result from indefinite language or action, and further to clarify the situation in case of subsequent litigation.

The greater part of Chapter IX, "Departmental organization," is given over to a report prepared by W. Richmond Smith for New York City. This proposed system for New York City will be of especial value to those interested in municipal purchasing, storing and distributing.

The final chapter contains forms which will be found helpful in the routine work of purchasing.

ROSCOE D. WYATT.



INSTALLING EFFICIENCY METHODS. By C. E. Knoeppel. New York: The Engineering Magazine Company, 1915.

This is an important contribution because of both the method and the quality of treatment of the subject. The method presents a combination of discussion of principles with detailed explanation of methods, mechanism and results of organization, not found in any other work. The quality of treatment shows the experience of a successful practitioner who is an original and independent thinker, and who has a capacity for precise analysis and logical synthesis. The style arouses and sustains interest—but possibly in places with a sacrifice of dignity.

The opening chapter pictures the meeting of a board of directors who realize that their plant is being run at a loss. The suggestion of one member, that an organizing engineer be called in, is received coldly by his associates, who assert that no outsider can possibly tell them anything about their business. Finally, however, as a last resort, it is reluctantly agreed that the expert be consulted. Then follow a number of chapters describing a preliminary investigation, analysis of the business, diagnosis of the trouble and determination of what reorganization should be undertaken. The book soon drops its narrative form and becomes a discussion of principles and description of methods developed as follows: organization; co-operation between organizing engineer, management and men; time study; the planning department (three chapters); standardization (two chapters); bonus wage system; efficiency clearing house (legislative or committee management); costs. In each chapter principles are clearly stated and defended, methods are clearly described and mechanism is abundantly illustrated by forms and diagrams.

In a work so full of details of method and of mechanism are to be found inevitably many which a reader might criticize unfavorably. But such criticism would not be worth while. The reviewer restricts himself to what seem to him to be three major points of possible disagreement. First, throughout the book appears what seems to be a spirit of opportunism, a spirit which inclines the organizing engineer to "hit the high spots," to be satisfied with moderate rather than fundamental and maximum improvement. [Second, the committee, or legislative, system of organization recommended by the author seems to build up too complicated a system of checks and balances for the accomplishment of more than moderate results. We doubt whether, in his practice, the author makes his committee system as strong as he makes it on paper. Third, the chapter (X) describing the functions of the organizing engineer and the staff (as distinguished from the line) suggests that the staff is brought into the plant instead of being developed from within the plant. This point, however, is not clear.

The author is obviously an eclectic. He combines principles and methods derived from the writings of Mr. Emerson and Mr. Taylor, and those developed by his own experience. The book is representative of the Emerson rather than of the Taylor point of view.

H. S. PERSON.

Amos Tuck School, Dartmouth College.



A MANUAL FOR HEALTH OFFICERS. By J. Scott MacNutt, A.B., S.B. With a Foreword by William T. Sedgwick. New York: John Wiley & Sons. \$3.

A handbook for health officers and for students of public health both in and out of the schools has been needed for many years—not that there has been a lack of books on sanitary science and public hygiene, but because few if any of these approached health problems sufficiently near the viewpoint of the person charged with the daily administration of local health protection. As a pioneer work kept within the limits of a real handbook,

the manual before us is a success. This is not surprising to those who know what preparation and inspiration the author had for his task.

Schooled at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology under Prof. William T. Sedgwick, Mr. MacNutt was subsequently health officer of one of a group of New Jersey municipalities that drew upon the institute for full-time health officers educated in the fundamentals of sanitary science and public health instead of taking men educated in private medicine as part-time health officers. After gaining practical experience at Orange, Mr. MacNutt did what too few are able and willing to do in this hurried generation. That is, he took a year or so to supplement his schooling and practical experience by a study of the available literature and to prepare a handbook to meet the every-day needs of health officers. The result reflects credit on all who have contributed to the end in view.

The book is in two parts. The first deals with the organization and powers of local, state and federal health authorities, reviews unofficial health organizations, and concludes with surveys of public health science and problems and of the old and the new public health. The second part covers the whole field of public health administration, including communicable diseases, child hygiene, milk and other food supplies, water supplies, housing and industrial hygiene, nuisances, sanitary law, the annual report, vital statistics and, last but not least, publicity. Appendixes give in more technical detail information on disinfection, standard rules for milk supplies, rules for statistical practice, and standard forms for various purposes, including the annual report.

The author's treatment of the governmental relations of public health administration will appeal to the readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. The concluding chapter of Part I, "The new public health," might well be read by every intelligent citizen. Much of Part II, on the specific facts and methods of health administration, is also of wide general interest.

Wherever opportunity affords, the

author lays stress on two basic principles of public health work: (1) it must for the most part be conducted by local government units; (2) the center of infection and therefore the point of attack or object of control in the case of communicable diseases is the infected and infective person, including the unsuspecting carrier of disease.

As has already been indicated, the book is a good one. The field is so broad that, although condensation is often carried to the limit, short of omission, six hundred pages are filled. In the many successive editions which may be expected, perhaps the author will find it feasible to condense still more at some points and omit entirely at others those sections dealing with sanitary science, thus gaining space for further details of administrative practice.

M. N. BAKER.¹

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REFUSE DISPOSAL: A PRACTICAL MANUAL FOR MUNICIPAL ENGINEERS, MEMBERS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES, ETC. By Ernest R. Matthews, Chadwick Professor of Municipal Engineering in the University of London. London: Charles Griffin & Company; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1915.

An exposition of the collection and disposal of garbage, ashes and other municipal refuse, as practiced in England. The space devoted to collection is small and but little is said about any method of disposal except burning. The principal types of British destructors or furnaces are described and some short, rather categorical illustrated descriptions of actual installations are given. There is a chapter on destructors or furnaces for villages and institutions, another one on the use of the clinker or solid residue from the destructors and two chapters on chimney construction. The volume is shorter, somewhat less technical and lower priced than Goodrich's "Modern Destructor Practice" and shorter still than the same author's "Refuse Disposal and Power Production," two earlier British books.

¹ Vice-president, New Jersey state department of health; late president, board of health, Montclair, N. J.

It contains nothing on American furnaces; nor on garbage disposal by reduction, with recovery of grease and fertilizer base, the process used by a number of the largest American cities. All these phases of refuse disposal were treated by Morse's "The Collection and Disposal of Municipal Waste" (1908).

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THE ORTHOCRATIC STATE. By John S. Crosby. New York: Sturgis & Walton Co. \$1.00.

There has appeared from the press of Sturgis and Walton a book with the suggestive title "The Orthocratic State." Its author, John S. Crosby, a native of Maine, who emigrated in the early seventies to Missouri and Kansas, later and until his death a citizen of New York, where he lent the aid of a winning personality and eloquent voice to many worthy causes, seeks therein to determine the sanction, the proper functions and limitations of the state, and to ascertain "the unchanging principles of civics and government." His self-imposed task will seem to many a quixotic quest, specially to those who look on government and its offspring, statute law, as the be-all, cure-all and end-all here. To such persons the only limit to government is the extent of its power.

Mr. Crosby grew up in a period when there still lingered a faint belief in those exploded fallacies, once known to the fathers as natural and human rights. Those of us who are very wise now know that there are no such things, though they helped to sustain the spirit of the republic for more than a century.

"The Orthocratic State" is predicated on the assumption that the function of the state is to give effect to and strengthen such rights, not to contravene or abolish them, when such action seems to the immature thought of the time to lead to the higher good. "Natural, human rights," said Mr. Crosby, "are to the science of conduct and hence to the science of government, what the axioms of mathematics are to the science of quantity."

Society and the state are considered as separate entities and their mutual relations

illustrated: "Functions of government" and the "Abuses of civil power" are the titles of the chapters dealing with what governments should and should not do. The final chapter, devoted to civic problems, contains the author's solution of questions perplexing society.

The outstanding theory which distinguishes this book from many dealing with kindred subjects, is this examination and denunciation of the usurped power of the state to create artificial persons known as corporations. These Frankensteins seem to Mr. Crosby, second only to the denial of human rights in land, the source of most of our modern evils. Although many will not agree with him, his examination of the subject is sane and powerful and will repay a careful reading by those who would like to know the most that can be said upon that side of the case.

He points out that the corporation was originally devised for the purpose of clothing individuals with "civil authority to perform some apparently public service which did not seem to have been adequately provided for in the ordinary machinery of government." From this he traces the stages by which charters for all sorts of purposes have come to be had for the asking, so freely that they are thought to be no longer privileges; he shows that the federal supreme court has declared the right of incorporation to be a privilege which may be taxed; and he believes that such unnatural aggregations have tended to intensify the extremes of wealth and poverty, which have come to be so marked a feature of our modern life. The philosophy of the book is the reverse of socialistic. It will furnish many arguments to those who distrust the promises and methods of that well-meaning but nebulous ideal.

JOHN J. MURPHY.

New York City.

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ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR. By Edwin J. Clapp. Yale University Press.

One of the incidental horrors of the war—affecting especially neutrals—is the output of books about the war. It is to be regretted that the imprint of a

university press should not at least be an *imprimatur* as to the scholarly character of a book. Professor Clapp's book represents the character of publication which justifies the cynical comment "a professor is known by the *number* of books he writes."

The book is a curious mixture of amateur international law, stock ticker gossip and clipping bureau philosophy. An appendix of official documents, including a letter of Jefferson to Pinckney in 1793, neither adds to or detracts from the merits of the book.

Professor Clapp has confused specific trade problems with economic aspects—it is significant that there is no serious attempt to discuss banking, exchange or monetary problems. The distinctly pro-German attitude, coupled with slurring references to British policies, deprives the book of judicial tone.

The "economic" tone of the book no less than its general point of view is indicated by the following extracts:

Pp. 15-16. "The most striking circumstances (*sic*) in this extraordinary situation is the fact that Great Britain has at no time maintained a genuine blockade."

P. 96. "In all British procedure regarding us there is nothing more annoying than the apparent assumption that we can be silenced by the money argument."

P. 290. "How the war comes out is none of a neutral's affairs. Our business as a nation is to look after our own interests."

P. 288. "May not Britain be asking us to drive German genius farther than our interests can follow?"

P. 307. "Therefore, neither Great Britain nor any other nation of the world could blame us if we laid an embargo upon the exportation of arms for the purpose of enforcing our right to trade unhindered with Germany and the neutral nations of Europe, in all but contraband (as defined in a reasonable contraband list) with German destination."

Perhaps Professor Clapp's attitude may be accounted for by the fact that he is also the author of a book "The Port of Hamburg, 12 mo., cloth binding, gilt top, 220 pages, 19 illustrations, price \$1.50 net."

ALBERT DE ROODE.

New York.

THE LIFE OF A CITIZEN. By J. Augustus Johnson. New York: The Vail—Ballou Press. 292 pp.

In our democracy the most striking feature is the success of various reform movements—political and social—against entrenched and seemingly impregnable forces. Their success is not due to the prominence of the publicly-acclaimed leaders, nor yet to the loyal support given by the electorate. In each reform there are groups of men—sometimes only one man—earnestly, ingeniously and quietly giving their best, with no lust for publicity or hope of reward.

The philosopher in *Ecclesiastes* evidently had this type of man in mind when he wrote: "The words of wise men are heard in quiet more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools."

Written for the inspiration of his descendants, and published by one of those descendants as a most fitting monument, the simple and unaffected autobiography of J. Augustus Johnson gives an insight into the type of man which helps to make our democracy a spiritual and united government rather than a selfish clamorous tribe.

Spending his early years abroad in missionary work, Mr. Johnson returned to this country to find it virtually a new land. "To me it was a new world," he records. "Columbus could not have been more surprised when he discovered America." Upon the new problems he entered quietly and fearlessly, built up a successful and aggressive law practice and gave fully of himself to the work of civil service reform, municipal reform, and such movements as the Legal aid society, the Children's aid society and the American seamen's friend society.

It is a record of a useful and unselfish life, worth reading and remembering. The style has the charm of intimacy natural to a book of which the author says: "I have written of what I remembered for such use as my children may wish, as they gather around their firesides and tell tales of a garrulous grandfather."

ALBERT DE ROODE.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING. By G. H. Gerber. New York: The New York Book Company.

This book does not discuss the high cost of living. Its thesis is (1) that legislation has placed upon capital "wasteful, destructive, shackling, hampered burdens" which have depressed and discouraged business progress and development, thus wasting "hundreds of millions of dollars annually," and (2) that labor has by "unsound policies" raised "prices of commodities and other living expenses." Both these tenets are assumed with but little evidence to substantiate the assumption. What evidence is submitted includes such statements as that the railroads have been put to an extra expense of "not less than \$31,024,258.00" for the year 1910, in making the rates which public authorities have required. The conclusions are lightly reached and are worthless. Thus as to franchises the author argues that our utility ills are due to the "fallacy of short term franchises" and concludes that the policy to follow is to give the utility companies their franchises "free of charge" reserving "the right at any time upon making full compensation to the owners to take the property." But as to what "full compensation" is or how it should be measured, he says not a word. Yet these are, of course, the really essential problems at issue. The book cheerfully questions all our legislative tendencies and the practices of labor and gleefully approves what capital has done. Assuming that the reader should have facts along these lines, why give them to him under the guise of a discussion of the high cost of living?

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

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PUBLIC BUDGETS. Edited by Prof. Augustus R. Hatton. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science. 1915.

The most recent issue of *The Annals* consists of contributions on public budgets, edited by Professor A. R. Hatton, which discussions are concerned with the more comprehensive features of fiscal planning—

including a budget program for the national government, state budgets, efficiency through budget making, and budgets in European and typical American cities. The volume consists so largely of empirical results that it is of unusual value to governmental executives, as well as to students of governmental problems. In addition, it places in permanent form a miscellany of financial experience which heretofore has been inaccessible. It is to be hoped that this is only the beginning of a literature which will be of practical aid to public administrators. The only really serious omission is an outline of the budget plan proposed for New York City by the New York bureau of municipal research, and which was not prepared in time for publication. Also the budgetary means of popular control may have merited more extended consideration.

The discussion further exhibits the new and desirable attention which is now being given to the tools of government. Professor Hatton has summarized the value of this changing thought in a one page of foreword, and a more clear and concise definition of government and its purposes could not be desired. He concludes: "A new spirit in American politics is manifesting itself in the powerful movement for the reform of governmental organization and procedure in the interest of popular control and efficiency. . . . No single change would add so much to both democracy and efficiency as the introduction of proper budget methods. The papers in this volume are published in the hope that they may contribute in some degree to the progress of this fundamental reform."

LENT D. UPSON.

Dayton, Ohio.

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CITY LIFE AND ITS AMELIORATION. By George Sharp. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 126 pp.

This is a pleasant essay dealing with the life and manners of city dwellers. The underlying thought is individualistic, the author maintaining that "the individual must be the unit of true fellowship, just as the threads must be new and strong

to insure strength in the fabric." His discussion of "the paradox of large personal liberty in a network of law" and of public manners and their annoyance are among the most interesting parts of the book, which is one of the "Present Day Problems Series." The writer does well to emphasize the need for an improvement in our habits and manners, but he is not altogether in touch, or at least he shows slight acquaintance, with modern municipal tendencies.

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AMERICAN WOMEN IN CIVIC WORK. By Helen Christine Bennett. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.

Miss Bennett has gathered into this volume an interesting group of papers which she has contributed to various maga-

zines dealing with the personality of some of the women of America who have contributed to the development of its civic work. It is an interesting complement to Mrs. Beard's book on "Woman's Work for Municipalities."¹ Mrs. Beard deals with the facts and events; Miss Bennett with the personnel. A round dozen are treated, beginning with Caroline Bartlett Crane, of Kalamazoo, whose picture forms the frontispiece; Sophie Wright, of New Orleans; Jane Addams; Kate Barnard, of Oklahoma; Albion Fellows Bacon, of Indiana; Hannah Kent Schoff, of Philadelphia; Frances A. Kellor, of New York; Julia Tutwiler, of Alabama; Lucretia L. Blankenburg, of Philadelphia; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and Ella Flag Young, of Chicago.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

ARISTOCRACY AND JUSTICE. By Paul Elmer More. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$1.25. Shelburne Essays, Ninth Series.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By William Bennett Munro. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

CITIES IN EVOLUTION. By Patrick Geddes. London: Williams & Norgate. 7s. 6d.

CLEVELAND EDUCATION SURVEY. Child Accounting in the Public Schools. By Leonard P. Ayres. Health Work in the Public Schools. By Leonard P. Ayres and May Ayres. What The Schools Teach and Might Teach. By Franklin Bobbitt. Cleveland, Ohio: The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation.

COMPARATIVE MUNICIPAL STATISTICS, 1912-1913. Compiled by the London County Council. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd. 5s.

DEMOCRACY IN THE MAKING. Ford Hall and the Open Forum Movement. Edited by George W. Coleman. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. \$1.50.

DICTIONARY OF MINNEAPOLIS, A GUIDE AND HANDBOOK. Minneapolis: Hudson Publishing Company. 25 cents.

ECONOMIC ORIGINS OF JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY. By Charles A. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

ETHICS IN SERVICE. By William Howard Taft, LL.D., D.C.L. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. \$1.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH CORN MARKET, FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By N. S. B. Gras. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

THE EXECUTIVE AND HIS CONTROL OF MEN. By Enoch Burton Gowin. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

EXCESS CONDEMNATION. A Report of the Committee on Taxation of the City of New York, with a report prepared by Herbert S. Swan for the National Municipal League. New York: 1915.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE. By Henry Parker Willis. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page & Company. \$1.

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III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Recent Reports on Taxation and Finance.—In the field of finance the year under review has been one of slow, but steady progress. The creation of new state tax commissions, and the enlargement of the powers of those already existing have gone forward as rapidly as could reasonably be expected. The administration of state revenue laws, though leaving much to be desired, is unquestion-

ably on a higher and more efficient plane in most states to-day than ever before in their history. The recent administrative reforms, which have resulted in the establishment of more than thirty state tax commissions with varying powers of control over local assessment, is nearing a double deadlock, however, due to the defects in tax systems and the unparalleled expansion of expenditures. Fur-

ther gains in the equity and efficiency of taxation are now dependent upon the modification of constitutions and tax laws; but the futility, not to say danger, of large additional expansion of revenues becomes apparent when one considers the appalling possibilities of wasteful and inefficient use of this money. It is distinctly encouraging, therefore, to note that in two directions some progress has been made by movements which aim at the correction of these defects. These movements are (1) the formation of state tax associations to study local financial problems; and (2) the creation of temporary and permanent commissions on efficiency and economy for the purpose of overhauling and standardizing public administration. These three movements are obviously complementary, and are all essential to any thorough financial reform. The soundest business principles must be observed in the appropriation and expenditure of the public money and the management of public affairs; the necessary revenue must be raised by the tax system that is most suitable to the economic interests of the community; and that tax system must be so administered that its burden will be equitably distributed upon all. We have put the cart before the horse in characteristic fashion, by creating state tax commissions with extensive powers over assessments, without making certain that the revenue system was itself equitable, or that the money would be efficiently and capably used.

The state associations, of which there are now at least half a dozen, represent the emergence of a new method of securing results—a method that is being applied with considerable success by some bureaus of municipal research. The distinguishing characteristic of the new plan is the realization that with the careful study of conditions as a prerequisite to the formulation of legislative proposals, there must be combined a thorough program of popular education upon these proposals in order to insure their enactment into laws. The old way, which was followed for a full generation in the field of tax reform, was to

create a special commission, instruct it to study the tax system and report a plan for remedying the defects which it had discovered. The commission's work and responsibility ended with its report, and, if that report contained any new or striking suggestions, it was usually promptly pigeonholed on the ground that the people would not stand for such radical proposals. This was probably a valid objection in most cases, in view of the popular ignorance on financial subjects—an ignorance which was usually so dense that a single document, like the report of a special commission, however intrinsically illuminating, could not dispel it. The cause of rational tax reform has been greatly delayed by this failure to educate the constituency in advance of the proposals to be made. Because popular agitation and enlightenment are leading planks in their platforms, the state tax associations offer prospect of accomplishing in the end, something more than the consumption of printer's ink in the multiplication of special reports and bills destined for the legislative scrap-heap.

There have appeared during the past year, about the usual number of reports of special commissions, official and otherwise. A considerable proportion of the permanent tax commissions have issued regular annual or biennial reports, amply fortified with statistics in every case, but varying widely in the value of their discussion of achievements and problems. The mass of literature which has appeared may be classified, for the purposes of this review, as follows;

- (1) The proceedings of the National tax association;

- (2) The proceedings of various state and local tax conferences, and other publications of state tax associations;

- (3) The reports of special commissions of investigation;

- (4) The reports of the permanent state tax commissions;

- (5) The reports of commissions on efficiency and economy.

The proceedings of the National tax association for 1914 have already been re-

viewed in several places,¹ and they will not, therefore, be fully covered in the present connection. This association has been of great service in stimulating interest in tax reform, and its annual session has more than once been followed by legislative gains in the state in which the conference was held. As its title implies, however, the interests of the National tax association are nation-wide, and a deliberate effort has been made in recent years to extend both its programs and its influence to include problems of national as well as of state and local finance. Directly, it cannot in the nature of things be of as much influence in state and local affairs as the state associations; indirectly it can and doubtless will remain the chief stimulus and inspiration of those who are working for better conditions in various localities.

For those interested primarily in local finances the papers of greatest interest at the annual conference of 1914 will probably be those on the cost of government, and those on the experiences of the Canadian cities with the single tax. The former papers discuss the slackness that has commonly prevailed in financial administration, and present a strong case for greater efficiency in public administration, the application of business principles in spending the public money, and the development of sound budgetary methods. These criticisms and suggestions are quite as applicable, of course, to the administration of national, as of state and local finances: all of these units have been living, thus far, in financial glass houses, and it makes little difference where one begins to throw stones. The single tax session was largely occupied with papers on the Canadian situation, and the outcome of the discussion was a revelation of the weakness of the claims that have been advanced for the single tax as the source of the phenomenal prosperity and growth of the Canadian northwest. Those cities which had not yet adopted this tax have

suffered less in the depression since 1912 than those which had adopted it. If the form of taxation has not produced the greater depression, there is considerable suspicion as to its contribution to the prosperity of the years preceding the depression.

The association has always endeavored to maintain a neutral position on all controverted topics, and in this it has succeeded fairly well. The presidential address of Professor Seligman raises one point, however, to which some objection may be made by those who wish to see American cities given greater freedom from state control and restrictions in their financial policy. This point, which was stated simply as a present-day tendency and not in any sense as a controversial issue, was the approval of the recent tendency toward administrative centralization. There is no disputing the facts; tax administration has unquestionably become more centralized. But the inference therefrom may not be altogether palatable to the ardent home rule advocate. Professor Seligman's inference was that this centralization was a good thing, that there ought to be more of it; in fact, that the national government ought to assume the administration of certain forms of taxation for state purposes, such as the taxation of incomes and interstate corporations. This can hardly be called an official policy of the association, but it is illustrative of the view of those now responsible for that policy. It raises some very interesting questions of practical politics, however, and suggests the need of a clearer demarkation of the spheres of state and local authority and responsibility in financial matters than has yet been made.

The state tax associations that have been formed work in different ways, and secure their publicity by somewhat different means. Two principal methods are observable—the first is an annual conference, the proceedings of which are widely circulated to taxpayers and officials; the second is the publication of a series of bulletins containing the results of special investigations. Perhaps a combination of

¹National Tax Association, Papers and proceedings of the eighth annual conference, Denver, 1914. Reviewed by the present writer in *American Economic Review*, vol. v, pp. 371–372, June, 1915.

these methods would be most effective, but of the two the latter appears to offer an advantage. An obvious, but sometimes necessary caution, is that the leaders in such campaigns should be capable of a sane grasp of the financial problem in its more fundamental aspects.

Two conferences on taxation were held in Indiana in 1914. The first was held in February at the state university, and a state tax association was organized.¹ This association held a second conference in December at Indianapolis.² The motive back of both conferences was the reform of the defective tax system. Indiana established the first of the modern state tax commissions in 1891, but that commission has never had the authority nor the capacity to prevent the continuance of rank inequalities in the distribution of the tax burden. The principal achievement of the new movement thus far has been to initiate discussion. The legislature has provided for a special commission of inquiry, with instructions to report at the next legislative session. Assisted by the state tax association, this commission may be able to formulate an acceptable reform program and secure its adoption.

The principal topic for discussion at the fourth annual conference of the Michigan tax association was the best means of reforming the general property³ tax. Professor Friday of the University of Michigan advocated a centrally administered income tax modelled upon the Wisconsin measure; but the official approval of the conference was given instead to the taxation of intangibles at a low specific rate. The conference also endorsed the work of the board of state tax commissioners in its vigorous reassessment policy, and approved the suggestions of the latter for a state budget system and a separate assessment of lands and improvements.

¹ Proceedings of a conference on taxation in Indiana, held at Indiana University, Feb. 5-6, 1914.

² Proceedings of the second annual conference on taxation in Indiana, under the auspices of Indiana University and the State tax association, held at Indianapolis, Dec. 1-2, 1914.

³ Proceedings of the fourth state conference on taxation, held at Detroit, Michigan, Jan. 28-29, 1915, by the Michigan state tax association.

The California state tax association has recently issued its first bulletins. This association was formed in 1913 to promote the interests of tax reform. Its "Report on the problem of high taxation in San Francisco"⁴ is an especially valuable analysis of the most pressing problem now confronting most American municipalities. This report begins with the story of the phenomenal increase of municipal expenditures—a story of the increase, in fifteen years, of 165 per cent in expenditures as against 46 per cent increase in population. In 1912 the per capita tax was \$24.14; the average per capita tax of Cleveland, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo and Milwaukee was said to be only \$19.47. The sources of revenue are the general property tax and various miscellaneous revenues and the distribution of receipts from these sources is worth noting:

<i>Source of revenue</i>	Per cent of total revenue in	
	1900-01	1914-15
Real estate.....	53.0	70.7
Personal property.....	22.3	10.8
Other sources.....	24.7	18.5

These figures reveal one source of the difficulty. The progressive withdrawal of personal property has caused a steady shift of the tax burden to real estate. Undervaluation is practiced for both real and personal property, and the unsupervised local administration serves only as the cloak for serious abuses of assessment. Separation of the sources of state and local revenues has eliminated neither competitive undervaluation nor the need of thorough central control of the local assessment.

The city's budget methods are criticized as "inexact, unscientific and ten years behind the times." The data on which expenses are estimated are of the roughest and crudest sort, often padded atrociously in anticipation of horizontal cuts. The classification is extremely inadequate—\$4,300,000 was authorized in 1913-14 in unsegregated, unclassified items arbitrarily fixed by the finance com-

⁴ The problem of high taxes in San Francisco, June, 1915, issued by the California state tax association.

mittee. Supplies for the city are costing excessively for want of a central purchasing agency; the civil service is unstandardized; and various departments are inefficiently organized. The association recommends the establishment of a bureau of municipal research to begin at once a thorough investigation and reform of the city's housekeeping.

The whole system of state taxation was attacked in a second bulletin on the "Problem of Taxation in California."¹

The separation of the sources of state and local revenue was the principal topic of discussion at the conference to consider the question of tax reform, held at Richmond, Virginia, in 1914.² The failure of the moderate recommendations of the Virginia special tax commission of 1911 blocked the chances of immediate reform. In the Richmond conference Professor T. S. Adams of the Wisconsin tax commission advised against complete separation, but it was evident that the local sentiment was rather strongly predisposed in favor of a reform program along this line. It was generally agreed, however, that the primary requisite to intelligent tax reform in Virginia was a more thorough investigation than had been made in 1911, and a very carefully engineered plan of popular education on the subject. The conference recommended the establishment of a special commission of inquiry the report of which has already been noticed in these columns.³

The acute financial embarrassment of many Ohio cities was the principal motive for the Ohio state tax conference, held in Columbus in February, 1915.⁴ This conference was not particularly well organized, and much time was spent in loose discussion of hasty and extemporaneous propositions for reform. The most significant fact that was brought out

apropos of the original motive for the conference was the immense surplus which had been accumulated in the state treasury, while the cities had been compelled to meet current expenses by loans or to postpone them by resorting to various desperate expedients. The significance of this situation entirely escaped the conference, and the introduction of the single tax prevented any further sensible discussion of practical measures. A meaningless resolution in favor of tax reform was adopted.

The conference on taxation at Seattle, Washington, in 1914 has already been reviewed, as have some recent bulletins of the South Dakota state tax association.⁵

There is no state tax association in New York, but annual conferences have been held for some years under the leadership of the state board of tax commissioners. These conferences have been composed principally of taxing officials and the topics discussed at the conference of 1914 may be indicated from the resolutions adopted.⁶ These covered the following points;

(1) The taxation of tangible personal property in the district of permanent use or location, instead of at the domicile of the owner.

(2) A reform of the methods of taxing corporations.

(3) An extension of the powers of the board of tax commissioners to include greater authority over the local assessors, and especially to order reassessments in any tax district.

Special Tax Commissions. Illinois had provided a special tax commission which reported in 1910, but its recommendations were entirely unheeded until 1915, when a constitutional amendment to permit the classification of personal property was submitted to be voted on in 1916. The legislative committee on efficiency and economy published a report on taxation and financial administration in 1914, in which the tax situation was again thoroughly covered and the earlier recommen-

¹ The problem of taxation in California, February, 1915, issued by the California state tax association.

² Proceedings of a Conference held to consider the question of tax reform, Richmond, Virginia, Jan. 20-21, 1914.

³ Cf. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 526.

⁴ State conference on taxation, held at Columbus, Ohio, Feb., 1915, under the auspices of the league of Ohio municipalities.

⁵ Cf. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, pp. 149-150.

⁶ Proceedings of the fourth state conference on taxation, Syracuse, New York, Jan. 21-23, 1914.

dations were renewed.¹ The report contains a description of the machinery of financial administration, with sections comparing the practice in Illinois with that in other states and countries. Much of the material had already been published in the report of 1910. The recommendations go farther, however, than those of the earlier report. They propose the establishment of a state finance commission, which shall exercise the control over the revenue system which is usually possessed by a state tax commission, and in addition shall supervise the state's budget policy and accounting methods. There is little prospect, however, that Illinois is ready to commit herself yet to the suggestions of the report. On the side of administrative reform, the committee further recommended that counties be allowed, and encouraged, to substitute the county for the township as the assessment unit. Some improvements in the collection of taxes were proposed, such as the reduction of collectors' commissions and various abatements, the saving from which was estimated at \$550,000 for the state, and \$1,000,000 for the localities.

Two other states took the initial step toward tax reform during the past year, by providing special commissions of investigation. The Nebraska commission made a thorough analysis of the state tax system, and recommended a general revision both of the form of taxation and the method of administration.² The suggested changes of form were adapted to the amendment providing for classification which was submitted to the people in 1914. This amendment failed, an indication that the preliminary groundwork of popular education and agitation on the subject had not been sufficiently thorough, but the commission's constructive proposals are still *apropos*. The most important recommendation was for the creation of a permanent state

tax commission with supervisory control over the local assessment, the adoption of the county as the assessment unit in charge of a county assessor, and the listing of all property at full value. Various changes were also suggested in the methods of taxing corporations.

The Tennessee special tax commission³ did not publish the detailed results of its analysis of the revenue system, but it reached the same conclusions as the Nebraska commission—the breakdown of local administration and the need of central control. Again the leading recommendation was for a central state tax commission, with power to suspend assessors and to appoint, temporarily, their successors. The commission should also perform the duties of the board of equalization. The proposal for an income tax of 10 per cent on bonds, notes and mortgages, plus a registration tax of one tenth per cent on the face value cannot be accepted as a satisfactory substitute for the present situation with regard to intangibles. The administrative features of the bill which the commission prepared were influenced by the recommendations of the Public Efficiency League of Knoxville for a state assessment of all property on the Ohio plan of 1913.

The problem of real estate assessment in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was studied by a committee which investigated various methods now in use for that purpose.⁴ The Somers system was carefully considered but was not adopted because of the doubtful character of the corner lot tables, the only feature of the system that any city is not free to use without cost. The committee recommended that the city undertake the development of the necessary technique and standards of sound real estate assessment, and especially by adopting the following suggestions:

(1) That the office of assessor be made appointive;

(2) That equalization maps be provided;

¹ Report of the committee to investigate assessment and taxation in the State of Tennessee, 1915.

⁴ Report of the special committee on the study of local real estate assessment situation, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1915.

¹ A Report on Revenue and Finance Administration, by John A. Fairlie, prepared for the efficiency and economy committee of the 48th General Assembly of Illinois. 1914.

² Report of the special commission on revenue and taxation, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1914.

(3) That a civil engineer be employed to prepare mathematical rules and tables for the valuation of real estate in Cambridge, after a careful study of the systems used in various cities. The methods used in Baltimore met with particular approval.

Permanent State Tax Commissions. The number of permanent state tax commissions has increased so rapidly in recent years that it will be impossible for lack of space to review adequately all of the reports that have appeared. Attention will therefore be confined to the most significant achievements and recommendations for further improvement. The reports that have come to hand will be discussed by geographical sections.

In those from the New England states the principal topic discussed was the means of securing better local assessments and more equitable equalization of the tax burden. These commissions do not possess as extensive control over the local assessments as some of the commissions in other sections. The Rhode Island commission asked for authority to make a state equalization,¹ and the Massachusetts tax commissioner recommended that he be authorized to install the Wisconsin plan of real estate equalization. There is general need of tax maps for both rural and urban districts. The recent resort to a direct state tax in Connecticut has stimulated local competitive undervaluation, and the tax commissioner recommends that immediate attention be given to the proposals of the special commission of 1913 for more effective taxation of corporations in order to keep down the state tax.² In Rhode Island the intangibles returned in 1914 under the plan of classification almost equalled the aggregate of personalty in 1910. The Massachusetts commissioner approved the principle of the recent tax on stock transfers, but asked for various amendments to improve administrative features. The bond registration fee was also approved,

but it was recommended that the receipts be paid to the state instead of being divided with the localities in which the holders resided, since the holders who registered the bonds were frequently not the real owners. The adoption of the pending income tax amendment was strongly urged.

The principal suggestion from the New Hampshire tax commission³ was for an extension of the assessor's term to three years, and for some check upon the freedom of the localities in granting tax exemptions to manufacturers. Towns are now competing with each other for prosperous manufacturing establishments by offering tax exemptions, and the resulting situation might profitably be studied by the advocates of unrestricted home rule in taxation.

The chief improvements in New Jersey⁴ during the past year were the progress in the construction of tax maps, the separation of lands and improvements on the assessment rolls, and the taxation of bank stock at its actual value instead of at owner's declaration. The assessment of bank stock was increased from \$9.7 millions in 1913 to \$94.2 millions in 1914. The deduction of debts was restricted to the assessment of intangible personalty.

The report of the New York Board of state tax commissioners was almost entirely statistical.

The year under review has been one of considerable progress for the states of the middle west. The Ohio experiment with a complete state assessment was short-lived, but the result of the one assessment made under the absolute control of the tax commission revealed the impossibility of listing all intangibles for taxation under the uniform rule.⁵ The commission's suggestion—not an official recommendation—for reaching intangibles is by acquiring the right of access to the books of banks and financial institutions. The absurdity of this device is self-evident.

³ Fourth annual report of the New Hampshire state tax commission, Concord, 1914.

⁴ Report of the New Jersey board of equalization, Trenton, 1914.

⁵ Fifth annual report of the Ohio tax commission, Columbus, 1914.

¹ Second annual report, Rhode Island tax commission, 1914.

² Report of the tax commissioner for the biennial period 1913-1914, Hartford, 1914.

There is no prospect of breaking with the general property tax and the last legislature reverted to the plan of locally elected assessors. The tax limit law has caused severe embarrassment to many cities and the commission recommends greater elasticity in the limits imposed, with central control of the tax rates, a proposal the full meaning of which is not entirely clear.

In Michigan the tax commission has been proceeding vigorously with the task of increasing assessments to full value through the exercise of its powers of review and reassessment.¹ The people are tolerating, and even demanding this heroic treatment, which offers some prospect of securing a permanent advance in the basis of assessment because of the three-year rule, *i.e.*, that assessments established by the commission may not be reduced for three years unless good cause be shown. The commission's action has not, of course, secured adequate assessment of intangibles, the proper taxation of which is becoming an important issue in the state. It is recommended that the data on railroad valuation be revised in order to bring the railroads up to the level of the property with which the commission has been dealing in its reviews and reassessments.

The Wisconsin tax commission² has wisely kept its railroad survey up to date, and is now making perhaps the most careful *ad valorem* assessment of railroads in the United States. The principal topic of interest in this commission's report is the discussion of the income tax. Despite certain defects in the plan of collection and in other minor details, this tax continues to be successful, both in the returns and in the economy of operation. The long period during which the Wisconsin demonstrated its capacity for efficient administration has been an important factor in this success, and other states might encounter more difficulty in

installing a state assessment of incomes without such a background of experience with central administration.

The Minnesota experience with a three-mill tax on intangibles has been an interesting revelation of the need of central supervision of even nominal taxes.³ Reassessment of moneys and credits was ordered in 239 tax districts in 1913, the combined result of which was an increase of 184 per cent in the number of persons assessed, and of 166 per cent in the volume of moneys and credits listed. The progress already attained, however, represents an immense gain over the taxation of such property under the uniform rule. A general system of classification was put into effect in 1914. Both Minnesota and Michigan have handled the problem of mine assessment in a very satisfactory fashion.⁴

The report of the West Virginia tax commissioner contains little discussion of interest. The reports from Indiana and Texas contain some interesting evidence of the inequality of assessment and the evasion of all forms of personal property. The Texas tax commissioner recommends classification and a strong tax commission; but the Indiana board of tax commissioners has not yet been able to formulate a platform of tax reform, and the new state tax association has been organized for the purpose of developing a satisfactory program.

In Kansas the tax commission renews its warnings against increased local expenditures, and its recommendations for a revision of the tax system.⁵ This commission has secured about as efficient results as are possible under the general property tax; and the next step must be some modification of that system. One amendment for classification has been defeated, possibly because of the inclusion, by the legislature, of provisions for income and occupation taxes. The commission

¹ Eighth Report of the Board of state tax commissioners, Lansing, 1914.

² Seventh biennial report, Wisconsin tax commission, Madison, 1914. Chapter V contains valuable data on the distribution of incomes by amounts and occupation groups.

³ Fourth biennial report, Minnesota tax commission, St. Paul, 1914.

⁴ Cf. Uglow, A study of the methods of mine valuation and assessment, Madison, 1914.

⁵ Fourth report to the Legislature of the Tax commission of Kansas, Topeka, 1914; also, Fourth report of the Tax commission, 1914.

is now offering another amendment similar to the model recommended by the National Tax Association. It is estimated that only about one fourth of the mortgages are being listed, after eight years of able central supervision of assessments, with especial attention to mortgage taxation.

Of the western states in which the tax administration has been reformed, the recent experiences of Arizona¹ and Colorado² are most interesting. In both of these states the commission made sweeping advances in local assessment under their powers of equalization and supervision, but in the face of very strenuous opposition. In Colorado the commission added \$321.5 millions in two years, actions which were fully sustained by the courts. The Arizona commission reports that public sentiment is rapidly veering to a friendly quarter as the benefits of more equitable taxation become generally appreciated. The legislature is no longer hampered by the uniform rule, but it has been unable to agree upon a substitute. The central issue in Arizona, however, is the proper taxation of mines, and upon this question, unfortunately, the commission itself is divided.

The tax commissions of North Dakota³ and Montana⁴ give their principal attention to the further changes and improvements that are needed in the tax laws. Both commissions recommend stronger central control, especially over the processes of local assessment and equalization. The North Dakota commission would provide for an appointive county assessor, the appointment to be made by the tax commission under civil service rules, with the approval of the county commissioners. A thorough revision of the methods of taxing corporations was urged, and data were presented to show the inadequate taxation of railroads and

of corporate excess. The report contains a valuable chapter on the cost of government in North Dakota. In Montana the principal need was said to be a more adequate equalization of assessments. It is suggested that this be accomplished by giving the tax commission power to correct assessments, as has been done in Colorado. Full value assessments are not desired until the tax rates have been limited.

The Washington state tax commission⁵ again recommends a constitutional amendment permitting a more liberal tax system. Until such action is taken the commission will hardly be able to effect any very great additional improvements in tax administration. The report of the Wyoming tax commissioner is entirely statistical.⁶ The California state board of equalization⁷ discusses the various possibilities of increasing the state revenue, but offers no specific recommendations as to which should be chosen. This board is still struggling with the problems of franchise assessment, a task which was quite evidently underestimated by the revenue commission of 1906.

Efficiency and Economy Commissions. No review will be attempted here of the formidable reports that have been received from the commissions on efficiency and economy. The report of the Illinois commission contains a review and analysis of all of the reports that have appeared from such commissions to the present,⁸ and to this the reader is referred. The significance of this attempt to standardize the public business has already been suggested. It remains only to suggest further that some care should be taken to secure the full advantage from these investigations. The history of the special tax commissions during the past forty years is not over-encouraging. Too often their reports saw the light of day

¹Second biennial report of the Arizona tax commission, Phoenix, 1914.

²Third annual report, Colorado tax commission, Denver, 1914.

³Second biennial report of the North Dakota tax commission, Bismarek, 1914.

⁴First biennial report, Montana tax commission, Helena, 1914.

⁵Fifth biennial report of the Washington state board of tax commissioners, Olympia, 1914.

⁶Third biennial report of the State tax commissioner of Wyoming, Cheyenne, 1914.

⁷Biennial report of the State board of equalization, Sacramento, 1914.

⁸Cf. Report of the Illinois committee on efficiency and economy, 1915, pp. 975-998. Bibliography on p. 998.

only in their brief journey from printing press to legislative wastebasket. The state tax associations offer a favorable opportunity for securing some attention to these reports, and it is to be hoped that they will not fail to take advantage of it.

Mention may also be made of two reports just received on the exemption of improvements from taxation prepared by Robert M. Haig of Columbia University for the Committee on taxation of the City of New York.¹

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Report of the Boston Budget Commission.—The report of the Boston budget commission is a valuable contribution to the general subject of municipal finance, and will prove to be of great assistance in the solution of Boston's peculiar financial problems. The task of the commission called for long and arduous labor in sifting out a multitude of details, and for the nicest discrimination in fitting general principles of budget-making to the special needs of the city and the requirements of the city charter.

Boston has been operating under the lump sum system of appropriations since its creation as a city in 1822 and the demand for some system of segregation became so general that the commission was created to ascertain the applicability of such a system to the present framework of government. The extreme type of segregated budget would seem to be inconsistent with the fundamental theory of a city charter, which, like that of Boston, vests the complete responsibility for the executive work in a single officer, the mayor, who is responsible to the entire electorate for the use or misuse of the moneys voted by the city council. The theory of the responsible executive type of city charter does not, however, seem to the commission as in any manner inconsistent with a greater degree of segregation in estimates, recommenda-

tions and appropriations than is provided by the system of lump sum appropriations now in use in the city; and bearing in mind the advantages of such a system, if not carried too far, the commission has recommended, and the council and mayor have accepted, a system which it is believed will accomplish all the good fairly to be expected from the more complicated forms, and which avoids the evils, theoretical and practical, to be found in these.

The plan devised by the commission consists first, of a set of estimate sheets; secondly, of a revised appropriation order with an accompanying set of budget sheets, which latter are a condensation of the estimates; and thirdly, of a revised form of monthly statements and physical inventories to be submitted by the departments.

The estimate sheets are three in number. These are, first, a general item sheet for each department and division, with one column for a printed list of groups and items, and seven double columns for figures showing for each item the actual expenditures during the preceding two fiscal years, the expenditure during the current fiscal year, the request of the department for the ensuing year, the amount allowed by the mayor, the amount voted by the city council, and the amount approved by the mayor which constitutes the final appropriation. This sheet contains in detail, and arranged in groups, all the items, except those for personal service, and for expenditures for contracts from taxes. The groups are: 1. Personal service (summary). 2. Service other than personal. 3. Equipment. 4. Supplies. 5. Materials. 6. Special items, such as interest, taxes, pensions, contracts, etc. 7. Unforeseen expenditures. The items of personal service, meaning salaries and wages, are to be entered upon a separate sheet entitled "Schedule A," with columns similar to those in the general item sheet. The third sheet, entitled "Schedule B," relates to items involving expenditures from taxes for contract work of a large nature. The general item sheet will

¹ The Exemption of Improvements from Taxation in Canada and the United States; and Some Probable Effects of the Exemption of Improvements from Taxation in New York City.

contain in the first column a printed list of about one hundred items arranged in the seven groups mentioned. The other two sheets will be printed with blank columns as the items differ for each department and division. These estimate sheets will measure not more than seven-teen inches square and will be smaller than those in use by most of the larger cities in the country.

The budget sheets consist of a condensation of the estimate sheets and are arranged by departments and divisions. These are bound up with the message of the mayor, and the letters of the department heads, the whole constituting a work-plan for the year. To this is added the financial tables of the city auditor, and such other information needed for the consideration of the council. The commission estimates that the total budget for all city and county departments will not exceed three thousand items, which will make it one of the smallest of the budgets now considered by American cities of the size of Boston, and yet furnish the mayor, the city council and citizens at large with all the information capable of being stated in tabular form which they can reasonably desire for the consideration of the annual appropriations.

In most budgets there is a column for increases or decreases in the amounts requested by the departments as compared with the expenditures for previous years. These columns are omitted as unnecessary, for a glance at the sheet will indicate such changes. Some budgets have a column for unit costs, but in the opinion of the commission this is not the place for exhibiting such costs. Such calculations should appear in the annual department reports or supplementary statements. Some budgets include a column for inventories of stock or other property on hand. This also represents an unprofitable attempt at refinement and should appear as provided by the commission on separate report sheets submitted by the departments at stated times.

The main reason, however, why the

form of budget recommended by the commission is so much smaller than the extreme segregated type is that it has deliberately rejected all attempt at what is somewhat loosely termed the "functional" classification of items. There is nothing to be gained in forcing all the departments to adopt a method of classification which is more or less artificial in nature and which leads to a budget of prohibitive length.

The system of estimates and budget which is recommended by the commission may be thought by some to be a compromise between the extreme segregated type and the lump sum system. Such is not the view of the commission. This system is, for the conditions under the charter, superior to any in use elsewhere. It is a simple system, readily understood and inexpensive to put and keep in operation. The entire budget can be printed in a relatively small compass. It will show with sufficient exactness and detail what has been spent and what is to be spent by the different departments for the various purposes of the government. It will in particular disclose the exact number of employes which each department is entitled to carry on its payroll, and the maximum compensation which can lawfully be paid to each. It will disclose just what increases each department requests over the corresponding expenditures of the three preceding years; just what items the mayor recommends for reduction or excision, and just what action the city council takes in these particulars. And it will not interfere with the charter provisions concentrating responsibility for the executive business in the several departments under the direction of the mayor. It will encourage publicity, and tend to fix the responsibility for expenditure.

The commission assumes that the city auditor and the mayor will not use the power to make transfers given them in the charter other than as a valuable aid for sound administration. Any form of budget might be defeated by ill-considered or harmful transfers between the different groups of appropriations.

The establishment of monthly reports showing the balance of each item appropriated, and of stated physical inventories showing equipment, supplies and materials on hand, gives a cross check between the books and storehouses of the departments and the books of the city auditor, which will make for efficiency and prevent overdrafts on any item or in any group of the appropriation.

The report of the commission has been received with much favorable comment and is being enthusiastically supported by all the municipal organizations, officials, and by the press. The most gratifying parts of the report are that the sole power of originating the budget is left with the mayor as provided in the charter; the power of transfer remains with the mayor and city auditor as provided in the charter; the extreme form of classification and functionalization has been rejected because it defeats its own purpose and makes a less rather than more intelligent outline of appropriations and expenditures; and the whole system will adjust itself to the present organization of the departments, their system of reports, records, organization, and procedure, requiring practically no added expenditure for installation and maintenance.

The commission consisted of Ex-mayor Nathan Matthews, chairman; John J. Martin, vice-chairman; William B. Munro; Thomas J. Kenny; and Mark Temple Dowling; with Edwin A. Cottrell, Secretary.

EDWIN A. COTTRELL.¹

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"Efficiency first" was formally adopted as the slogan of the sixth annual conference of mayors and other city officials of the state of New York. The conference was held in Troy, the first three days in June, and was represented by delegates from fifty-four cities. The program contained a symposium on the municipal progress of the past year, and discussed many of the problems which had confronted public administration. In addition to this informal program, a num-

¹ Instructor in Government, Wellesley College.

ber of papers were presented, among the speakers being Henry Bruere, chamberlain, city of New York; Dr. Hermann M. Biggs, New York State commissioner of health; Harry Olson, chief justice, Chicago Municipal Court; William A. Prendergast, comptroller, City of New York; and others of authority in the field of municipal administration.

For the first time since its organization, the conference discussed municipal finance, and a committee with Edward L. Osborne, controller of Rochester, and president of the National association of controllers and accounting officers, as chairman, was appointed to co-operate with the state controller in his efforts toward the introduction of scientific accounting, reporting and budget methods.

The most important result of the conference was the establishment of a state bureau of municipal information, which has been projected for some four years.¹

The proceedings of the conference have been printed, including the informal discussion as well as the formal papers which were presented. Copies are free to public organizations, and to others a charge of one dollar is made. The secretary is Mr. Capes.

The conference is an example of the interest which will be taken by local officers in a program which has some value for them, and of the enthusiasm, co-operation, and progress which can result. Secretaries of state municipal leagues and of mayors' associations might take notice.

LENT D. UPSON.²

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Housing in Philadelphia.³—This report brings out striking facts, many of which are painful, but it is in no sense a muck-raking production. It is a careful diagnosis of Philadelphia's housing ills, based on a detailed investigation of

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 70.

² National Cash Register Co., Dayton, Ohio.

³ A Study of the Housing and Social Conditions in Selected Districts of Philadelphia. Eleventh Report of the Henry Phipps Institute. By Frank A. Craig, M.D.

1,003 houses and 5,812 persons living in these.

Workers of the social service department of the Phipps institute and a colored worker supplied by the Whittier centre, under the direction of Miss Lucinda Nelson Stringer, made the inspections of the houses and obtained the information in regard to the families. The areas studied were Russian, Jewish, Italian and negro sections in the older part of the city and in comparison with these the homes of institute patients.

Some popular fallacies are overthrown by the report and some interesting racial characteristics are shown. "The largest section of the people are those of cleanly habits, living in bad houses." "The negroes show by far the best conditions, with 96 per cent of clean houses." "The most striking feature of the entire investigation from the standpoint of race was the remarkable degree of cleanliness in the homes of the negroes." "The worst conditions were found among the Jewish people, one fifth of whom (20.6 per cent) were living in dirty homes." "In the Jewish district the large houses with a great many rooms (as high as 24 rooms) occurred more frequently than in the other districts."

This contrast of habits seems a natural result of domestic service of the negroes and previous ghetto life of the Jews. Other differences are not so easy to explain.

"The negro district" is "in by far the best condition as regards crowding" per room, "and the Italian is the worst." "A relatively small proportion of children is found among the negroes."

"The large proportion of Italian house owners (14.06 per cent)" is "in striking contrast to the condition among the negroes, where only 1.44 per cent were found owning their homes. Even the Jews showed nowhere near the same proportion of house owners as the Italians."

That negroes but recently emancipated from slavery should be improvident is to be expected, but why should Italians be home-owners more frequently than Jews?

The analysis of rents confirms only in part the common impression as to the

exploitation of negroes in this respect. "Notwithstanding the very inferior housing" the negroes "have been shown to receive their rates are distinctly higher than the other two groups as soon as their apartments exceed three rooms"; yet, "the rate for single rooms is not nearly so high as among either the Italians or the Jews."

Of the negroes 39.7 per cent were found to be living in houses graded at zero, meaning that they were considered unfit to live in. "This very striking deviation from the average can have but one explanation that is at all satisfactory, and that is that no houses are open to the negro except the poorest, and after they are once occupied by negroes, no effort is made on the part of the owner to keep the property in repair."

In speaking of the immigrants Doctor Craig says:

"It is certainly very suggestive that 69.5 per cent of the foreign born patients" of the institute, "*developed their disease within ten years of their arrival in this country.*"

He thinks this an indication "that the changed conditions under which they were forced to live and work in this country did have some relation to the development of the disease."

Housing in the part of "the city of homes" covered by the investigation is by no means satisfactory.

"The districts were selected because they were considered average, typical blocks of the races living in that portion of the city." But over 18 per cent of all the houses inspected were found to be unfit for habitation. The houses on the rear lots were especially bad. Of the dwellings examined about one in six faced on an alley or back yard.

"The alleys are frequent sources of bad housing conditions. Narrow, dark, usually damp, and without a proper air supply, they have no redeeming features to recommend them except the saving of space."

Though the law prohibits the continuance of a yard vault in Philadelphia on any plot of ground where there is a sewer adjoining, the investigation showed

252 of these filthy, antiquated appliances maintained illegally in the districts examined. The frequent complaints as to these were said to be the one feature which stood out especially in the list of nuisances.

Less than one fourth of the apartments studied had indoor toilet facilities and less than half had separate toilets, not shared with other apartments.

About three fifths of the families were "dependent upon a water supply in the yard, which in many instances means carrying water for every purpose up two or three flights of stairs." "Among the thirteen hundred and odd apartments there were found only 247 bath tubs."

The third largest municipality of the United States with all the smoke and dust and grime of a great city does not seem to make cleanliness easy for its poorer inhabitants in its older congested districts, nor does it appear to give all the help it might to their efforts to maintain health and decency. "It is astonishing that the confines of the home, the fundamental basis of our entire social structure, should not receive more widespread attention—nearly all the activity in the direction of discussing the proper regulations being left in the hands of a few individuals. If this is due to lack of knowledge, there is opportunity for a vigorous educational campaign."

EMILY WAYLAND DINWIDDIE.



Texas Cities.—The July number of *Texas Municipalities*, which is the quarterly publication of the League of Texas Municipalities, contains three articles of interest to the students of Municipal government. The first is a review of "Texas legislation of 1915 affecting municipalities" by J. F. Marron. The second is an exposition of "The Sherman charter" which provides a "Council-commissioner-manager plan" (to quote the charter definition itself). This hybrid is one of the most remarkable products of recent municipal charter making. It retains the mayor and council and combines with it a powerful commission of three elected by the council and vested with all legislative power. The commis-

sion, in turn, selects the city manager; the latter, however, being responsible both to the commission and to the council. The mayor retains many functions of importance and is, *ex-officio*, one of the commission, though the appointing power is vested in the city manager. In the words of Messrs. R. L. Hall and F. M. Stewart, the authors of the article, "the charter defies complete comparison with any of the three types of municipal government. It is *sui generis*."

The third article is a compilation by Mr. E. T. Paxton of "Facts from the 1914 tax roll" of a number of Texas cities. It will interest students of municipal taxation. The fluctuations in the personal property assessment are noticeable. For example Temple in Bell county with 10,993 population returns but \$450,000 worth of personal property and over seven million dollars valuation of real property. San Angelo in Tom Green county has little more than half the real valuation of Temple, but it returns six times the personal property valuation. Eight cities of smaller population exceed Temple's personal property valuation by from one and one-half to five and one-half times. Temple's real property valuation, on the other hand, is much larger than that of any other city under 20,000 inhabitants. There is a variation of assessed valuations placed upon improvements,—Houston being the lowest with assessments based upon 25 per centum of the value. In Port Arthur real estate is assessed at 100 per centum of its value, while in other cities the assessed valuation is much lower. It is noted in the Houston report that the plan of taxing land at a much higher rate than improvements has been estopped by court order with respect to the assessments of 1915.

Recent bulletins of the municipal research series issued by the University of Texas include "A model health code for Texas cities," by R. M. Jameson, "Street paving in Texas," by E. T. Paxton, "Public service rates in Texas cities," by E. T. Paxton, and "University training for municipal administration," by Herman G. James.

"Foreign Food Prices as Affected by the War" is the title of a most illuminating monograph put out by the federal bureau of labor statistics. The facts in the report are based principally upon data furnished through the consular service. The bulletin is of like value to those interested in food costs and in the effects of the war. Thus while comparison of prices between different countries are admittedly untrustworthy, certain facts as to the effect of the war upon different localities in the same country seem definite and significant as evidenced by the following quotation: "In France the best sugar-beet fields lie in the northern parts, which were early invaded by the Germans and the price of sugar rose considerably. Germany and Russia are sugar exporting countries, and in Berlin and Moscow sugar shows no change in price. England imports its whole supply, and in London the price has risen 70 per cent. Turkey usually imports her sugar from Russia and from Austria. The Russian supply was shut off altogether when Turkey entered the war, and the Austrian supply was reduced to what could be brought through by rail—a very uncertain dependence. Apparently Greece was likely to undergo a similar experience, for though at Athens sugar had risen only 30 per cent, in Saloniki at the same date it had increased in price 150 per cent."

CLYDE LYNDON KING.



Publications on County Government.¹—

"The Government of Hudson County, N. J.," by Earl Willis Crecraft, M. A., published privately by the author.

"The Government of Nassau County, N. Y.," prepared for the Commission on the government of Nassau County by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

"County Government in New York," prepared for the New York Constitutional

Convention mainly by the New York State Constitutional Convention Committee.

To the lay reader, Mr. Crecraft's book on Hudson county is the best and the most readable. The author goes through that county with a fine-tooth comb, analyzing the work of all the offices both as to their legal concept and their actual practical working.

That county government in this country is illogically organized has been increasingly evident in the light of the success which our cities are having in developing unified, strong governments. How the illogical, ramshackle organization of the county leads to needless friction, waste of money, overlapping of authority and general inefficiency, is described in minute detail and in a thoroughly scientific spirit. There are many circumstantial little stories of how county officials, safely enshrouded in the obscurity that is always characteristic of county government, flout the interests of the public with impunity. Mr. Crecraft obtained his data while serving as secretary of the citizens federation which is one of only three effective organizations in the country devoted to the study of county affairs.

The documents on the government of Nassau county is typical of surveys by the bureaus of municipal research, the analysis being along financial rather than political lines, illustrated with diagrams of every department. They offer no appraisal or criticism. As technical handbooks they are highly valuable for the purposes of that handful of close students of county government who are now beginning to plow virgin soil with their projects of reform in counties.

The volume on "County Government in New York" contains a critical survey of Westchester county, prepared by the Westchester county research bureau, the papers that were read at the Schenectady conference for better county government in 1914 and a vast, but rather meaningless, collection of county financial figures supplied by the state comptroller of New York.

RICHARD S. CHILDS.

¹An interesting study of county government in New York City was made by Henry Bruere and Leonard M. Wallstein for presentation to the New York constitutional convention. There was also a report on county government in Illinois by John A. Fairlie, made in 1913.—C. R. W.

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Mr. Sears is superintendent of the Public Employment Bureau of the City of New York, Lafayette and Leonard streets, New York City. The report is sold for 10 cents a copy.

Excess Condemnation

NEW YORK CITY. COMMITTEE ON TAXATION. Excess condemnation. A report of the Committee on Taxation with a report prepared by Herbert S. Swan for the National Municipal League. 1915. 122 pp., illus., plans. 4°.

Mr. Swan's report covers pp. 9-122.

Exhibits

Budget; see Municipal Exhibits

Explosives

NEW YORK CITY. FIRE DEPARTMENT. Extracts from chap. 10 of the code of ordinances of the city of New York relating to explosives and ammunition. 1915. 31 pp., obl. 8°.

Finance

BOWES (J. H.). Municipal finance. (Canadian Municipal Jour., Nov., 1915: 390-391.)

Mr. Bowes is city solicitor of Chilliwack, B. C.

BRADSHAW (THOMAS). Some notes on municipal finance. 16 pp.

Address before the 17th annual meeting of the Ontario Municipal Association, Sept. 2, 1915. Mr. Bradshaw is of Messrs. A. E. Ames & Co., Toronto.

TORONTO, ONT.

BRITTAIN (HORACE L.). The movement for improved financing and accounting practice in Toronto. (Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science. Annals, Nov., 1915: 211-222.)

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, AKRON, O. Bull. no. 1. A report on a study of some aspects of the financial condition of Akron, Ohio. August 17, 1915. 31 pp.

ROMPEL (DR.). Städtische Finanzen vor dem Kriege. (Finanz-Archiv. Jahrg. 32, v. 2, 1915: 339-362.)

The author considers the budgets of the six largest Prussian cities, viz., Berlin, the empire's capital (pop. 2,072,000), the metropolis of the west, Cologne (pop. 554,000), Breslau, the largest city of eastern Prussia (pop. 544,000), the wealthy city of Frankfurt a. M. (pop. 447,000), the industrial city of Düsseldorf (pop. 415,000), and Charlottenburg, a prosperous suburb of Berlin (pop. 328,000). In addition, the budget of Bavaria's capital, Munich (pop. 640,000), and that of the largest city of Saxony, Leipzig (pop. 623,000), are described.

SWAN (HERBERT S.). Sources of [city] revenue. (Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science. Annals, Nov., 1915: 125-135.)

NEW YORK CITY

ELLISON (WILLIAM B.). Financial problems of the City of New York. 12 pp., obl. 12°.

SOCIETY FOR PREVENTION OF MUNICIPAL WASTE. Statement concerning financial problems of New York City. Issued Nov. 20, 1915.

Separate copy not seen. Printed with some omissions in the Evening Post of Nov. 20.

Fire Departments

ANON. Fire department statistics. Municipal Jour., Aug. 26, 1915, pp. 287-315; Oct. 14, 1915: 581-583.)

ANON. Statistics of, I, fire departments, and II, of motor fire apparatus. (Municipal Engrg., Sept., 1915: 45-73.)

BOSTON

O'KEEFE (JOHN A.). Work of the fire prevention department. 3000 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Oct. 20, 1915.)

Describes the work of public education and co-operation of the Boston Fire Prevention Department.

CHICAGO

DAMONTE (H. F.). Chicago fire department. 2000 words. (Fireman's Herald, Sept. 25, 1915.)

CINCINNATI

See also Debt.

ANON. Cincinnati's fire department. (Municipal Jour., Aug. 26, 1915: 283-287, illus.)

DECATUR

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. Report on the Decatur fire department. 2200 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Oct. 6, 1915.)

FALL RIVER

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. Report on the Fall River Fire Department. 2500 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Oct. 6, 1915.)

NEW YORK CITY

BATES (PUTNAM A.). The fire alarm system of the city of New York. (Municipal Engrg. City of New York. Proc., 1914: 299-316, illus.)

NEWARK

ANON. Fire Department of the City of Newark, N. J.—how it is managed. (Newarker, Sept., 1915: 167-170, illus.)

ROCKFORD

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. Report on fire conditions in Rockford, Ill. 2500 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Oct. 6, 1915.)

Describes fire dept. and its equipment.

Fire Prevention

ANON. Protecting congested districts in cities. Causes of conflagrations, and methods by which they can be prevented. (Sci. Amer. no. 2077, Oct. 23, 1915: 270-271.)

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. Building code: an ordinance providing for the fire limits, and regulations governing the construction, alteration, equipment, repair, or removal of buildings or structures. Ed. 4. 1915. 326 pp., illus.

— Regulations for the installation and use of internal combustion engines (gas, gasoline, kerosene, fuel oil also coal gas producers pressure and suction systems), recommended by the National Fire Protection Association. Ed. of 1915. 1915. 11 pp.

NATIONAL FIRE PROTECTION ASSOCIATION. Regulations for the installation and use of the municipal fire alarm sys-

tems recommended by the assn. Ed. of 1915. 27 pp.

— Regulation for the protection of openings in walls and partitions against fire, recommended by the assn. Ed. of 1915. 1915. 91 pp.

Government

BRUÈRE (HENRY). Development of standards in municipal government. (Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Science. Annals, Sept. 1915, 199-207.)

DELFAU (JOSE). La décentralisation communale. (Revue Générale d'Administration, Mars-Avril, 1915: 228-234.)

In 1912 a special commission of inquiry was appointed by the French Chamber of Deputies to report on various propositions looking to municipal decentralization. The chairman of the commission, M. Meunier, had prepared an elaborate report but the session of the General Assembly terminated before the report had been presented, and, as M. Delfau remarks, "depuis cette époque on n'a plus entendu parler de la réforme." M. Delfau, himself, pronounces the proposed decentralization as desirable in theory, but in practice as dangerous and inopportune. M. Delfau is sous-préfet of Uzès.

DETROIT CITIZENS' LEAGUE. Government by controlled precincts. 1915. 41. obl. 4°.

Address 623 Free Press Building, Detroit.

LAMBIE (ROBERT). Local government in Scotland. (Municipal Jour. [London], Sept. 3, 1915: 311-312.)

From the author's presidential address before the Incorporated Sanitary Association of Scotland, delivered at Glasgow, Sept. 2, 1915. Mr. Lambie is convener of the Public Health Committee, Lanarkshire County Council.

Grade Crossings

ALBANY

ANON. Difficult grade crossing elimination at Albany, N. Y. (Rwy. Age Gazette, Nov. 19, 1915: 961-963, illus.)

ST. LOUIS

ANON. Elimination of Tower Grove grade crossings at St. Louis completed. (Engrg. Rec., Nov. 20, 1915: 627-629, illus.)

Health

EL PASO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. Preliminary report of the health survey of El Paso [by] Jessie P. Rich and B. L. Arms, M.D. Housing health survey by Jos. H. Grossman. Sept. 25, 1915. 8 pp.

GUNN (SELSKAR M.). The present condition of public health organization in the United States. 1915. 48 pp.

A report of the Central Committee on Public Health Organization based on a voluntary survey of organizations of all sorts interested in public health. Published by the Council on Health and Public Instruction of the American Medical Association. Address 535 North Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill. Professor Gunn, who is secretary of the Central Committee, is of the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

MARX GREENE (B. D.). Joint health organization by small cities on the co-op-

erative plan. (Pacific Municipalities, Nov., 1915: 551-557.)

Paper read at the 18th annual convention of the League of California Municipalities, Sept. 7, 1915. Mr. Greene is city attorney of Antioch and Pittsburgh.

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO. Your rights and duties under the health laws of New York City. 11 pp. 12°.

Printed for the use of the industrial policy-holders of the company.

NEW YORK CITY. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH. Monograph ser. no. 11. Health district no. 1 (experimental health district), its organization and work performed in first quarter of 1915. 1915. 26 pp.

— Reprint ser. no. 31. Food regulations of the department of health. 1915. 70 pp.

SCHNEIDER (FRANZ, JR.). A survey of the public health situation, Ithaca, New York, 1914, for the central Committee for Ithaca Survey. 1915. 33 pp., illus.

UNITED STATES. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE. Municipal ordinances, rules and regulations pertaining to public health. 1915. xx, 657 pp. 8°. (Reprint no. 273.)

Includes ordinances adopted during 1914 by cities of the U. S. having a population of over 10,000 in 1910. This volume is the fifth in the series of compilations of municipal ordinances and regulations pertaining to the public health which have been issued as reprints from the Public Health Reports. The preceding volumes are numbered Reprint no. 70, 121, 199 and 230 resp., and the series covers the period from Jan. 1, 1910 to Dec. 31, 1914.

— The notifiable diseases. Prevalence during 1914 in cities of over 100,000. 1915. 12 pp. Reprint no. 291.

Hinkley, Engl.

CRUMP, E. H. Eleven years' municipal work at Hinkley, Engl. (Proc. Inst. Municipal and County Engineers, 1914-5, pt. 1: 443-462.)

Housing

ALLISON (RICHARD). Housing—the problem. (Jour. Roy. Sanitary Institute, Aug., 1915: 299-304.)

Makes the important point of evils resulting from failure to provide for the inspection of plans for new buildings by the medical officer of health upon whom the responsibility of the administration of the Housing Acts rests. Referring to a specific illustration the author says: "Some of these houses were commenced in November, inhabited in January, and condemned as unfit for human habitation by the local medical officer in the following May."

The author is sanitary inspector at Brighouse.

BALL (CHARLES BACKUS). Homes of to-day and citizens of to-morrow. Detroit, 1915. 10 pp. illus.

Address at the Detroit Museum of Art, April 15, 1915. Published by the Detroit Housing Association.

BENNETT (M. B.). Designs for artisans' dwellings in town and country. (Proc. Inst. of Municipal and County Engineers, 1914-5, pt. 1: 355-366, illus.)

BEUSTER (FRITZ). Städtische Sied-

lunge-politik nach dem Kriege. Berlin, 1915. VIII, 44 p.

The author anticipates a dearth of small dwellings when the war ends. In this brochure he outlines a program of administrative, financial and statutory provisions for the empire, the several states and for cities. Mr. Beuster, an official building adviser, believes the adoption of a systematic domiciliary policy to be imperative. He suggests that not only the financing, but the actual erection of dwellings be undertaken by the government, and cites the recent decision of the city of Amsterdam, by a vote of 319 for and 13 against, to erect of 3000 laborers' dwellings by the city.

A similar suggestion is made by the housing inspector of Charlottenburg, Albert Gut, in no. 14 of the Zeitschrift des Verbands Deutscher Architekten und Ingenieurvereine. A full abstract of Mr. Gut's proposal is given in *Kommunale Praxis* of Oct. 23, 1915.

BROWN (REGINALD). Housing at Southall-Norwood, England. (Surveyor and Municipal and County Engineer, Sept. 17, 1915: 308-312, illus.)

CHAPPELL (EDGAR L.). War and the housing problem. (Garden Cities and Town Planning, July, 1915: 130-134.)

DETROIT HOUSING ASSOCIATION. Right methods in housing bureau. 1915. 16 pp., illus.

DOWNS (WILLIAM C.). Rents for dwellings fixed by law. (U. S. Commerce Reports, 1915: 332-333.)

Summary of a bill introduced into the New South Wales Parliament on August 19, 1915. The measure applies to dwellings leased for a term not exceeding three years at a rent not exceeding \$500 a year. It provides for the appointment by the governor of fair-rents courts. The rules governing the power of the court are given *in extenso*.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its reports to the San Francisco convention, 1915, pp. 98-99, in commenting on the less paternalistic provisions of U. S. Res. 61 congress [sic. i. e. H. R. 13871, 63 congress], says: "This is one of the subjects that will require considerable discussion and agitation, before legislators in Congress, state assemblies, or municipal councils will pay heed to the need of the reformation or the plans suggested to solve the evils which everybody recognizes, and which few undertake to remedy."

EGINTON (ARTHUR T.). Tenements and tenants. (Jour. Roy. Sanitary Institute, Aug. 1915: 305-316.)

The author is chief sanitary inspector of the Lancashire County Council.

HALL (A. B.). Housing and the police power. (National-Real Estate Jour., Oct. 1915: 269-276.)

HEADLEY (MADGE D.). Housing England's submerged tenth. (Amer. City, Sept., 1915: 192-196.)

HEXAMER (CHARLES A.). Occupancy restriction in buildings. (Real Estate Mag., Sept., 1915: 35-38.)

IHLDER (JOHN). City housing—past and future. 1915. 14 pp.

National Housing Assoc. Publications. No. 28. Price 5 cents a copy. Address 105 E. 22d st., New York City.

—. Financing English housing. (Amer. City, Oct., 1915: 291-298.)

LANCASHIRE (W. T.). Housing in cot-

tagcs. (Proc. Inst. Municipal and County Engrs., 1914-5, pt. 1: 299-311, illus.)

A questionnaire with particular reference to the financial results of housing schemes in cottages, was sent by the author to fifteen towns of the Midlands and the North of England. The returns received form the basis of this article. The towns reported on are Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Bradford, Hull, Salford, Birkenhead, Middlesbrough, Burton-on-Trent, Keighley, Shipley and Leeds. Mr. Lancashire is city engineer and building surveyor of Leeds.

LINDEMANN (HUGO). Bauschwindel und Wohnungswesen. (*Kommunale Praxis*, Sept. 18, 1915: 607-612; Sept. 25, 1915: 623-628.)

Critical review of a memorial submitted to the Prussian Lower House in May, 1914, by the Prussian Minister of Trade, concerning losses accruing to builders in Greater Berlin owing to overproduction of buildings.

—. Die Entwicklung unserer Wohnungsverhältnisse. (*Kommunale Praxis*, Oct. 16, 1915, c. 671-674.)

MEAD (MARCIA). The Ellen Wilson homes. (Real Estate Mag., Sept., 1915: 51-59, illus.)

MIDGLEY (J. C.). The housing and town planning act, 1909 (part 2), as applied to commercial and industrial districts. (Proc. Inst. of Municipal and County Engrs', 1914-5, pt. 1: 90-101, illus.)

Mr. Midgley is deputy town surveyor, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

NINDE (L. J.). "Land supervision and its effect upon housing." (National Real Estate Jour., Oct., 1915: 267-268.)

WILMARTH (LEWIS T.). How one city got better housing. Sept., 1915. 9 pp. 8°.

Publication no. 30, National Housing Assoc. 105 E. 22d st., New York City. Price 5 cents.

NOLEN (JOHN). Land supervision and its effect upon housing. (National Real Estate Jour., Oct., 1915: 259-265.)

Ice Plants

COOPER (HUGH G.). A successful municipal ice plant. (Amer. Municipalities, Sept., 1915: 169-170.)

The ice plant at Weatherford, Okla., a town of 2100 population.

Industrial Cities

PENNSYLVANIA. BUREAU OF INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS. Annual report (41st.), 1913-4. 1915. 125 pp.

Pages 64-93 comprise "Model villages and homes as uplift means." The places described are the Viscose industrial village at Marcus Hook on the Delaware River, Palmerton in the valley of the Lehigh near Mauch Chunk, Campbell industrial village, and Hershey, "the chocolate town". Viscose village was established by the American Viscose Co., makers of fiber silk, Campbell by the Joseph Campbell Co., canners of soups, Palmerton by the N. J. Zinc Co. of Pennsylvania, and Hershey by the manufacturers of chocolate.

Institutions

WORTHINGTON (MARY GRACE). Fifty benevolent and social institutions in and near New York. A brief guide for visitors. 1915. 100 pp. 24°.

Mrs. Worthington is field work specialist on the teaching staff of the New York School of Philanthropy. Only those who have had occasion to use the information admirably compiled in this volume, can appreciate the need for just such a handbook.

Jails

ABBOTT (EDITH). The real jail problem. 1915. 8 pp.

Issued by the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago.

Japanese Cities

JAPAN. IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS. An official guide to eastern Asia. vol. 4. China. 1915. cxxiv, 414 pp. 12°. illus., maps.

Contains excellent detailed descriptions of Chinese cities and street plans of 15 Chinese cities.

Light and Power Plants

DICKERMAN (J. C.). The cost of supplying illuminating gas in the American cities (smaller), exclusive of returns of capital invested. (Utility Mag., Nov., 1915: 2-7.)

UNITED STATES. STANDARDS BUREAU. Circular 32. Standards for gas service. Ed. 3. March, 1915. 197 pp. 4°.

Part 1. Discussion of technical specifications. Part 2. Enforcement of technical regulations. A. City v. state control of gas service. B. Regulation by state authorities. C. City inspection service. Part 3. Proposed forms for regulations. A. Rules proposed for state commissions. B. Proposed city ordinance. Part 4. A. Summary of laws in force. B. Municipal regulations in force.

BUDA-PEST

BERNAUER (I.). New gas plant at Buda-pest. 9 illus., 3500 words. (Gas Age, Sept. 15, 1915.)

Continued from previous no. of Gas Age.

COLUMBUS

WILSON (THOMAS). City and state power plant at Columbus, O. 3500 words, 9 illus. (Power, Sept. 7, 1915.)

City of Columbus generates electric energy for its street lighting and for sale to private consumers. It also owns the plant in which grease and liquid are removed from the city garbage. The power equipment at the penitentiary and the State University are also described.

DETROIT

HIRSHFELD (C. F.). The Connors Creek plant of the Detroit Edison Co. (Jour. Cleveland Engrg. Society, Sept., 1915: 83-110, illus.)

With a list of references. Prof. Hirshfeld is chief of the research department of the company.

KINCAID

WILSON (THOMAS). Power plant at Kincaid, Ill. 2500 words, 8 illus. (Power, Sept. 28, 1915.)

Notable features of the new 6000 kw. turbine plant of the Central Ill. Public Service Co.

MONTREAL

See Water Supply.

SOUTH NORWALK

ANON. Electric light plant of South Norwalk, Conn. (Municipal Engrg., Oct., 1915: 137-138, illus.)

The former city of South Norwalk is now the second taxing district of the city of Norwalk, for the purposes of carrying on the municipal electric lighting plant, which, though small, is very prosperous and shows the possibilities in the efficient management of small municipal plants in paying for

the installations out of the proceeds at the same time that the rates are kept as low as those in other plants giving similar service under similar conditions. The plant was originally established under municipal operation in 1892. Twenty annual reports were issued by the Board of Electrical Commissioners of South Norwalk, the first covering the period from March to October, 1893, and the last the year ended October 13, 1912. With the twenty-first report the reporting body became the Board of Electrical Commissioners of the Second Taxing District of Norwalk, Conn. Two reports have been made by the latter body. A feature of the reports of the earlier board is a series of special reports on specific subjects connected with the plant.

Lighting

Streets; see Street Lighting

Markets

MACKENZIE (D. E.). Municipal markets. (Canadian Municipal Jour., Nov., 1915: 393.)

Mr. MacKenzie is municipal market clerk, New Westminster, B. C.

PERKINS (GEORGE W.). The need in this city [i.e. N. Y. City] for a department of markets. 9 folios.

Mimeograph copy. Address before the Bronx Board of Trade on Nov. 18, 1915.

PITTSBURGH

ANON. Pittsburgh's new market house. (Municipal Jour., Sept. 30, 1915: 506, illus.)

PORTLAND

WHITE (H. M.). Portland's permanent market. (Municipal Jour., Sept. 30, 1915: 508, illus.)

Mortality

PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE CO. OF AMERICA. Mortality from tuberculosis of lungs in American cities, 1885-1914. Chart $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Tabulation for northern and western cities showing a decline from 300 per 100,000 in 1885 to 150 per 100,000 in 1914 for the total population respectively. For southern cities the tabulation shows a decline from 650 per 100,000 in 1885 to 400 per 100,000 in 1914 for colored persons, and from 300 to 150 for white persons. These two charts are portions of a comprehensive series on mortality.

—, Mortality in occupations exposed to municipal dust. 1915. Chart, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Original tabulation based on the industrial experience of the Prudential Insurance Co. from 1907 to 1912. The occupations included in the chart are street cleaners, drivers, draymen, teamsters, coachmen, street car conductors and street car motormen.

Mosquito Extermination

NEW YORK CITY. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH. Reprint ser. no. 34. The mosquito as a pest and as a carrier of malaria. 1915. 18 pp.

Motion Pictures

PENNSYLVANIA. STATE BOARD OF CENSORS OF MOTION PICTURES. Rules and standards. 1915. 20 pp. 8°.

Municipal Exhibits

DAYTON

ANON. Municipal exhibit at Dayton. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 4, 1915: 690-692, illus.)

SPOKANE

GEORGE (RALPH E.). Spokane's municipal exhibit. (Amer. City, Nov., 1915: 408, illus.)

Municipal Experts

ANON. Co-operative public health instruction. (American Jour. Public Health, Nov., 1915: 1184-85.)

Outline of a co-operative course between the junior students in the two medical colleges in Cincinnati, O., and the city Health Department.

STIER-SOMLO (PROF. DR.). Lehrstätten der Kommunalwissenschaft. (Zeitschr. der Kommunalwissenschaft. Juli-August, 1915: 77-84.)

Municipal Home Rule

CURRAN (H. H.). Home rule for American cities. 16 pp. 8°.

Repr. from Yale Review, July, 1915.

GREEN (C. W.). Home rule a benefit to cities and state. (Kansas Municipalities, Oct., 1915: 8-9.)

Mr. Green is president of the Kansas League of Municipalities, and mayor of Kansas City, Kan.

HIGGINS (R. J.). Home rule essential to Kansas cities. (Kansas Municipalities, Oct., 1915: 1-7.)

Report of the Legislative Committee, Kansas League of Municipalities, the chairman of which, Mr. Higgins, is city attorney of Kansas City, Kan.

WICKERSHAM (GEORGE W.).

Discussion of the home rule for cities clause in the New York State constitution. (New York Sun, Sept. 29, 1915, 3 columns.)

Municipal Ownership

See also Auditoriums, Baths, Light and Power Plants, Markets, Stadiums, Street Railways, Water Supply.

ARNOLD (BION J.). On municipal ownership of electric railways.

Interview in Los Angeles Times, Oct. 15, 1915. The interview was given by Mr. Arnold to correct the impression given by reports of his address at the San Francisco convention of the American Electric Rwy. Assoc. These reports alleged that Mr. Arnold approved the policy of municipal ownership of electric railways. A synopsis of the Times interview is printed in the Electric Rwy. Journal of October 30, 1915: 910-911. The address which occasioned this interview is entered below under Valuation.

BOURNE (JONATHAN, JR.). The evils of government ownership. 1915. 8 pp. 4°.

Reprinted from Aera of Oct., 1915, by the American Electric Rwy. Assoc., 8 West 40th St., New York City. An address before the 34th annual convention of the Amer. Electric Rwy. Assoc., S. F., Oct. 6, 1915. Mr. Bourne is former U. S. Senator from Oregon. Reprinted in part in Public Service, November, 1915.

BRIDGES (ROBERT). Public ownership and operation of water and rail terminal facilities produce the greatest dispatch and economy. 1915. 15 pp. 8°.

Mr. Bridges is president of the Seattle Port Commission. The paper was prepared for the 6th annual convention of the League of Washington Municipalities, Oct., 1915.

GRAMBS (W. J.). The inefficiency of municipal ownership. (Stone and Webster Public Service Jour., Nov., 1915: 321-348.)

Paper read before League of Washington Municipalities at its convention held at North Yakima, Oct. 6-8, 1915.

LARSEN (C. M.). State regulation of municipally owned plant. (Jour. of the Amer. Waterworks Assn., Sept., 1915: 23 pp.)

— Same, condensed. 12,000 words. (Water and Gas Review, Oct., 1915.)

From a paper before the Illinois section of the Amer. Waterworks Assn. Mr. Larsen is chief engineer of the Wisc. Railroad Commission.

BERLIN

BROOKS (ROBERT C.). Municipalization of the Berlin electric works. (Quarterly Jour. of Economics, Nov., 1915: 188-191.)

EDMONTON

REAT (SAMUEL C.). Municipal ownership [of public utilities] in Edmonton. (U. S. Commerce Reports. October 9, 1915: 140-141.)

LONDON, ENGL.

ANON. An interesting situation in municipal ownership. (Stone and Webster Public Service Jour., Nov., 1915: 319-320.)

Relates to increase in fares to meet increased expenditures of tramways of London, Engl.

Ordinances

Building Codes; see that title

Electric Wiring; see Electric Installation

Pageants

CALDWELL BOARD OF TRADE, Caldwell, N. J. Program of the pageant and folk dances in celebration of the 225th anniversary of the settlement of Caldwell, Independence Day, 1915. 32 pp., illus. 4°.

Parks

See also Recreation

BURNAP (GEORGE). Architecture in parks. (Amer. City, Sept. 1915: 185-192.)

— Park utilities. (Amer. City, Nov., 1915: 371-379, illus.)

CINCINNATI

See Debt.

Pensions

NEW YORK CITY. Finance Department. Report on the pension funds of the City of New York. Receipts, disbursements and statutory provisions. Nov., 1915. 56 pp. 4°.

Photographic Bureaus

WHITE (H. M.). Portland bureau of photography. (Municipal Jour., Oct. 14, 1915: 577-578, illus.)

Playgrounds

See also Recreation

BALTIMORE

ANON. Baltimore's Playground Association is accomplishing wonderful results for this community. (Baltimore, Municipal Jour., Oct. 1, 1915. 3 pp., diagr.)

CINCINNATI

See Debt

OAKLAND

OAKLAND. RECREATION DEPARTMENT. Playgrounds and recreation centers. 1915. 9 pp.

Police Women

BEVERIDGE (EDNA ANNETTE). Establishing policewomen in Maryland in 1912. (Proc. Nat'l. Conf. Charities and Correction, 42d sess., 1915: 418-421.)

NILES (ALFRED S.). The policewomen and the social problem. (Proc. Nat'l. Conf. Charities and Correction, 42d sess., 1915: 421-433.)

The Hon. Mr. Niles is a member of the Board of Police Commissioners of Baltimore, Md. The text of the Baltimore police regulation regulating disorderly houses is printed on pp. 427-428.

WELLS (ALICE STEBBINS). Policewomen. (Proc. Nat'l. Conf. Charities and Correction, 42d sess., 1915, 411-418.)

Poor

CITY CLUB OF BERKELEY. Civic Bulletin, vol. 4, no. 3b. Poor relief in Berkeley. Oct. 25, 1915: 49-83.

Some peculiar conditions of Berkeley poor relief; by F. V. Cornish. Unemployment relief in Berkeley; by F. C. Mills. What the city of Berkeley is doing for its poor; by Dr. Jessica B. Peixotto.

Population

CLARK (EARLE). Contributions to urban growth. (Amer. Statistical Assoc. Quar. pubs., Sept., 1915: 654-671.)

GILLETTE, JOHN M. AND GEORGE R. DAVIES. Measure of rural migration and other factors of urban increase in the United States. (Amer. Statistical Assoc. Quar. pubs., Sept., 1915: 642-653.)

Port Development

MC SWEENEY, EDWARD F. The problems of port development. Boston, 1915. 29 pp. 8°.

Mr. McSweeney is chairman of the Directors of the Port of Boston. An able address presented at the fourth annual convention of the American Association of Port Authorities at Los Angeles, Sept. 13-15, 1915. Some of the points discussed are politics in port development, public control of the water front, shipping laws, differentials, free dockage, harbor dues, railroad finance, the shipping trust, public control of terminals.

Port facilities and view on expansion. (Manufacturers' Rec., Nov. 11, 1915: 46-47.)

BOSTON

MASSACHUSETTS. DIRECTORS OF THE PORT OF BOSTON. Supplementary report, March 31, 1915. 101 pp., plans, maps. 8°.

Analysis of port conditions, development of the port, revision of harbor lines, re-establishment of an American merchant marine, community value of a port, Commonwealth pier as a joint landing stage, industrial center and distributing warehouses, market conditions in Boston, lumber industry, cotton industry, New England shoe and leather business, port finances.

MC SWEENEY (EDWARD F.). Future of the port of Boston. (Boston City Club Bull., Nov., 1915: 8-21.)

LISBON

LISBON, PORTUGAL. Harbour Board.

Port of Lisbon. 1915. 102 pp., illus., 2 maps. 8°.

NEW YORK CITY

MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK. Bulletin 4, no. 31, Sept. 6, 1915: 1-5. New York takes up its greatest improvement.

Comment on the appointment of a commission by the New York City Board of Estimate and Apportionment to study and report upon the terminal facilities of Greater New York.

NEW YORK CITY. COMMITTEE ON PORT AND TERMINAL FACILITIES, BOARD OF ESTIMATE AND APPORTIONMENT. Report, 1915. 61 pp. 4°.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. MUNICIPAL REFERENCE BRANCH. Terminal facilities of the port of New York. (Municipal Reference Library Notes, Oct. 20, 1915: 61-80.)

Material on file in the library of the Merchants' Association and in the Reference Department of the New York Public Library has been incorporated.

"The aim has been to cover only recent years. Material published before 1900, has, with a few exceptions, been excluded."

SEATTLE

SEATTLE (WASH.). Port of Seattle Commission, Bulletin 5. Oct. 1, 1915. An open letter to the Federal Trade Commission. 95 (1) pp., illus.

A general statement concerning Seattle's terminal facilities pursuant to the Trade Commission's desire, expressed by Chairman Davis, to obtain information that would bring about conditions whereby avenues of trade would be kept open, free from interference, with unrestricted competition.

HIGDAY (HAMILTON). The Seattle port district. A review of four years' work of the Port Commission—1911-1915. 22 folios. F° illus.

Issued by the Seattle Post Commission.

Public Defender

ANON. On the public defender. A symposium. (Jour. of Crim. Law and Criminology, Sept., 1915: 370-384.)

Public Utilities

KELLEY (P. J.). Municipal co-operation in utility management. (Electric Rwy. Jour., Oct. 23, 1915: 861-863.)

PAXTON (EDWARD T.). Public service rates in Texas cities. 1915. 141 pp. (Bull., Univ. of Texas, no. 45, Municipal Research ser. no. 10.)

ROEMER (JOHN H.). Municipal regulation of public utilities. (Rand-McNally Bankers' Monthly, Oct., 1915: 41-52.)

CHICAGO

FISHER (WALTER L.). In the matter of the proposed forfeiture of the telephone rights and property of the Chicago Tunnel Company. Opinion given to the Mayor and the Committee on Gas, Oil and Electric Light of the City. July 3, 1915. 62 pp. 4°.

FOSTER (STEPHEN A.). In the matter of the forfeiture of the automatic telephone system of the Chicago Tunnel Co. Opinion rendered the Committee on Gas, Oil

and Electric Light of the Chicago City Council. 56 pp. 4°.

CINCINNATI
LOWRIE (S. G.). Public utility problems in Cincinnati. (Utilities Mag., Nov., 1915: 7-14.)

SEATTLE
ANON. The public utility situation in Seattle. (Stone & Webster Public Service Jour., Sept., 1915: 166-174.)

Light and Power Plants; see that title
Street Railways; see that title

Purchasing Systems

CALLOW (A. R.). Purchasing and distributing supplies in Cleveland. (Municipal Jour., Sept. 9, 1915: 391-394, illus.)
Operation of the Purchasing Department of Cleveland, created on Aug. 1, 1907.

Recreation

BEISSER (PAUL T.). Unit costs in recreational facilities. (Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science. Annals, Nov., 1915: 140-147.)

Parks, Playgrounds, Bathing Beaches and Swimming Pools of Chicago.

MARSHALL (WILLIAM R.). The municipal rest houses of Pasadena. (Amer. City, Nov., 1915: 382-383, illus.)

Rest Houses; see Recreation

Refrigerating Plants

ANON. Columbus refrigerating plant. 4 illus. 1800 words. (Power, Sept. 7, 1915.)

Refuse Disposal

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION. Report of the committee on city wastes; the economics of waste collection and disposal. (Amer. Jour. Public Health, Nov., 1915: 1164-1167.)

Dr. P. M. Hall, health officer, Minneapolis Tribune, chairman.

ANON. Refuse collection and disposal. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 11, 1915: 722-738; Nov. 25, 1915: 812-814.)

Information from several hundred cities concerning the methods and costs of collecting garbage, ashes and other refuse, and of disposing of them; kinds of cans and carts used; details of incineration and reduction; itemized costs.

ANON. Requirements for refuse receptacles. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 18, 1915: 780-782.)

Specific information as to character of receptacle and place from which refuse is collected in scores of American and Canadian cities.

ROBINSON (LEONARD L.). Notes on the refuse destructor works and electricity undertaking of the borough of Hackney. (Proc. Inst. Municipal and County Engrs., 1914-5, pt. 1: 319-331, illus.)

Mr. Robinson is borough electrical engineer.

SHAW (W. J.). Municipal system of garbage collection. 2 illus., 1500 words. (Municipal World, Sept., 1915.)

STATE BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL INFORMATION OF THE NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE OF MAYORS AND OTHER CITY

OFFICIALS. Care, collection and disposal of manure in and by cities. Municipal ordinances, rules and regulations. Sept. 15, 1915. 12 folios. 4°.

LOS ANGELES
HANSEN (A. C.). Refuse collection and disposal for the city of Los Angeles. (Pacific Municipalities, Nov., 1915: 532-536.)

Paper read at 18th annual convention of the League of California Municipalities, Sept. 7, 1915. Mr. Hansen is city engineer of Los Angeles.

PORTLAND
HELBER (WILLIAM G.). Refuse incinerator in Portland. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 18, 1915: 774-775.)

READING
MATTHIAS (W. C.). Garbage disposal at Reading. (Municipal Jour., Oct. 7, 1915: 544-545.)

Mr. Matthias is chief of the Bureau of Electricity, Reading.

SEWICKLEY
DUFF (EDWARD E., JR.). Garbage collection and incineration in Sewickley. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 11, 1915: 719-722, illus.)

Mr. Duff is borough engineer of Sewickley.

Schools

TAX ASSOCIATION OF ALAMEDA COUNTY. Summary of a survey of the school department of Oakland [Cal.]. Its organization, business management, etc. Aug., 1915. 20 pp. (Report no. 19.)

Sewage Disposal

ALBANY
GREGORY (JOHN H.). The Albany sewage disposal works. 2 illus., 2700 words. (Engrg. News, Oct. 7, 1915.)

BOSTON
CONANT (W. B.). Boston's new sewage pumping station. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 18, 1915: 775-776, illus.)

CHICAGO
CHICAGO REAL ESTATE BOARD. A report to the Board on the disposal of the sewage and protection of the water supply of Chicago. By George A. Soper, John D. Watson, Arthur J. Martin. 1915. 212 pp.

GLOVERSVILLE
EDDY (H. P.), and H. J. HANMER. Construction and operation of Gloversville sewage works. 7 illus. 4900 words. (Engrg. News, Oct. 14 and 21, 1915.)

NEW YORK CITY
GREGORY, CHARLES E. Disposal of Greater New York's sewage. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 4, 1915: 692-694.)

Abstract of a paper read before the Municipal Engineers of the City of New York. Mr. Gregory is engineer in charge of sewers, Manhattan.

WORCESTER
CAINK (T.). Worcester sewage disposal works. (Proc. Inst. of Municipal and County Engrs., 1914-5, pt. 1: 173-200, illus.)

Sewerage

LOS ANGELES

KNOWLTON (W. T.). The sewerage system of Los Angeles. (Pacific Municipalities, Nov., 1915: 557-562.)

Paper read at the 18th annual convention of the League of California Municipalities, Sept. 7, 1915. Mr. Knowlton is engineer of sewers, Los Angeles.

TORONTO

ANON. Keele street sewer system, Toronto. (Canadian Engineer, Nov. 18, 1915: 581-583, illus.)

Signs

WHITE (H. M.). Municipally made street signs. (Municipal Jour., Oct. 28, 1915: 659, illus.)

The city of Portland, Ore., has established a municipal sign writing bureau.

Smoke Abatement

See also Air Conditioning.

BRECKENRIDGE (L. P.). How to burn soft coal with economy and without smoke. (Jour. Cleveland Engineering Society, Sept., 1915: 111-134.)

With a list of references. Dr. Breckenridge is professor in charge, Mechanical Department, Sheffield Scientific School.

CINCINNATI

FUNK (G. H.). Abatement of locomotive smoke in Cincinnati. (Rwy. Age Gazette, mech. ed., Nov., 1915: 566.)

Abstract of a paper presented to the tenth annual convention of the International Assoc. for the Prevention of Smoke. Mr. Funk is General Smoke Inspector, Cincinnati Railway Smoke Inspection Bureau.

MAXFIELD (H. H.). Smokeless locomotive operation without special apparatus. (Rwy. Age Gazette, mech. ed., Nov., 1915: 561-562.)

Abstract of a paper presented to the tenth annual convention of the International Assoc. for the Prevention of Smoke. Mr. Maxfield is master mechanic of the Pennsylvania R. R.

SALT LAKE CITY

SNOW (GEORGE W.). Smoke elimination in Salt Lake City. (Amer. City, Sept., 1915: 196-197.)

Snow Removal

NEW YORK CITY

FETHERSTON (J. T.). Snow removal in New York City. (Municipal Engineers Jour., Nov., 1915: 339-377, illus., tables.)

PARLIN (RAYMOND W.). Preparing for snow storms. The snow problem of New York City. 5 illus., 1200 words. (Amer. City, Oct., 1915.)

Mr. Parlin is of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

Social Surveys

GILLIN (J. L.). The social survey and its further development. (Amer. Statistical Assoc. Quar. publications, Sept., 1915: 603-610.)

BOSTON

DORION (EUSTACHE C. E.). The redemption of the South End [of Boston]; a study in evangelization. [1915.] 124 pp., 14 pls. portrs. (Constructive church series.)

BROOKLYN

CLINTON AVENUE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BROOKLYN, N. Y. Community study, parish of the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church. 1915. 60 pp., 1 l., illus.

BURLINGTON, VT.

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SURVEY OF BURLINGTON, VT. A survey of the city of Burlington. Its charities and its housing conditions. 1915. 85 pp., illus.

Includes, pp. 43-85, "A Survey of Housing conditions in Burlington. By Udetta D. Brown, member of the National Housing Association.

Special Assessments

ORMOND (WILLIAM C.). Assessments for local improvements. (Municipal Engrs. City of New York. Proc., 1914: 206-298.)

Mr. Ormond is commissioner of the Board of assessments of the City of New York.

Stadiums

RHODES, F. A. San Diego's municipal stadium. 7 illus., 2200 words. (Engrg. News, Sept. 23, 1915.)

Street Cleaning

CONNELL (W. H.). Dust suppression and street cleaning practice in Philadelphia. 11 illus., 3000 words. (Engrg. and Contracting, Oct. 13, 1915.)

Extract of a paper by the chief of the Philadelphia Street Cleaning Bureau.

Street Lighting

ANON. The luminous arc lamp. 5000 words, 13 illus. (Electrical Review, Sept. 4, 1915.)

Use of this lamp for street and other outdoor lighting.

— Gas and electric street lights. A comparison of cost and efficiency. (Municipal Engrg., Sept., 1915: 96-98.)

— Lighting city streets. (Municipal Jour., Sept. 23, 1915: 467-469, illus.) Essentials of good street lighting; light standards; underground wiring; cost of installation; operating costs.

CLEWELL (C. E.). Notes on street lighting. 3500 words, 4 illus. (Lighting Jour., August, 1915.)

Results of a study into the street lighting of a representative city of moderate size. Attention is called to some of the things which should receive attention in making an analysis of a street lighting situation where conditions appear wrong but where no one in authority knows exactly how to classify the difficulties.

STATE BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL INFORMATION OF THE NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE OF MAYORS AND OTHER CITY OFFICIALS. Street lighting by electricity in New York State cities. Describing ornamental and general systems, unit cost and methods of assessment. August, 1915. 24 ll.

VAUGHN (F. A.). A practical application of principles of scientific street lighting. 1915. 35 pp., illus., diagr.

CLEVELAND

HARRISON (WARD). Cleveland lantern

for ornamental lighting. 3000 words, 6 illus. (Electrical World, Sept. 4, 1915.)
Details of new lamps used in white lighting in Cleveland, O.

INDIANAPOLIS

ANON. Flame arc lighting of Indianapolis streets. 1100 words, 6 illus. (Electrical World, Aug. 28, 1915.)

Construction of a complete 2632 lamp system for a city of 250,000 in 90 days at a cost of \$750,000.

Street Planting

HAMILTON (A. L.). Street trees. (Pacific Municipalities, Nov., 1915: 536-539.)

Paper read at the 18th annual convention of the League of California Municipalities, Sept. 7, 1915. Mr. Hamilton is chairman of the Park Commission of Pasadena.

Street Railways: Elevated

HAMBURG

SCHIMFF (G.). Die Hochbahn in Hamburg. (Organ für die Fortschritte des Eisenbahnwesens, Sept. 1, 1915: 283-289; 303-307, diags. To be continued.)

Street Railways: Surface

MCGRAW (J. H.). The boon of electric railways. Their origin, development and progress traced through the years of their existence. What they have done and what they are doing to further growth of nation and communities. (Aera, Nov., 1915: 305-314.)

CALGARY

HARDENBURG (W. E.). Calgary's municipal street railway. (Municipal Jour., September 9, 1915: 395-397, illus.)

CLEVELAND

ANON. Cleveland builds four operating stations. (Electric Rwy. Jour., Aug. 28, 1915: 356-361, illus.)

DETROIT

DETROIT CITIZENS LEAGUE. The Civic Searchlight, vol. 2, no. 10. Oct., 1915. 4 pp.

Contains statements from two citizens of Detroit whose sincerity of purpose and fairness of judgment is above reproach, viz., Rev. S. S. Marquis, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral and Hon. C. M. Burton, on the question of the contract providing for municipal ownership of street railways. The Rev. Mr. Marquis discusses the affirmative side and the Hon. Mr. Burton the negative. The action taken on Nov. 2, 1915, by the citizens of Detroit was the outcome of months of dickering between the directors of the company and the Detroit Street Railway Commission that finally ended in an agreement the terms of which, it was announced last August, would be voted on at this election.

Had the plan been approved, the city would have taken over from the company its lines and equipment within the one-fare zone at a purchase price which it was agreed should be fixed by the Circuit Court. The agreement consummated negotiations which began between the company and the city last February, when the company offered to sell the property for \$28,500,000. The city in turn offered \$24,900,000, the amount of bonded indebtedness, and on March 9 the proposition was accepted by the company.

This offer was amended by the Commissioners, however, on April 22, the offer this time being \$23,285,000, which the company declined on May 3. Under the plan finally agreed upon after an exchange of ultimatums, the city was to assume payment of the 4 per cent bonds up to the limit of its bonding power, which is 2 per cent of the taxable value of the property within the city limits.

This would have provided for about \$11,000,000

of the \$24,900,000 bonds. The remainder of the purchase price, which would have been fixed by the court, would have been paid by a sinking fund created out of the earnings of the railway system under municipal direction. About 220 miles of track are included in the company's lines within the one-fare zone that would have changed hands, while besides this it owns more than 600 miles of interurban tracks.

It was said before the election, when the consensus of opinion was that the question would be defeated, that in that case there would be a resumption of negotiations with the city for a franchise, with the probability that one would be obtained on advantageous terms.

WILCOX, DELOS F. The street railway crisis in Detroit. (Economic World, Oct. 23, 1915: 526-529.)

TOLEDO

TOLEDO (O.). Ordinances. Proposed ordinance providing for an immediate street railway service in the city of Toledo pending municipal ownership, etc. 1915. 1 p. l., 51 pp., 1 l.

The Committee proposing the ordinance is composed of R. A. Bartley, F. M. Dotson, Alfred B. Koch, James Thompson, Chas. Ward. The ordinance was voted on November 2.

Street Railways: Underground

NEW YORK CITY

DUDLEY (JAMES G.). New York subway ventilation. Sept., 1915. 39 pp., illus. 8°.

LAVIS, FRED. Building the new rapid transit system of New York City. [New York,] 1915. 73 pp., illus. 4°.

Reprinted from articles published in Engineering News, October 1-December 31, 1914. Price, \$1.35.

NEW YORK CITY. Fire Department. Report on fire protection in the subway. July 20, 1915. 34 pp.

Swimming Pools; see also Recreation

MANHEIMER (W. A.). Essentials of swimming-pool sanitation. (U. S. Public Health Service. Public Health Reports, Sept. 17, 1915: 2796-2811.)

Traffic

HOBART (JAMES F.). Marking safety zones on busy street crossings. (Municipal Engrg., Sept., 99-100.)

CLEVELAND

BENESCH (ALFRED A.). Regulating street traffic in Cleveland. (Amer. City, Sept., 1915, pp. 182-184.)

DENVER

BEELEER (JOHN A.). Street traffic information. Sept., 1915. 12 pp., obl. 12°.

Mr. Beeler is vice-president and general manager of the Denver Tramway Co. The pamphlet deals with a street traffic count and survey recently made by the Denver Tramway Co.

DENVER TRAMWAY Co. Shall street car stops be changed? Aug., 1915. 8 pp., obl. 12°.

In opposition to the agitation to adopt the near-side stop in Denver.

DETROIT

ANON. Traffic regulation in Detroit and Toronto. (Canadian Engineer, Sept. 16, 1915: 380-381.)

NEWARK

ANON. Newark terminal to relieve traffic congestion. 3 illus., 1900 words. (Engrg. News, Oct. 7, 1915.)

Transportation

CITY CLUB OF BERKELEY. Civic Bulletin. Vol. 4, no. 2. Transportation problems of Berkeley. Sept. 25, 1915: 17-32.

Transportation from the manufacturers viewpoint; by T. H. Fallon. Cost of poor roads and streets; by B. J. Bither. Transportation between Oakland and Berkeley; by D. Werner Hegemann. Transportation map of Berkeley; by the secretary.

LONDON, ENG.

STANLEY (A.). Tram versus 'buses in London. (London Municipal Jour., Nov. 5, 1915: 1003-1004.)

NEW YORK CITY

NEW YORK CITY. BOARD OF ESTIMATE AND APPORTIONMENT. Committee on Franchises. Report in relation to pending petitions for the right to operate motor bus routes in the Borough of Manhattan with proposed form of contract. October 15, 1915. 43 pp., map. 4°.

Tunnels

MONTREAL

ANON. Completing the Mount Royal tunnel into Montreal. (Railway Age Gazette, Nov. 5, 1915: 857-861, illus.)

NEW YORK CITY

CARPENTER (HAROLD). Flooding and recovery of the Astoria tunnel. 10 illus., 6,900 words. (Engrg. News, Oct. 7 and 14, 1915.)

DAVIES (JOHN V.). Astoria gas tunnel for New York City. 10 illus., 13,000 words. (Gas Age, Oct. 1, 1915.)

Mr. Davies is the engineer in charge.

Valuation

ARNOLD (BION J.). Foundation principles of utility valuation with special application to resettlement plans. 1915. 44 pp. 8°.

Presented at the San Francisco convention of the American Electric Rwy. Assoc., Oct., 1915.

GILLETTE (HALBERT P.). Valuation of water works properties. IV. The Appraisal of reservoir site value. 2,500 words. (Eng. and Contracting, Aug. 4, 1915.)

— . Valuation of water works properties. V. The appraisal of water right values. 3,500 words. (Engrg. and Contracting, Sept. 1, 1915.)

— . The valuation of water works properties. VI. Appraisal of development cost or going value and franchise value. (Engrg. and Contracting, Oct. 6, 1915: 258-261, tables.)

Viaducts

KANSAS CITY, MO.

ANON. Constructing Twelfth street traffic-way viaduct, Kansas City, Mo. 3,000 words, illus. (Engrg. and Contracting, Oct. 27, 1915.)

PORTLAND

CONANT (W. B.). The Portland viaduct. (Municipal Jour., Sept. 30, 1915: 499-502, illus.)

ST. LOUIS

MARTIN (CHARLES W.). Reinforced concrete viaduct at St. Louis, Mo. 2,100 words, illus. (Engrg. News, Oct. 14, 1915.)

Water Supply

ANON. Statistics of water works in the United States. (Fire and Water Engrg. Sept. 1, 1915, 2 pp.)

Source of supply, daily capacity, pressure, purification methods, cost, etc.

GREAT BRITAIN. LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD. Water undertakings (England and Wales). London, 1915. xlii, 599 pp. F°.

An exceedingly valuable publication showing as regards every water undertaking in England and Wales (a) the powers under which the undertakers are authorized to supply water; (b) the limits within which the undertakers may supply water; (c) the places actually supplied; (d) the sources of supply, their nature and efficiency; (e) particulars as to the works, the quantity and quality of the water supplied; and, also, as regards every district in England and Wales (a) the area and population of the district, and the number of houses therein; (b) the number of houses supplied from a piped service; (c) the names of the undertakers supplying the water; (d) the source, nature, and sufficiency of the supply where there is no piped service. Price 5s. 1d.

BUTTE

MEINZER (O. E.). Water resources of Butte. 2,500 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Aug. 11, 1915.)

CHICAGO

CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO. Water waste in city of Chicago. Report of the subcommittee of the Committee on Water Supply. (City Club Bull., Oct. 13, 1915: 115-117.)

COUNCIL BLUFFS

ANON. Council Bluffs water works regeneration reverses slump in population curve. 1,800 words, 3 illus. (Engrg. Rec., Sept. 4, 1915.)

Adequate fire service improved the city and attracted manufacturing plants.

HAMILTON, ONT.

MACALLUM (ANDREW F.). Reconstruction of Hamilton, Ont., water works. (Municipal Engrg. Nov., 1915: 164-167, illus.)

KANSAS CITY, MO.

ANON. Kansas City water works. 3 illus., 2,500 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Oct. 6, 1915.)

LOS ANGELES

MULHOLLAND (WILLIAM). The municipal water supply of Los Angeles. (Pacific Municipalities, Nov., 1915: 539-544.)

Paper read at the 18th annual convention of the League of California Municipalities, Sept. 7, 1915. Mr. Mulholland is engineer of the Municipal Water Works of Los Angeles and builder of the recently completed aqueduct.

LYNN

CONANT (W. B.). Lynn water works improvement. (Municipal Jour., Oct. 28, 1915: 651-652, illus.)

MEDICINE HAT, SASK.

ANON. Water supply and power at Medicine Hat. (Canadian Engineer, Oct. 28, 1915: 509-514, illus.)

Medicine Hat, Sask. has undertaken a unique municipal development comprising water supply and filtration and gas-generated electrical power in one installation. The project was begun in 1912 and practically completed in 1913.

MONTREAL

ANON. Montreal water and power extensions, 5,000 words. (Canadian Engineer, Aug. 12, 1915.)

— Montreal water works situation. (Canadian Engineer, Nov. 11, 1915: 569-572, illus.)

An outline of the entire scheme as originally constructed and of the water works extensions and power development now under discussion.

NEW YORK CITY

ANON. Old and new water works systems of New York City. 2 illus., 1,200 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Sept. 1, 1915.)

Describes old systems in use in the various boroughs and the new Catskill system.

NEW YORK CITY. Board of Water Supply. Catskill water supply. A general description. Sept., 1915. 39 pp., illus.

PITTSBURGH

ANON. Report on water conditions at

Pittsburgh. 4,000 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Aug. 11, 1915.)

Supply works, pumping station, reservoirs, tanks and distribution system are described.

PORT HOPE, ONT.

ANON. Improvements to water supply at Port Hope, Ont. 1,500 words, 9 illus. (Canadian Engineer, Sept. 2, 1915.)

SALT LAKE CITY

ANON. Water improvement at Salt Lake City. 1,200 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Aug. 18, 1915.)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

ANON. Springfield [Ill.] water works. 1,680 words. 10 illus. (Engrg. News, Sept. 2, 1915.)

The second of a series of articles. This one gives details of routine water works operation which are unusual.

TARENTUM, PENN.

HUDSON (LEO). An interesting example of direct competition between publicly and privately owned water works plants in Tarentum, Penn. 2,500 words. (Engrg. and Contracting, Sept. 1, 1915.)

Schedule of rates.

VICTORIA, B. C.

RUST (C. H.). Sooke Lake water supply, Victoria, B. C. (Canadian Engineer, Nov. 18, 1915: 590-592, illus.)

Mr. Rust is city engineer and water commissioner of Victoria.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

HELD AT

DAYTON, OHIO, NOVEMBER 17, 18, 19, 1915

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION

*Hotel Miami, Wednesday, November 17,
1915, 8 p.m.*

The Rev. D. Frank Garland, director of public welfare in Dayton, in the chair, who delivered the following address of welcome:

The great state of Ohio opens her doors to-night to the members of the National Municipal League and bids them welcome. Ohio is proud of the distinction which places her among the sisterhood of states as a leader in progressive legislation. She has taken great strides forward in these recent years by providing for widows' pensions, the protection of children in industry, the creation of domestic courts, the better control of state charitable institutions, the compensation of workmen injured in the trades, and in revising her constitution. While taking other advanced steps not mentioned here she has given home rule to the cities of the state. The National Municipal League has had a share in this latter victory of the freedom of our cities and it is fitting that you should meet on your twenty-first birthday within the borders of a state that has freed her cities. Ohio, ladies and gentlemen, bids you right royal welcome.

The city of Dayton joins in this hearty greeting to-night. We are glad that you have come and we offer you during your stay with us the best we have. We are a city of homes, of churches, of schools—a city of more than a thousand factories, a city with conservative qualities and yet a city with a clear and definite vision. That vision lures us on towards the goal—the ideal city. We have merely started on the way. We realize how far we must

go ere we reach the ideal. Our friends tell us that we have thus far with your aid put in operation the best form of charter for a city yet evolved. If that be true and we are the largest city operating under this form, then we must not—we dare not fail, for that failure would do serious injury to a great and worthy cause. We are determined there shall be no failure here if devotion, and disinterested service and unmeasured sacrifice and the guiding light of wisdom can make failure impossible. We have planted our flag on new territory which we have taken after tremendous sacrifice and here that flag shall not be captured by the enemy, for we are resolved that no inch of ground gained shall ever be given up. We shall go forward towards the realization of our ideal—Dayton as good as the best in the world. We need your advice, your help, your encouragement, your wisdom and hence we rejoice to-night that you have come here to deliberate on a great theme—good government for American cities. All Dayton bids you welcome, and may you carry away with you only pleasant memories to rejoice your hearts.

The Secretary of the League, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, briefly replied to the address of welcome, pointing out that this was the fourth time the League had met in Ohio, the first annual meeting having been held in Cleveland, the fifth meeting in Columbus and the fifteenth meeting in Cincinnati. He briefly renewed the progress in municipal affairs in Ohio during that time, and referred to the example which Dayton itself was now affording in the way of a successful working out of the new city manager plan.

Mr. Woodruff then presented his annual review of municipal events entitled "American Conceptions of Municipal Government."¹

Following this President Foulke delivered his annual address on "Coming of Age: Municipal Progress in Twenty-one Years."²

After the conclusion of Mr. Foulke's address, which was received with long continued applause, Professor Hatton of Cleveland spoke feelingly of the work which Mr. Foulke has done as president of the League, and of the love and esteem in which he was held by all the members. A formal resolution embodying these sentiments was unanimously adopted by a standing vote.

THURSDAY MORNING SESSION.

*Hotel Miami, Thursday, November 18, 1915,
10 a.m.*

The annual business meeting of the National Municipal League was called to order Thursday, November 18, at 10 a.m. by President Foulke.

The first item of business was the report of the executive committee (M. N. Baker, chairman), which follows:

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Since the Baltimore meeting the Executive committee has settled the award of the Morton D. Hull prize for 1914 to Willitts Pollock, has decided not to appoint a committee on civic education for the current year, and has supervised the work of a special committee on Intercollegiate civic division for the college year ending June 1. Thus far, funds have not been available for continuing the intercollegiate work. Committees on a federal bureau of municipal affairs and on a comprehensive campaign for new members have been appointed. The advisability of printing more pamphlets for circulation by the League is respectfully submitted for the consideration of the council. The secretary has been authorized to inquire whether those participating in this year's

conference of bureau of municipal research deem it advisable to hold like conferences in the future.

To meet the exigencies of the times, the size (number of pages) of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW has been reduced, but it is thought that the good judgment in the selection and condensation of material shown by the editor and his associates has at least made up in quality for the decrease in the quantity of matter published.

MEMBERSHIP REPORT

Number of members reported March 31, 1915				2,576
1915	Additions	Resignations	Deaths	
April	22	56	5	
May	17	12	3	
June	9	27	2	
July	6	7	1	
August	11	10	2	
September	20	1	1	
October	31	53	7	
	116	166	21	

Net membership October 31, 1915, 2,505

Of these 7 are life members (1 complimentary) and 70 are contributing members.

The editor of the National Municipal League series reported that eight books have been published to date, with sales as follows:

City Government by Commission	2,594
Initiative, Referendum and Recall	1,956
Regulation of Municipal Utilities	1,637
The Social Center	1,927
Lower Living Costs in Cities	\$65
Women's Work in Municipalities	1,248
Satellite Cities	547
The City Manager	1,318

Two other books are shortly to be published, one on "City Planning," by Dr. John Nolen, and one on "Experts in Municipal Life," by H. S. Gilbertson.

Sixteen essays were submitted for the Baldwin prize on the subject "A Critical Study of the Sources of Municipal Revenue in any City Exceeding 50,000." The prize of \$100 was awarded to Miss Bernice Brown, of Radcliffe College, Cambridge.

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 1.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 12.

Sixty-two essays were submitted for the high school prize on the subject "Fire Prevention." The first prize of \$30 was awarded to Miss Margaret Reick, Milwaukee, Wis., and the second prize of \$20 to Robert F. Matthews, Louisville High School, Louisville, Ky.

Ten essays were submitted for the Cincinnati prize for the subject "The Transportation Problem in Cincinnati." The prize of \$20 was awarded to Miss Cella Taylor, of the University of Cincinnati, Department of Liberal Arts.

The Portland - National Municipal League prize was awarded to David Kingsley Brace, of Reed College, Portland, Oregon, his subject being "The Family and Socialized Play."

Two essays were submitted for the Morton Denison Hull prize contest ending September 15, 1915. No award was made.

Respectfully submitted,

M. N. BAKER,

Chairman.

Montclair, N. J.

The treasurer then presented his report for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1915:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER INCOME AND EXPENSE

*For the Years Ended March 31, 1914, and
March 31, 1915*

INCOME	March 31, 1914	March 31, 1915
Membership dues.....	\$12,400 00	\$11,797.50
Life membership dues ..	200 00	100 00
Contributions:		
General.....	2,479 20	2,976.55
N. M. REVIEW under- writing fund.....	1,240 00	1,470.00
Committee on civic edu- cation.....	2,713.80	2,022.65
Sales of Proceedings ..	78.50	62 00
Sales of Appleton books ..	90 50	79.33
Sales of NAT. MUN. REVIEW	312.86	465 29
REVIEW advertising sales.	151.38	2 50
Royalties.....	208.07	212.47
Interest and discount	35.24	18.41
Increase in inventory
Bound volumes of Pro- ceedings.....	113 00	131.00
Total income.....	\$20,022.55	\$19,337 74
Net loss, charge		
N.M.L. account ..	1,582.05	43.61
	\$21,604.63	\$19,381.35

EXPENSE				
Salaries and clerical work.	\$7,279.39			\$7,426.08
Postage.....	1,795.13			1,747.17
Printing and stationery....	2,198.72			1,664.61
Municipal program com- mittee.....		100.00		
Less increase inventory..		1.00		99 00
News clippings.....	116.21			142.39
Clipping sheet.....	38.01			10.00
Office rent.....	750.00			750.00
Travelling expense.....	707.53			371.19
N. M. REVIEW, publication ..	\$5,073.45		\$5,098.67	
Less increase inventory..	611.87	4,461.58	638.44	4,460.23
General expense.....	773.35			742.79
Appleton books, cost.....	\$78 00		\$54.00	
Less increase inventory..	25 00		12 00	
		53 00		42.00
Cost of living committee .	100 00			100.00
Advertising.....				7.50
Committee on civic educa- tion	3,331.71			1,818.39
	\$21,604.63			\$19,381.35

GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.,
Treasurer.

The secretary stated that the council of the League had had the treasurer's report duly audited and that it was found to be correct.

President Foulke presented the report of the nominating committee which follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

The report of the committee on nominations consisting of Camillus G. Kidder of New York, Charles J. Bonaparte of Baltimore, C. O. Dustin of Springfield, Mass., John Ihlder of New York, and President Foulke chairman, was as follows:

President—*Lawson Purdy, New York.

Secretary—Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

Treasurer—George Burnham, Jr.

Vice-Presidents—

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago, Ill.

John Stewart Bryan, Richmond, Va.

*Richard S. Childs, New York.

*Charles W. Dabney, Cincinnati, Ohio.

*New nominations.

Vice-Presidents—

- *Walter L. Fisher, Chicago.
- Frank J. Goodnow, Johns Hopkins University.
- A. Lawrence Lowell, Harvard University.
- George McAneny, New York.
- J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg, Pa.
- *Robert Treat Paine, Boston, Mass.
- *L. S. Rowe, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Charles Richardson, Philadelphia.
- Chester H. Rowell, Fresno, Cal.
- Dudley Tibbetts, Troy, N. Y.

Council—

- Ernest Hamlin Abbott, New York.
- *Miss Grace Abbott, Chicago, Ill.
- Charles W. Andrews, Syracuse, N. Y.
- M. N. Baker, Montclair, N. J.
- W. P. Bancroft, Wilmington, Del.
- Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Md.
- John A. Butler, Milwaukee, Wis.
- Harvey Stuart Chase, Boston, Mass.
- Julius Henry Cohen, New York.
- Mrs. B. W. Corkran, Jr., Baltimore, Md.
- Dwight F. Davis, St. Louis, Mo.
- George B. Dealey, Dallas, Texas.
- Albert DeSilver, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- *C. O. Dustin, Springfield, Mass.
- Mrs. Charles Farwell Edson, Los Angeles, Cal.
- Rev. William G. Eliot, Jr., Portland, Ore.
- *William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind.
- *Charles J. France, Seattle, Wash.
- Clarence L. Harper, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Albert Bushnell Hart, Cambridge, Mass.
- *Augustus Raymond Hatton, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Raymond V. Ingersoll, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Camillus G. Kidder, New York.
- *Herman G. James, Austin, Texas.
- W. D. Lighthall, Montreal, Canada.
- Meyer Lissner, Los Angeles, Cal.
- Knowlton Mixer, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Frederick Cook Morehouse, Milwaukee, Wis.
- Oliver McClintock, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- *T. P. Newberry, Detroit, Mich.
- Elliott Hunt Pendleton, Cincinnati, Ohio.

*New nominations.

Council—

- James W. S. Peters, Kansas City, Mo.
- F. S. Spence, Toronto, Canada.
- Howard Strong, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Henry A. Tounnin, Jr., Dayton, Ohio.
- A. Leo Weil, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- *Henry M. Waite, Dayton, Ohio.
- Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia, Pa.
- *James H. Wolfe, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Additional nominations were asked for. There being none, the motion was made that the secretary be directed to cast a unanimous ballot on behalf of the League, which motion was unanimously carried.

THE SECRETARY: In accordance with the instructions just given me by the meeting, I desire to report that I have cast a unanimous ballot for the officers and members of the council as recommended by the committee on nominations.

THE PRESIDENT: In accordance with the ballot cast, the list of officers and members of the council as nominated has been elected to serve for the ensuing year and until their successors qualify.

THE SECRETARY: In accordance with the usual custom I move that the council be authorized to fill any vacancies in its membership that may occur during the year.

This motion was duly adopted.

THE SECRETARY: May I at this time express my sincere appreciation of the services rendered by our retiring president and the sincere feeling of regard and affection we all hold for him? Mr. Foulke has served the League and the cause it represents with singular devotion and effectiveness, and the motion carried last evening with so much show of feeling but partly expresses our love and respect for him.

THE PRESIDENT: I can here say that every minute spent in connection with the National Municipal League has been a moment of unalloyed pleasure. To co-operate directly with the men of the League has been an equally great pleasure. I shall have something to say after retiring from the presidency in regard to the work

*New nominations.

which has been done by the secretary. I must thank you one and all for the great kindness shown to me at all times and in all places.

The next item on the program is the report of the committee on franchises,¹ which will be found printed in the appendix to the report of the committee on municipal program. Unless directed otherwise this report will go over to be taken up in connection with the report of that committee.

Robert S. Marx, Cincinnati, suggested that as the Cincinnati delegation would not be present on Friday, the matter of the franchise provisions be taken up at this morning's session if there were time.

The president then announced that these sections would be taken up for discussion at the end of the morning program, and this was accordingly done.

THE PRESIDENT: The report of the committee on municipal courts of which the Hon. Henry Olson of Chicago is chairman,² is one of progress and co-operation with the committee on municipal program. There will be no formal report at this session of the League.

The report of the committee on municipal reference libraries (Dr. Charles C. Williamson, municipal reference librarian of New York, chairman) will be read by Mr. Ferdinand H. Graser of Philadelphia:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES.

Previous reports of this committee have laid special emphasis on the desirability of establishing local municipal reference

libraries, with recommendations as to the best form of organization. Its suggestions and recommendations have been widely adopted. A municipal reference library is now generally looked upon as an indispensable adjunct to efficient municipal government. Your committee feels that the League should now use its influence, not so much in securing the organization of more local libraries, as in promoting the efficiency of those already established, through some central co-operative agency which will be able at the same time to provide an efficient service for cities which are too small, or for other reasons are unable, to develop a local service of their own.

The need of a central clearing house of municipal information has grown still more urgent since attention was called to the subject in the report of this committee presented to the Richmond meeting in 1911. Last year the Special libraries association appointed a special committee, identical in personnel with this committee—Mr. Woodruff being chairman—to make investigations and recommendations looking toward the establishment of a national center for municipal information.

Of the need for such an organization there can be no doubt. There is scarcely a city of more than a few thousand population that does not have one or more public or private agencies engaged in collecting information to be applied to the solution of local municipal problems. Municipal reference libraries, bureaus of municipal research, bureaus of efficiency, civic organizations and organizations devoted to the study and solution of special problems are everywhere seeking the latest available data as to the methods and experience of other cities in this and foreign countries.

In all this activity there occurs a vast amount of duplicated and wasted effort. A well equipped central co-operating agency would be able to secure far better results with a much smaller expenditure of energy and money. The situation demands a central national bureau which would undertake as its main functions:

¹Committee on Franchises: Robert Treat Paine, Boston; James W. S. Peters, Kansas City, Mo.; Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, Albany; Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, New York, chairman.

²Committee on Municipal Courts; Wilfred Bolster, Boston; Herbert Harley, Chicago; Prof. Roscoe Pound, Harvard University; Hon. W. A. Ransom, New York; Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia; Hon. Henry Olson, Chicago, chairman.

The revised draft of the model municipal court act has just been published. Copies may be secured from the secretary of the Committee, Herbert Harley, Esq., First National Bank Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

1. To collect all municipal documents, reports and other material of value bearing on municipal problems.

2. To prepare and publish promptly such indices and guides to this material as will enable local libraries and all who are interested in municipal matters to select and procure, without waste of time and energy, whatever they need for their own use.

3. To serve as a clearing house for the interests and activities of local libraries and similar agencies, so that it will not happen, as at present, that many of them put forth much effort in securing results which have already been obtained by others, and could be had for the asking.

4. And, specifically, to collect and index city ordinances.

5. To use its staff of expert investigators and its stores of information in answering inquiries from local libraries, city officials and other sources.

Certain of these functions are already performed to a limited extent for the cities of a number of states by municipal reference bureaus conducted by state leagues of municipalities, state libraries, state universities, etc. The multiplication of these state-wide agencies, however, only increases the demand for a national bureau through which their activities can be co-ordinated. The proposal for the establishment of a national bureau is not designed to supplant the local or even the state-wide agencies, but merely to make their work more efficient by aiding in that part of their service which can best be performed by an agency which is nation-wide in its scope.

Should the proposed national bureau be organized and maintained as a voluntary co-operative agency, or should it be governmental in character? This is a fundamental question to which the committee has given careful consideration. The only efforts made so far in this direction are of the former type. The most promising experiment of this sort is the Public affairs information service, begun originally by Mr. John A. Lapp, and now conducted by the H. W. Wilson company. While

the committee is heartily agreed that this service fills a real need and deserves all possible support and encouragement, it is of the opinion that the functions outlined for a national municipal information bureau are, on the whole, of such a nature that they can be performed adequately only by some governmental agency. The necessity of making a profit out of the service, or even of making it pay its way, will, for a long time at least, greatly restrict its usefulness or even prevent its establishment at all. Whatever the agency is to be, it must be able to command a high degree of confidence in its ability and disinterestedness, so that public and private bodies and individuals everywhere will recognize the desirability of lending their co-operation. It must command the confidence not only of those from whom information must be sought, but also of those in need of it. The difficulties inherent in any attempt to bring together in one co-operative organization the local and state governments of the whole country, as well as the libraries, the educational institutions, and the great variety of voluntary organizations which should be interested, and upon which the organization would have to depend for financial support, seem to be insuperable. Any suggestion of support from private endowment may also be dismissed as impractical. Such considerations as these force your committee to the conclusion that the functions of a national bureau of municipal information, are essentially governmental and cannot be performed efficiently by a voluntary co-operative association or by any kind of a commercial organization.

It has been suggested that perhaps one of the existing municipal reference libraries would be willing to enlarge its scope so that it could serve as a national bureau. Such a plan we do not think should be seriously considered. Even if the taxpayers of any city or state were willing to shoulder the expense without complaint, it is clear that the usefulness of the service would be seriously impaired by local jealousies and prejudices. No city or state

is likely to make full use of a service established and maintained by a city in another part of the country. Moreover, the work of any local bureau would be in constant danger of interruption from change of administration or failing interest.

None of these disadvantages would, however, attach to a bureau maintained in the city of Washington by, or under the auspices of, the national government. As a branch of the federal government it would command the necessary respect and confidence. It would also be in a better position than any state or city bureau to collect reports and information from foreign cities. Already many of the departments of the national government are engaged in work of great value to municipalities. These services could most readily be co-ordinated and made fully available by a national bureau located in Washington.

After carefully weighing every suggestion which has come to it from any source, the committee has reached the conclusion that the most efficient service with the smallest expenditure of money could be expected from a municipal reference bureau organized under the library of congress. A division in the bureau of the census, as has also been suggested, might enjoy certain advantages, but important disadvantages have also been pointed out.

The most successful local municipal reference bureaus have been organized as branches of the public libraries. Valuable service is also being performed in many states by legislative reference bureaus maintained by state libraries. The library of congress has been conspicuously successful in co-operating with local public libraries in general library functions, so that it has become natural for the country to look to it to extend that co-operation into this special field of library service. The public libraries in most of the larger cities have organized some special service to promote efficient municipal government. A central bureau in the library of congress would be able to bring them all together in an organization of the highest type of efficiency.

The committee believes that the work required can be performed more economically in the library of congress than in any other department of the federal government. It should, in the first place, be undertaken by some large institution which is in a position to receive and care for the wide range of publications required in the service. Under any other auspices it would prove very costly for it would be necessary to duplicate the vast collection of material which now exists in the library of congress, and which will continue to accumulate there. The collections and the general organization of the library of congress are at hand. The service proposed represents, in a large part, but an extension of activities now carried on by the division of documents and the division of bibliography.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the National Municipal League should take steps at once to bring this matter to the attention of members of congress and urge upon them the desirability of granting to the library of congress a special appropriation sufficient to enable it to establish a municipal reference division to serve as a central co-operating agency for the municipal reference libraries and similar organizations of the entire country.

Signed

JOHN COTTON DANA,
HORACE E. FLACK,
SAMUEL H. RANCK,
CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF,
CHARLES C. WILLIAMSON, *Chairman*.

November 16, 1915.

THE PRESIDENT: We will now hear from Mr. A. L. Winship, secretary of the Boston city club and chairman of the committee on civic secretaries with regard to the work of that committee.

MR. WINSHIP: This committee was formed five years ago with John Ihlder of New York. Later Elliott H. Goodwin, then of New York, now of Washington, was the first elected chairman. Two years later the present officers were chosen, Hornell Hart, secretary of the Milwaukee

city club, being secretary, and Miss H. Marie Dermitt of Pittsburgh, treasurer. We have 40 members, and had a meeting last night with 27 persons present. We recommend that on future programmes more time be given for the discussion of the important questions related to these various civic bodies. We are planning the formation of a bureau, under the leadership of Mr. Hart, to arrange speaking tours throughout the country of those competent to speak on municipal problems.

The points touched upon in Mr. Winship's oral report are to be found embodied in the report of the secretary of the committee which follows the report of the meeting of the League.

THE PRESIDENT: The committee on bibliography, Miss Adelaide R. Hasse of the department of documents, New York Public Library, chairman,¹ is next in order.

Miss Hasse submitted the following report: "Your committee on civic bibliography has only to report its existence. It has been organized too recently to make a report of any other accomplishment possible. It is looking forward to a life of useful effort in the interests of the League and what the League stands for." ADELAIDE R. HASSE, *Chairman*.

THE SECRETARY: The committee on city and county consolidation² is still at work, but will have no formal report to make at this session of the League.

THE PRESIDENT: At this time we will have a report from the committee on the relation of the city to its food supply (Prof. Clyde L. King, University of Pennsylvania, chairman).³

¹ Committee on National Civic Bibliography: Andrew Linn Bostwick, St. Louis; James McKirdy, Harrisburg; Hon. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, Harrisburg; Joseph Wright, Harvard University; Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, New York, chairman.

² Committee on City and County Consolidation: Richard Henry Dana, Cambridge, Mass.; Dr. Clyde L. King, University of Pennsylvania; Winston Paul, New York; Mark L. Requa, Oakland, Cal.; H. S. Gilbertson, East Orange, N.J., chairman.

³ Committee on the Relation of the City to Its Food Supply: Arthur J. Anderson, Editor, *Pennsylvania Farmer*; C. M. Arthur, New Brunswick, N. J.; H. B. Fullerton, Medford, Long Island, N. Y.; Cyrus C. Miller, Borough of the Bronx, New York; Paul E. Work, Cornell University; Clyde L. King, University of Pennsylvania, chairman.

Dr. King submitted the following report: "In the past year the committee has prepared and published a general report upon the relation of the city to its food supply. This report was published as a special pamphlet by the League. The committee has limited its investigations this year to public markets—their costs and results. As a basis for this study several hundred printed questionnaires have been sent to as many different cities. A number of complete replies have been received. A written report based on these and similar sources will shortly be sent to the secretary of the League." CLYDE L. KING, *Chairman*.

THE PRESIDENT: The report of the committee on new sources of revenue will now be presented by Prof. William A. Rawles of the University of Indiana.

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NEW SOURCES OF REVENUE

The committee of the National Municipal League on new sources of revenue desires at this time to submit only a brief preliminary report. The short time which has transpired since its appointment has proved insufficient for a full consideration of many of the important and complicated problems which present themselves. Nevertheless, through the discussions at the two meetings which have been held and through correspondence, it was found that there are a considerable number of questions upon which there is unanimity of opinion and it was decided that a report setting forth the recommendations of the committee on these points might profitably be made at this time, the more difficult problems being reserved for treatment in a report to be submitted later.

The General Property Tax.—Even in those regions which are not greatly advanced in their economic development, the general property tax has demonstrated its insufficiency. But it is in the cities of considerable size that the system has broken down most lamentably. At the precise point where it has been desirable to make great demands upon it, there it has been found to be least dependable.

Partly in consequence of the increased temptation to evasion due to the size of the demands which it has been necessary to make and partly because of the relative ease of evasion as economic conditions have become more complex, personal property has largely disappeared from the tax rolls of those cities which attempt to assess it under the unmodified general property tax system. Your committee is convinced that attempts to rejuvenate the old system by a more strict administration would be a misdirection of energy and foredoomed to failure. No attempt should be made to tax personal property at full rates under the old system.

The Real Estate Tax.—As one result of the breakdown of the general property tax, real estate has been called upon to carry a larger share of the burden. In the first place, your committee is of the opinion that there is a crying need for improvement in the administration of this portion of our tax system. In the second place, it believes that in spite of the high rates now present in some places, the land rent in our growing cities can, through some skillfully designed form of the increment tax, be made to yield an increased revenue. In those cities which are enjoying an unusually rapid and even growth, the regular annual tax rate on land may usually be increased somewhat to advantage. It is believed that the real estate tax will remain for an indefinite period the backbone of the municipal revenue system, but there is an evident need for supplementary sources of revenue.

The accurate assessment of real estate is of great importance. In most of our cities the assessments are made in an exceedingly haphazard and inexact fashion. The valuation of real estate for taxation is work for experts and unfortunately the conditions now existing in many municipalities do not tend to encourage the assessors to make themselves more efficient. Your committee recommends that assessors be chosen for long terms on the basis of merit and fitness. By the payment of adequate salaries the positions should be made more attractive to capable men. Assessment districts should

be made large enough to permit the assessor to devote his entire time to the work. In rapidly developing communities such as ours, periodical assessments are not suitable. The assessment work should be continuous and an attempt made to keep the valuations always accurate. Land value and tax maps and unit values for assessing buildings should be generally adopted. The separate assessment of lands and buildings is particularly urged as a means of promoting accuracy. The full market value of the land should always be the test used for determining assessment values. Where separation of the sources of state and local revenues is not in effect, sufficient central control should be exercised to protect municipalities from being penalized by an unfairly heavy share of state taxes because of full-value assessments. As an aid to securing full-value assessments, legislation should be passed requiring the statement of the true consideration in deeds.

In regard to the problem of securing outside assistance in assessment work, which is acute in many cities, your committee believes that every facility should be provided which tends to train assessors and to increase their efficiency. Provision should be made for the employment of such expert assistance as will accomplish this result. It is believed that it is not advisable, however, to delegate the assessment work itself to any outside commercial agency. The assistance should be only of the type which aims to promote the knowledge and ability of the assessor himself.

Exemption of Improvements from Taxation.—Considered from the point of view of revenue, the plan of exempting improvements from taxation does not offer any considerable promise. Your committee believes in the special taxation of land values and in a situation where sufficient funds can be obtained without involving a confiscatory tax on land values, the proposal to reduce the tax on buildings might be worthy of favorable consideration. Buildings, however, are not improper subjects of taxation. On

the contrary, they are superior to many other subjects now in use.

Possible Supplements to the Real Estate Tax.—In the opinion of the committee the most promising methods of reaching tax-paying ability other than that reached through the tax on real estate are the following: an income tax (state administered); a habitation and business tax; and light rate on intangible personal property. The details of these plans are reserved for further consideration.

Poll Tax.—The poll tax, where it still remains, should be abandoned as a source of municipal revenue.

Payments for Privileges.—Great care should be exercised to insure that the municipality receives full remuneration for the various privileges and rights it confers and for property it may rent, e.g. vaults, street obstructions, newsstand privileges, etc., etc.

Limitations on Tax Rates and Indebtedness.—Provision should be made in each municipality whereby a locally elected official or board of officials assumes responsibility for the rate of taxation. In those municipalities where such control is present, legal limitations on the tax rate of taxation should be removed. On the other hand, debt for unproductive enterprises should be strictly limited.

Semi-Annual Collections.—In the larger cities particularly, the collection of taxes in two installments instead of one would result in considerable saving in interest charges and in substantial relief to some taxpayers. On the other hand, in places where the taxes are very light or the parcels of taxable property very small, the additional expense of the extra collection might not be justified by the advantages to be secured by its adoption.

Among the subjects upon which the committee is at present unprepared to present an opinion are the following: the extent to which special assessments should be utilized and the methods which should be used in their administration; the type of business tax best adapted to conditions in American cities; the proper form for the income tax in those places where it is deemed necessary; the details of the

increment tax; and the question as to what constitutes a confiscatory tax on land. Any suggestions or assistance which may be forthcoming from the members of the League will be greatly appreciated.

November 8, 1915.

WALTER H. ARNDT.

MAYO FESLER.

PROF. WILLIAM A. RAWLES.

HERBERT S. SWAN.

DR. C. C. WILLIAMSON.

DR. ROBERT MURRAY HAIG,
Chairman.

PROFESSOR RAWLES: I wish to state that this is a preliminary, and not a final report.

F. S. SMEDES, *Cincinnati*: I should like to ask what is meant by the words "habitation tax."

PROFESSOR RAWLES: The habitation tax is based on the theory that there is a way to reach the tax-paying ability of persons other than by means of direct tax on income; that one evidence of man's ability to pay taxes is determined by the amount of rent he pays. The habitation tax is a tax upon individuals on a basis of the rental value of the property which he occupies. It is a tax upon occupiers, not owners. The details, as the report states, have not been worked out. I have not been able to attend these meetings and I do not know what your members on the committee have in mind, but this is the idea in my own mind. The proposition was submitted a few years ago by Professor E. R. A. Seligman and other members of the special tax commission of the State of New York. It was offered as a substitute for an income tax. The tax might be graded. In the first place, for example, say persons who pay in the rural communities not to exceed \$200 in rent, and in the cities it might be higher, then above that all of the rental which is paid say up to \$1,000 might be subject to tax of 1 per cent. Those persons who pay rental from \$1,000 to \$3,000 might be subject to a tax of 1½ per cent and so on. I might say that this

system is in use in some of the European cities. I should say Birmingham, in England, is especially noted for the use it makes of this; it is used in Toronto and Montreal. The habitation tax is a tax upon the occupier which is based upon the rental which he pays for the house he occupies.

HORNELL HART, *Milwaukee*: Revenue in cities is used for two purposes: first for carrying on the activities of government and second, for constructing permanent improvements. I believe this is a question worthy of study, I recognize this method of taxation would be attended with a vast number of difficulties, and yet it seems to me it ought to be possible to work out a method. It is necessary for a city having its own electric lighting system and street railway system to secure funds with which to build these works; to my mind the inheritance tax is an ideal way of securing funds to build a city.

GEORGE E. HOOKER, *Chicago*: I was curious to know what the committee had in mind in recommending that full value should be exacted by the city for grants of privileges made by the city to provide business undertakings. We, in Chicago, are receiving into the public treasury about two million dollars a year from the street car system, and in fact it is the street car riders who pay a considerable large part of the city expenses. Those who do not ride on the street cars or just occasionally do not contribute. We raise a much larger sum from the people who patronize the saloons and the money paid in by the proprietor of the saloons for the privilege of carrying on the saloon business. I mention these two examples because it is desirable that the one form of business should be extended as much as possible, and the other curtailed.

HARRISON G. OTIS, *Beaufort, S. C.*: There seems no reason why the bill board should not be taxed in proportion to its rental value. It is a source of income and should yield revenue to the public which creates that value. St. Louis in 1910 estimated the annual business of bill boards there at \$500,000. The city got

\$30 from bill boards. A tax of 3¢ per square foot is reasonable and would doubtless be held constitutional. Such a tax would yield St. Louis \$40,000 a year. The concerns advertising are usually outside companies which pay no taxes.

F. S. SPENCE, *Toronto*: In regard to the habitation tax being used in Toronto and Montreal, the term would hardly apply as being used there. We have what we call a business tax, from which the habitation tax is excluded; taxes are levied only upon property used for business purposes and on which there is an investment outside of the real estate. The plan is generally to add to the regular tax a fixed percentage, which varies from 10 to 100 per cent according to the character of the business carried on. We are forced to take some money from the people in business and in public service, but don't believe in taking anything out of the pockets of street car riders to lighten the burden of the property owners.

A. LEO WEIL, *Pittsburgh*: Some years ago when one of our large organizations contemplated building a city, I happened to be called into consultation and a suggestion was made as one of the plans for receiving revenue that the city reserve a portion of every new addition taken into the city and that it keep this land for its use as a revenue producer. That particular city grew to very large proportions, and had such a measure been adopted I would have had more information on the subject. It was not adopted at the time for the reason those in charge of the organization felt it was not wise to lend credit to such a wild-eyed fad as what they said was the single-tax theory. It occurred to me to suggest this to the committee for consideration, as our cities are from time to time making new streets and laying out new plats requiring extension of gas, electric lighting and rapid transit facilities, and some plan might be worked out by which there might be a new source of revenue that might be added to our municipalities.

DR. FAIRLIE: The question has been

raised as to whether a city should receive payment for public utility and other privileges, or should reduce the rates to the consumers. It is not always feasible to fix rates exactly at a point where there will be no surplus value; and wherever there is a surplus the city should be able to get the benefit.

Another suggestion is that the city could save interest by having taxes paid semi-annually instead of annually. The difficulty with that plan is that most cities now have need for all their taxes as soon as they come in. If taxes were made payable semi-annually by postponing the payment of half the amount for six months, the cities would have to borrow and pay interest. Of course if one half the taxes were collected six months earlier, the city could save interest; but in Illinois, at least, the whole year's taxes are now due as soon as the tax books are ready; and it is not easy to see how they could be made ready six months earlier.

MR. SMEDES, *Cincinnati*: In Ohio we pay taxes twice a year on the 20th of December and the 20th of June and if not paid within that time a penalty must be paid. It is surely a great convenience to certain classes of people. I can say in answer to the gentleman from Illinois, where people pay ten or fifteen thousand dollars they can save interest on that much money; in these days everything is done on a small margin and the interest on ten, fifteen or twenty-five thousand dollars for six months is quite a source of revenue. Last night I attended a banquet at the Hotel Sinton in Cincinnati where the talk was to raise up a set of men of greater efficiency to serve the public in public offices. It seems to me what we need is, as the men said there, a greater number of efficient men who ought to be able to suggest a new source of income. There is no question but the demands of the public requiring greater income to growing cities are increasing rapidly. Every day something is being put into operation which requires larger funds, but as our municipalities are now conducted there is a great deal of waste

and if we could direct our attention more to economical administrations of our cities, we would have more of an income to meet these demands, we could give better service to the public and try to ferret new ways of getting money. As to the habitation tax, I must say it does not meet with my approval. I have always advocated we ought to take all the burden off of the home we can. If I had my way about it I would take every cent of taxes off of the homes. We ought to encourage in every way we can the building of more homes and it seems the habitation tax would have a tendency to do away with that.

LIEUT. C. P. SHAW, *Norfolk, Va.*: As I understand this habitation tax is not so much a tax on the house one lives in as it is a means of getting at the income of the person living in the house at a certain rental. Professor Seligman proposed it as a substitute for the income tax, which has been described by one distinguished economist as a means of raising hypocrites and liars.

OLIVER MCCLINTOCK, *Pittsburgh*: I desire to move that we send a message to the conference on welfare and efficiency meeting to-day in Harrisburg, Pa.

Mr. McClintock then read the following resolution which was adopted:

The twenty-first annual conference of the National Municipal League, in session at Dayton, Ohio, sends greeting to his excellency Governor Martin G. Brumbaugh and the third Pennsylvania welfare efficiency and engineering conference in session at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. We understand your purpose to be both the development of the natural resources and the securing of the best expert knowledge for promoting the welfare and efficiency of the manufacturing industries of Pennsylvania. The purpose of the National Municipal League is to promote good municipal government in the United States and Canada.

Although operating in different fields, we are comrades in a common cause, and strive for the same end—the welfare and betterment of the people.

THE PRESIDENT: We will now hear from Mr. George Burnham, Jr., chairman of the committee on budgets and accounting.¹

MR. BURNHAM: The committee agreed unanimously that the form of budget as proposed by the bureau of municipal research of the city of New York should be adopted as the guide for preparing the general budget. Of course, it was recognized that the complexities of this metropolitan budget would not be applicable to all cities, but there were certain essential principles involved in that book which seemed to us a very desirable condition for any uniform budget. The committee then assigned to several of its members the preparation of model budgets for three or four cities along the lines proposed for New York City by the bureau of municipal research. One of these has been handed in, by L. D. Upson, for the city of Dayton. The other two have not yet come in—in one case partly by reason of the serious continued illness of the member to whom it was assigned. We are going ahead, and report progress at this time.

THE PRESIDENT: The report of the committee on immigration will be postponed until this afternoon. The report of the committee on franchises will now be taken up and Alfred Bettman, former city solicitor of Cincinnati, will read the draft.

As each section was read by Mr. Bettman, there were various comments made, mostly of a technical character, all of which were referred to the committee on franchises for further consideration.

In the opinion of Mr. Johnson Thurston of Toledo, thirty years was entirely too long a period for a public utility franchise. He was opposed to the posting of a copy of the franchise in public places, saying "I should want it to be pretty mild weather when done, if a person has to stand on the corner to read and study such a

franchise. I would recommend that copies be sent to each voter of the city for his private and frequent reference. We have just gone through a franchise fight in Toledo, and I know something about the matter."

Hotel Miami, Thursday, November 13, 1915
1 p.m.

REMARKS RE FINANCIAL PROVISIONS OF THE "MODEL CITY CHARTER"

LENT D. UPSON, *Executive Secretary*
National Cash Register Co.

The inclusion in a model municipal charter of sections relating to financial administration is notable progress, for only during the last three or four years has any extended attention been given by charter makers to those features of government. This development may be the result of a larger appreciation of the tools of government irrespective of the form which uses them. The methods by which a city collects and disburses public funds and accounts for these transactions are most important features in the securing of adequate administration—no matter what the type of government may be. An administration may have the loftiest of ideals for improving the living conditions of the people by providing better and cleaner streets, adequate fire and police protection, health service, wholesome recreation, etc., but if these functions are not founded upon sound financing and accounting, they will sooner or later be curtailed by the depletion of public revenues. The finance provisions of the model charter are evidently designed to meet this recognized need of a firm foundation, and if they are open to criticism, it is not on broad principles but upon the detailed application of certain sections. And it seems almost a misplacement of good intentions to take a public occasion to suggest modifications of this character. Yet the very importance of these financial sections should prompt a thorough consideration, particularly by that group whose interest in this phase of government is supported by field experience.

¹ Committee on Municipal Budgets and Accounting: Harvey S. Chase, Boston; Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, New York; William A. Prendergast, New York; L. D. Upson, Dayton; George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia, chairman.

To proceed: among the duties of the director of finance as outlined by this charter are the purchasing, custody, and distribution of supplies, a feature common to most cities having purchasing departments. In private business, however, it is questionable if these functions would be delegated to the comptroller. Certainly this officer should not have the inspection of supplies purchased. If for practical purposes, the inspection of supplies must be done by the director of finance, it should be delegated to a separate bureau in the finance department, and not be directly connected with the purchasing division.

Another important section is that outlining the character of accounts which shall be kept by the director of finance, and which embodies the familiar phrase—accounts “shall be adequate to record all transactions affecting the acquisition, custody, and disposition of values.” This requirement is amplified by mentioning specifically an accounting for accrued revenues and liabilities as well as a record of cash receipts and disbursements. However, it is a far cry between specifying in a general way the character of an accounting system and the actual installation of that system, for directors of finance are usually busy with daily routine. It might be expedient to mention specifically the kind of financial reports that shall be prepared, for example—a balance sheet over bond funds, trust funds, operating funds, an appropriation statement as well as a consolidated balance sheet, a revenue and expense statement, surplus statement, etc.—reports which will require the installation of an adequate accounting system.

A further requirement, dictated by the experience of several cities, should be the fixing of a definite time limit on the accounting installation, and providing that reports be made monthly.

The sections relating to the annual budget and the appropriation ordinance suggest a number of points and a discussion too extended for a brief paper. However, the following questions may bring out the differences in opinion and experience:

1. How long before the beginning of the fiscal year should the budget be submitted to the council? The best of intentions are wrecked in budget making, and no matter how much time may be allotted for the making of this document, there are almost always circumstances which militate against a prompt preparation.

2. Is it expedient to provide for a classification of estimates which “shall be as *nearly* uniform as possible”? The qualification “nearly” was deliberately placed in the Dayton charter in order to permit hedging should the rulings of the state bureau of accounting (which did not permit of a uniform classification) take precedence over the charter provisions. Unfortunately the Dayton charter has been used so often as a model that this phrase has been written into practically all of the newer city charters. Yet if a classification is to be of serious value, it must be uniform in its application, requiring departments to talk about needs in terms common to all.

3. Are we quite convinced that the information specified in the budget is that which will be most helpful to the city manager and to the administrators in the preparation of the appropriation ordinance? Are the comparative data taken over a sufficient number of periods? Are statements of appropriations necessary when actual expenditures are given? Should a statement of supplies and materials on hand be included?

4. Is it the consensus of opinion that cities can on the first of the year practically budget all improvements to be made from bonds, and should such budgeting be specifically required?

5. What should be included in “a statement of the financial condition of a city”? Since the character of documents making up a modern budget are generally agreed upon, might they not be specified in the charter, rather than leaving their selection to the city manager?

6. In small cities should the budget estimates be printed and distributed; or would the desired end be secured by placing the originals on deposit where interested citizens may see them? Should pro-

vision be made for publication of the appropriation ordinance?

7. Should the council only be permitted to reduce or reject items in the budget and not be allowed to increase the estimates of the manager? Certainly this section is not based upon American procedure, if New York City is excepted. In a certain sense, it grants powers to the city manager which should not be given to an appointed officer; and from a practical viewpoint, the manager, being the creature of the city council and being human, will probably well assure himself that the proposed budget meets with the approval of the commission. Furthermore, it seems absurd that the city manager should be able to dictate to the commission the relative needs of city activities. It would be unfortunate if owing to a provision in the charter the city government were helpless when a city manager neglected the health and safety of the citizen body in order, for example, that there might be well repaired and clean streets.

Under the clause relating to the assessment of property, it might be suggested that an optional section be included, allowing classification of property for purposes of taxation if the city so wishes and the state constitution and laws permit. There is such a decided movement in this country towards a more equitable taxation of land values and personal property that it seems expedient to recognize it.

The section relating to bond issues might well provide for the enactment of an ordinance specifying the probable life of each utility for which it is customary to borrow money. This will remove from the director of finance the responsibility of making haphazard guesses at the probable life of fire apparatus, sewers, automobile equipment, etc., in order that bond issues may be retired accordingly. Further, the requirement for a two-thirds vote of the council on bond issues seems excessive. Two-thirds of five is relatively a good many.

The permitting of temporary loans in anticipation of taxes raises another problem. In Massachusetts and Ohio, such

loans are no longer legal, except where they have previously existed. It is suggested that provision be made for certain emergency bond issues in the case of epidemics, etc., and that temporary loans (except where already existing) be prohibited.

It is possible that the section relating to contracts and purchases is not so worded as to provide that after bonds are issued the work may be done either by contract or by city labor. Frequently, in Dayton, the legal department does not read into the charter the thoughts of the men who wrote it, and it might be well to have a section of this kind most explicit. In this connection, a well-thought-out clause providing for a purchasing agent, who shall purchase all supplies and equipment, and certain services other than personal might be valuable.

Almost the last section of the chapter contains the requirement that all warrants shall be countersigned by the city manager. A city manager is a pretty busy man, and it seems unnecessary that he should be required to sign a large miscellany of vouchers and warrants. It might be well, however, should he be required to sign either vouchers or warrants which are over a certain sum or which are for other than ordinary purposes. The test is: what good is it going to do if he does sign them all and what harm if he doesn't? Certainly, if the city is going to be robbed, it will be done through short weights and poor quality of goods and high prices rather than by any failure of the city manager to sign a paper which he knows little about.

As regards audit, it has been suggested by many that a continuous audit be made of all fiscal transactions of the city rather than an annual audit. It is further suggested that these audits be done by private accounting firms rather than be left to state authorities. The governments of our states are not of such a high character that their departments of accountancy have much to give in the way of constructive criticism to the more progressive cities. On the contrary, outside of the limited sphere of auditing, state

authorities may be a handicap rather than a help.

There is no section relating particularly to special assessments, and, probably it is the intention of the authors that this subject is to be left as an administrative matter to be decided by city ordinance. That is a happy circumstance. Dayton has gotten herself into irritating difficulties by pilfering too freely from the special assessment provisions of another city charter. As long as there are lawyers there will be ways out, but it is unfortunate if matters of this kind become a part of the organic law, where they cannot easily be changed. In fact, the League might render a valuable service should this charter be supplemented with an administrative code. This code should suggest to cities proper ordinances relating to the administration of assessments, purchasing, health, sanitation, building, etc.

These are some casual thoughts arising from a hurried examination of this chapter on city accounting. Perhaps some of the criticisms and suggestions are founded upon local prejudice rather than wide experience. Others may result from the chronic difference of opinion among municipal accountants and near-accountants. All are advanced tentatively for discussion, and with a sound appreciation of the splendid work which the committee on the difficult subject of municipal accounting has done.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

*Hotel Miami, Thursday, November 18,
1915, 3 p.m.*

President Charles W. Dabney, of the University of Cincinnati, a vice-president of the League, in the chair.

VICE-PRESIDENT DABNEY: The first thing to be taken up this afternoon according to the program is a paper on "The Progress of Home Rule in Ohio," to be read by Mayo Fesler, secretary of the Cleveland civic league.

Mr. Fesler then read his paper on "Progress of Home Rule in Ohio," which will be published in the April issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

VICE-PRESIDENT DABNEY: We will now take up the interesting subject of the proportional representation election in Ashtabula on November 2, to be presented by Professor Augustus Raymond Hatton, of Western Reserve University, who was present at the election.

Professor Hatton then read a paper entitled,¹ "The Ashtabula Plan—The Latest Step in Municipal Organization."

The reading of the paper was followed by an animated discussion which has been summarized by C. G. Hoag, of Haverford, Pa., the secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.²

VICE-PRESIDENT DABNEY: The report of the Committee on Immigration will now be presented by Joseph Mayper of New York.

Mr. Mayper then read the following report of the Committee on Immigration:³

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION.

The great conflict of the races in Europe has had, during the past year, a decided positive effect on our own country's efforts to secure, through the fusion of the many races residing in this country, a strong united nation. Fundamentally committed to the principle that "all men are created free and equal," America, a free democracy, has become the hope and inspiration of the world. Until this year, we were unconscious of the fact that international intrigue could disturb our own domestic peace through industrial unrest and incendarism based on old world racial differences and dislikes. But the European war has swept the country with a patriotic impulse, which has made us alive to the insidious dangers lurking in the midst of our large racial groups herded together on the outskirts of our cities and industrial communities, and permitted to live their own lines in their own ways, without the

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 56.

²See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 63.

³The Committee on Immigration consists of: Mary Antin, New York; Julius Henry Cohen, New York; D. E. Cole, Cleveland; Dr. Frederic C. Howe, New York; Julius Rosenwald, Chicago; Miss Frances A. Kellor, New York, chairman. Mr. Mayper is one of Miss Kellor's assistants.

contact of Americanizing influences and without a participation in the duties, privileges and obligations of American citizens.

How extensively does the immigrant affect the life of our cities? Must he be considered in any plan of municipal betterment? Let us see. Of the more than 13,000,000 foreign born in the United States, 72 per cent (9,761,427) reside in our cities. Our municipalities have been called "the melting pot" of our nation, but the enormous and continuous supply of raw material has made the fusion of our many different races with their many varying traditions not quite as complete as is the general belief. Of the 6,646,817 foreign born men of voting age in America, only 45 per cent (3,034,117) are naturalized, which means that more than 3,500,000 able-bodied male residents are not subject to call in case of dire national need. Again in the 22 cities, having over 250,000 residents each, there is a combined population of 12,580,843. Of this number 684,900, or 55 out of every 1,000, are illiterates, and out of every 100 of these 90 are foreign born. Although there can be no industrial efficiency with illiteracy, our efforts to eliminate illiteracy have lagged away behind our industrial growth. Vitally connected with industrial efficiency in America is the ability to speak English. Here again, we find industrial *inefficiency*, the sign language, which always causes misunderstandings and accidents, being the only medium of communication in many departments of our factories. In 1910, of the more than 13,000,000 foreign born whites in this country, 2,953,011 persons ten years of age and over could not speak the English language. This becomes quite significant when we learn that no non-English-speaking person can become a naturalized citizen of the United States.

Is the assimilation of immigrants a spontaneous product? Is it all to be left to the immigrant? Has America any responsibilities? Does an American pay envelope make an American workman? Does the fact of living and working here make a man an American—a good resident, an American citizen? Can we have

a united country, can we indeed have *one nation*, wherein many of the thirteen million foreign born residents do not use our language, are not citizens, do not follow our social customs or cherish our social and patriotic ideals? Can they know our language if they are given no opportunity to learn it? Can they know our ways if they have no American contact except the job? Can they become citizens if not one in ten of them can reach facilities for attaining the requirements for naturalization—a knowledge of English and civics?

The past year's events aroused the nation to this situation and it needed but a spark to set off a widespread campaign of Americanization. When the National Americanization Day Committee was organized in June, 1915, the suggestion that cities hold public receptions to welcome all newly naturalized citizens, swept like wildfire throughout the country, and 106 cities responded with quickly arranged city-wide "Americanization" receptions on our own Independence day. For the first time in the history of the country was such widespread interest in each other aroused among natives and foreign born, among old and new citizens. From Boston to Seattle and from Minneapolis to New Orleans—every section of the country was included. Philadelphia popularized the idea of official receptions to new citizens through President Wilson's memorable message of humanity and peace, then the Baltimore city club organized a "new voters' day"; 106 cities followed with Americanization celebrations on July 4, and New York City, the most recent, had its "first voters' day" on October 29. No city, however, except Cincinnati, has as yet followed the lead of Los Angeles, where night school certificates are practically accepted by the courts as meeting the educational requirements of the naturalization law, and of Cleveland, where receptions are held monthly to all new citizens admitted during the prior month.

But great as was the enthusiasm and widespread the interest, the by-products of the celebrations, which are constantly gaining in volume and importance, have

exhibited a real national concept of Americanization. The most important of these by-products have been developed in Detroit, and in Syracuse, where, through the local chamber of commerce, "English language first" campaigns were organized, in which the support of every important industrial, commercial, religious, official, educational, patriotic, racial, charitable, social and civic agency was secured to stimulate the attendance of the non-English-speaking residents in the public evening schools. Hand bills and circulars in the most important foreign languages were distributed freely in factories, plants, homes, churches, schools, libraries and offices, and on the streets and at meeting places. Industries and co-operating agencies were circularized and every force at any time coming in contact with the immigrant was urged to bring forcibly to his attention the need of learning the English language. The city as a whole, urged him to "go to night school at once" so that he could learn the English language, become an American citizen, and incidentally increase his opportunity for a better job. Even the school children participated. Each child of foreign born parents took home a neat folder, telling his parents, in their own language, why and where to go to learn English. The English and foreign language press supported these campaigns vigorously, while many of the most important foreign and racial societies enthusiastically passed resolutions making American citizenship a requirement for eligibility to future membership.

Employers were quick to see that "English language first" among their workmen meant "safety first" in their plants and "America first" in their city. In both campaigns the community consciousness was aroused to such a degree that the co-operating agencies included city departments, courts, factories and plants, churches, settlements, men's and women's clubs, boy scouts, some labor unions and libraries, while personal visits to the homes of immigrants were organized on a large scale. The results speak for themselves. In Detroit the enroll-

ment of the public evening schools was increased 153 per cent. In Syracuse, although the figures are not yet available, an increased attendance has also been reported. But that is not all—the general interest has stimulated definite constructive action, such as the organization of special citizenship classes in the night schools to which all applicants for citizenship are now being officially referred by the naturalization courts; the development of domestic education work in the homes of immigrants through women's organizations; the payment of a wage bonus by some employers and preference in re-employment and promotion to immigrant employees attending the night schools, and the preparation and free distribution of citizenship manuals.

The promotion of better citizenship, as a function of educational bodies, has also been stimulated in many cities during the year. Among those already heard from are New York, Boston, Trenton, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Hoboken, Pittsburgh, Rochester, Duluth, Haverhill, Philadelphia and St. Louis. Some of these report the establishment of special classes in citizenship, others the adoption of more comprehensive and specialized courses of civic instruction, a few the organization of training courses for teachers of immigrants, and still others the opening of night sessions of the naturalization courts to meet the needs of aliens employed during the day. In New York City and Pittsburgh the boards of education have become so deeply concerned about standardizing methods of instruction that both have issued special bulletins on the subject. "The School and the Immigrant" of the New York City department of education is full of practical suggestions as a hand book for night school teachers of immigrants. "The Study Manual for Evening Schools" of the Pittsburgh board of public education contains syllabi of courses including one for non-English-speaking pupils and another for applicants for citizenship.

Much credit for this definite progress by municipalities is due to the United States Bureau of Education, which, with

the co-operation of the national Americanization committee, has distributed over 135,000 attractively colored "America first" posters printed in seven languages, in which Uncle Sam is depicted as welcoming the immigrant workman to American public schools, American homes and American citizenship. These have been posted in post-offices, industries, schools and in conspicuous places in congested immigrant quarters. "Learn English—attend night school—become a citizen"—"It means a better opportunity, a better home, a better job and a better America" were the slogans used in this nation-wide campaign to secure increased night school attendance and to stimulate interest in American citizenship. The United States Bureau of Education has also established a division on immigrant education which is making a survey of all phases of immigrant education and is co-operating with the public school authorities in our municipalities. The United States Bureau of Naturalization has also fallen in line and is now co-operating with local school boards by providing them with the names of all naturalization applicants.

Some states have also stimulated the municipal activities. The New York State department of education now has a specialist on illiteracy, whose function it is to promote English and citizenship classes for immigrants and co-operate with directors of evening schools in the various cities of the state for the adoption of efficient methods of work. An experimental training course for teachers in evening schools of the cities around Albany was so successful that the state normal college has made it a part of its extension teaching. State work along similar lines is now being planned in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

Women's organizations in many cities and states have also entered into the campaign of Americanization. State federations in Pennsylvania, Michigan, New York, Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts and Indiana, have adopted resolutions declaring for a standardized system of teaching English and citizenship to aliens. This carries the work into any city federa-

tion each state may have and into educational, civic and other clubs. The New York state federation organized an Americanization department with a committee of nine to take up a definite program of work in all cities of the state and in towns in rural communities wherever possible. The Massachusetts state federation has called a conference for December 3 through its educational department to discuss immigrant education and its recommendations will be extended throughout the state. The New York city federation in a convention on October 29 took up the subject of "teaching Americanism", by the extension of English and citizenship classes for adults and by the formation of junior loyal leagues for children.

Despite the tremendous strides already made, there is still a great deal to be done, especially by municipalities where local needs and local interest must be the determining factors. The first step is education—a common language and the reduction of illiteracy. We must be able to converse with each other if we are to avoid misunderstandings. All of our residents should be able to read our own newspapers—not the foreign language press whose motives are not always for "America first." And when our educational standards are set we must urge our alien residents to become naturalized. Hand in hand with this educational preparation we must set and maintain an American standard of living in all our immigrant districts. The presence of thousands of non-English-speaking or illiterate aliens in our municipalities—large masses of unassimilated humanity, having little or no interest in the life of the community, contributing only to its material development and understanding not at all our institutions, our democracy and our form of government—is a constant danger to the life of the city and the nation. In time of peace, through misrepresentation from irresponsible and questionable sources, they may weaken our institutions, lower our standards and create serious industrial difficulties, while in time of war, as alien enemies, they can do incalculable damage in our munitions plants, in the

maintenance of our railroads and in our preparedness for national defense.

To secure a better citizenship every community needs a co-operative and comprehensive program for the Americanization of its immigrant population. The proper organization of a concerted, aggressive and city-wide campaign can be assured if the following line of work—the main features of which have proven successful in half a dozen cities—is adopted by municipalities. The committee on immigration therefore recommends to each locality the following procedure:

First—Make a quick survey of all local immigration conditions, especially those affecting the industrial, educational and living conditions.

Second—Marshal all municipal agencies coming in contact with the daily life of the immigrant—city officials, chambers of commerce, civic organizations and religious and social forces. Outline definite activities and let each agency do its appointed task through some central clearing house arrangement.

Third—Stimulate existing agencies to greater effort and create new facilities as needed, such as: night classes for instruction in English and citizenship, with the most approved courses and methods of instruction; co-operation between industries and public schools and between the latter and naturalization courts, and domestic education of immigrant mothers to raise standards of living and health conditions in the homes.

Only through the united, co-ordinated effort of the entire community can we hope to secure a united nation out of our many peoples—united in peace and in war—whose one constant effort shall be for America first, last, and all the time.

Following the report of the committee on immigration, Dr. E. A. Fitzpatrick, secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service, made some remarks on the subject of civic education, which the editor has asked him to prepare for the April issue.

Dr. Fitzpatrick was followed by President Dabney whose remarks were not

transcribed in time to be inserted in this issue. We are hoping to have them for the April number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION

*Hotel Miami, Thursday, November 18,
1915, 8 p.m.*

The subject for discussion at the evening meeting was "Professional Standards for the New Profession of City Manager." It was opened in a suggestive paper by Richard S. Childs, secretary of the National Short Ballot Organization and a vice-president of the National Municipal League. The discussion which was participated in by City Managers Henry M. Waite of Dayton, Gaylord C. Cummin of Jackson, Mich., and Charles E. Ashburner of Springfield, Ohio, was interesting and illuminating. The papers of Messrs. Childs and Waite, together with a summary of the discussion, will be published in the April issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, along with some additional information and data about the city manager movement.

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

*Hotel Miami, Friday, November 19, 1915,
10 a.m.*

F. S. Spence of Toronto, a member of the Council, in the Chair.

MR. SPENCE: The business of the morning will be a consideration of the report of the committee on municipal program in the form of a model charter and proposed constitutional amendments. The report will be presented by Mr. Foulke, the chairman of the committee.

MR. FOULKE: The report of the committee has been printed in a paper book entitled "Municipal Home Rule and a Model City Charter." It contains the tentative drafts of the sections dealing with the constitutional provisions, the council, nominations and elections, preferential ballot, recall, initiative, referendum, proportional representation, city manager, administrative departments, civil service board, financial provisions

and franchises. This has been widely distributed through the mails and at this meeting of the League.

The committee presented its first report to the twentieth annual meeting of the League at Baltimore, November 20, 1914. The paper book contains the revisions made at subsequent meetings of the committee held in April and September. The text of the constitutional provisions was reported a year ago and is practically in complete shape. The provisions relating to the initiative and referendum need some further amendments and will probably have to be referred back to the committee for further consideration. The finance provisions have been considered by the committee both by correspondence and in open meeting, and were also the subject of discussion at yesterday's luncheon. We are not prepared to report on these in full. The franchise provisions were prepared by the committee on franchises and have not yet been passed upon fully and formally by the municipal program committee. It is our expectation to take them up at a subsequent meeting of the committee to be held late in December, at which time we hope to complete our work.

The first sections to be completed were those dealing with the administrative service, providing that the city manager shall be the chief executive officer of the city. This section has been generally approved by the committee and has been in complete shape for over a year. The same statement may be made with regard to the civil service provisions.

There are also a few supplementary reports and general provisions that will have to be added, and the municipal court provisions have not yet been considered. We ask that those portions of the report which have been agreed upon by the committee be considered and accepted by the League. The other sections we ask to have referred back again for final consideration.

With regard to the Hare system of proportional representation, that has been made a portion of the appendix as an alternative form of election. The com-

mittee has also postponed for further consideration the sections relating to preferential voting with the thought and expectation that they be printed in the appendix with the proportional representation provisions as an alternative method.

I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, that those present at the Dayton meeting of the National Municipal League on November 19, 1915, after discussion, approve the constitutional home rule provisions recommended by the committee on municipal program.

The constitutional home rule provisions were summarized by Professor Hatton, who pointed out that they represented an effort to reverse the usual policy of limited powers and were designed to give to the city complete power to carry on its affairs without further reference to the state legislature. After a brief discussion and some questions, Mr. Foulke's resolution unanimously prevailed.

The legislative sections were summarized by Mr. Woodruff, who explained that the intention of the committee was to lodge the policy-determining functions in the hands of the municipal legislature, leaving to the city manager all questions of administration or policy-execution. After a brief discussion as to the size of the council, it being the opinion of those who participated that larger councils were needed in the larger cities, City Manager Waite raised the question as to whether the provision requiring the reading of a measure on three separate days before its passage was advisable. This led to an interesting discussion and resulted in amending the provision so as to make it two days instead of three.

A motion similar to that relating to the constitutional provisions was then made with regard to the council section, and was unanimously carried.

The sections on nominations and elections were similarly approved.

MR. FOULKE: I will ask Professor Hatton to report on the question of preferential voting and proportional representation.

PROFESSOR HATTON: At a meeting of the committee, the largest meeting which the committee had held in some time, it was decided by a vote of 10 to 2, to recommend preferential voting and to put in the appendix a provision providing for proportional representation, with a statement that those who desired to use proportional representation could follow that plan. In view of the doubt which has arisen in the minds of some of the members of the committee and some of the active members of the league as to the ultimate effectiveness of the preferential ballot, I move that the sections relating to them be referred back to the committee for further consideration, with the thought that possibly the committee may see its way clear to putting both the preferential ballot and the proportional representation provisions in the appendix as alternative forms for the consideration of charter commissions, without any formal recommendation in behalf of either.

This motion seconded by Mr. Foulke was carried.

Mr. Woodruff raised the question as to whether other forms should be suggested, and that subject on a motion was referred to the committee.

MR. FOULKE: A number of verbal suggestions have been made with regard to the provisions relating to the recall, initiative and referendum, and I think that they ought to be referred back to the committee for possible conclusion. At the same time I believe it would be a desirable thing if there were an expression of opinion by those present on the general principles involved.

MR. WEIL: I think we are going a little too rapidly. I am opposed to recommending that the recall be inserted in a model charter. It might be put in as an alternative provision if desired. Why not give the city manager plan a fair trial? Why fix upon that plan these other provisions which in many sections of the country would be considered ultra-radical and thereby injure the questions we want to have taken up by the cities of our country.

MR. FESLER: I was one of the members

of the committee that voted not to put the recall sections in the charter proper but in the appendix. I know some people are strongly opposed to the 15 per cent plan and would vote against putting it in the charter. I know there has been a great deal of objection by many of the voters in different cities. I think if we incorporate that in the measure, we would lose votes for our plan.

MR. BURNHAM: I think it would strengthen this model charter measurably if the recall provision were made optional, because there is a difference of opinion in various sections of the country, especially in the east.

After some further discussion the principle involved in the recall, initiative and referendum was approved by a large majority.

Then the motion to refer these sections back for further amendment was adopted.

The sections relating to the administrative service, including the provisions relating to the city manager, were presented by Mr. Childs. These were unanimously approved by those present.

MR. FOULKE: The sections relating to civil service are now up for consideration. I wish to say that these provisions have been very carefully worked out, first by a sub-committee and then by the whole committee, and have been thoughtfully considered by those who have had long experience in such matters. I believe they are ready for approval, so I make a motion of approval similar to that with regard to the other sections, although I think that the note with regard to an alternative provision may very appropriately be omitted.

LIEUTENANT SHAW: I have prepared a draft of a civil service bill providing for a large measure of efficiency and I should like to have this considered by the committee.

A motion was thereupon made that the civil service provisions together with Lieutenant Shaw's draft of an act be referred back to the committee for further consideration.

The franchise provisions were also referred back to the committee.

MR. WOODRUFF: I move that after the committee on municipal program has completed its draft (which I believe will be at the December meeting) that it be instructed to have the same printed and a copy sent to each member of the League of record at that date for an expression of approval or disapproval, with the understanding that the committee may fix a time limit for the expression of opinion, to publish the fact of approval or disapproval.

This was carried unanimously.

MR. HART: I desire to offer the following resolution: *Be it resolved*, by the twenty-first annual meeting of the National Municipal League, that the very hearty and sincere thanks of the league be hereby extended to the Greater Dayton Association, to the city of Dayton and its officials, and particularly to the Rev. D. Frank Garland, for the cordial hospitality and unfailing courtesies which have made delightful our stay in this city; and to the newspapers of Dayton for the extensive and intelligent publicity which they have given to the meetings of the League.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

MR. FOULKE: I wish to say now on retiring from the presidency of this league, that I doubt very much if any one here realizes the untiring service rendered to this league by our secretary, Mr. Woodruff. It takes an unusually well regulated mind to keep in order all the different things coming up for consideration and to bring order out of chaos such as this; he is doing a gigantic work on the subject of municipal affairs; he has done so much for the league, he has succeeded in keeping us together, he has done all the hard work for the league and is the real power in it; the president is very ornamental and a nice thing to have, but the real efficient work is done by the secretary. I felt I must and wanted to say this much for Mr. Woodruff, with whom I have co-operated in this work, and I never co-operated with any one that gave me as much pleasure in doing so as Mr. Woodruff. I never knew

a better man in such an office than the secretary of the National Municipal League.¹

THE CHAIRMAN: The meeting is now declared closed, and the 21st session of the National Municipal League adjourned.

CIVIC SECRETARIES CONFER

Progressive ideas of management for civic organizations was the keynote of the meeting of the civic secretaries' committee held at Dayton, November 17-18, in connection with the conference of the National Municipal League. A fundamental difference of conception of the functions of city clubs developed early in the discussion. Two types were represented: Militant organizations working aggressively for definite civic reforms, and purely discussional clubs, organized simply with a view to developing enlightened public opinion upon civic questions. At the extreme left in militancy is the Cincinnati city club. This organization has 400 members, pledged against partisan city government. They pay no dues, the club being financed by contributions. No paid secretary is employed, but a number of active civic committees are maintained, and frequent luncheon programs are held, at which public questions are discussed. In the opinion of Mr. Marx, the secretary, the membership of the club has been considerably limited by the radical militant attitude of the organization, but he believes that it is better to have 400 civically aggressive members than to have 4,000 men who merely discuss questions without definite action.

Militancy is the keynote also of the New York city club. It carries on its fights for civic righteousness by means of newspaper and pamphlet publicity, aiming not only to present facts, but to draw definite conclusions, which the club backs up by vigorous legislative campaigns. The stand taken by the club is determined in every case by the board of directors, to whom the reports of the committees are submitted. In

¹ This paragraph is inserted at the special request of Mr. Foulke.

some cases referendum votes of the members are taken. In all cases the club has stood by the decision of the majority, and the militant attitude of the organization has not apparently injured its usefulness. It has at present 1,350 members of whom 200 to 250 are active on committees. The civic work of the club is financed by special donations, while the club house features are supported by dues.

The Woman's city club of Chicago is another militant organization. It has a membership of 3,000 with dues of \$2 a year. Its purpose is the promotion of efficiency in municipal housekeeping. Similar in scope is the Woman's city club of Cincinnati, which has recently been organized with dues of \$1. It already has a membership of 1,400. Both of these organizations have paid secretaries.

The Milwaukee city club is also among the militants. Its 30 civic committees take definite stands with regard to pending questions and work actively to promote these ends. The club has recently experienced a marked loss in membership, in spite of the fact that its civic work has gone forward with considerable success.

Half way between the aggressive attitude of the foregoing organizations and the impartial stand taken by the discussion clubs comes the Chicago city club. This organization does its work mainly through the search for and the publication of impartial truth with regard to civic questions. Usually no aggressive stand is taken with regard to pending issues, although this rule is not invariable. At the time when the organization went into its new club house the membership increased from 2,300 to 2,500. Recently, however, it has fallen off to the previous figure and the hard times have been evident in the large percentage of delinquency in dues. The dues are \$20 a year.

Radically different from the militant theory of city club work is the point of view taken by the Boston city club. A. L. Winship, the secretary of that club, stated that, contrary to the attitude

taken by the Cincinnati club, he would rather have 6,000 men into whose minds he could introduce progressive ideas with regard to civic questions than have 400 members aggressively engaged in reform. The idea of the Boston club is to present both sides of pending civic questions and to bring its wide membership together frequently under auspices stimulating civic discussion. The success of this policy is indicated by the fact that, although the club recently raised its membership limit from 5,000 to 6,000 on the occasion of going into the new club house, it has still a waiting list of 1,500. The dues are \$15. There is no trouble with delinquencies.

Baltimore has followed Boston in its attitude toward civic questions. Growing out of a recognized need for public vigilance on public questions, the club determined after investigation to confine its committee activity to the publication of facts with regard to pending issues. Club rooms are maintained and frequent luncheon programs held. During the past year the club has been able to secure only enough new members to replace those who have resigned. The Philadelphia city club has recently altered its policy from one of aggression to one of discussion.

In St. Louis the aggressive and discussion functions are divided between the city club, which is not militant, and the civic league, which is. The club, with membership dues of \$20 has a waiting list. Two speakers a week address the members. The civic league takes care of the active committee work. It has been supported by dues of varying amounts, but in view of a recent falling off in the large contributions, it has determined to establish a flat \$5 membership.

A civic organization reaching the laboring elements of the population was described by Mr. Burchard of Chicago. It is a community council, under whose auspices citizens of various nationalities from a congested Chicago district gather in a public high school to discuss public questions.

Methods of developing membership

for civic organizations came up for discussion. The methods used by commercial organizers for stimulating membership were recommended by Mr. Baldwin, of St. Louis, although he deprecated the employment of professional membership stimulators. Copious newspaper publicity and direct personal contact with the persons whom it is sought to enlist in club work are the secrets of success. Circular letters, in the opinion of Mr. Baldwin, are of little value in securing membership. Mr. Winship, of Boston, described how his organization had raised \$400,000 within two weeks for its new club house. The ten biggest and busiest men available were selected to head teams of canvassers. These teams were manned by 90 men distinguished for their personal magnetism. The membership of the club was divided into 10 lists and every member was interviewed by a member of one of the canvassing teams. Not only was this campaign signally successful in raising the necessary funds, but it served to galvanize interest in the work of the club.

Baltimore, according to Mr. Steele, has secured all of its present membership by means of circular letters, carefully drafted with a view to getting attention, interest, desire, decision and habit. The club intends to continue this method through the services of an additional member of the staff who is to be skilled in salesmanship. He is to visit the members of the club personally and get from each a list of possible prospects. To these prospects a series of carefully written letters is to be sent out, signed by the respective members who have suggested the names. Ultimately it is hoped to enlist the personal services of these members in bringing in those prospects who have not been secured through the circulars.

"What is the relation of each of our civic organizations to the leadership for progress in our cities, and what are the definite means of co-operation in leadership," was the question discussed by the civic secretaries at their second session. Mr. Baldwin, of St. Louis, proposed the

question. He described the way in which the 300 civic, fraternal, and nationalist organizations of St. Louis are grouped in councils, according to their general character, which in turn are represented in a conference of federations which acts as a correlator of civic activity. By this means unanimity of action is secured on public questions.

In Cleveland, according to Mayo Fesler, the political parties have become real advocates of the public interests. Labeled though they are with national party titles, these organizations have been driven by popular interest to the intelligent consideration of local issues. The feature of the last municipal campaign was the interest shown by popular audiences in the discussion of municipal issues.

The reason for this new spirit in Cleveland, according to Professor Hatton, is the growing socialization of Cleveland. Until recently the American public has been distinguished by its individualism. Where, as in Cleveland, big, gripping issues have had to be fought out over long spaces of time, city social consciousness has developed and political parties have begun to fulfil their normal functions. Big issues are required to overcome democracy's distrust of leadership and to give the general welfare the power to prevail over private interests.

In New York, according to Mr. Childs, the co-ordination of city leadership, which has been formal in St. Louis, has been accomplished by agreements among civic leaders, through which good men and measures have had the backing of public sentiment.

Civic organizations should labor to make themselves unnecessary according to Mr. Hart, of Milwaukee. Too often city clubs have been performing functions for which governmental agencies were created, but which because of the languor of public opinion have still to be taken care of by private activity.

A concrete result of the Conference was the development of plans for co-operation in securing civic speakers for city club meetings. The secretary of the

committee, Mr. Hart, of Milwaukee, has been instructed to get in touch with the leaders of civic and social progress in the United States and other countries with a view to ascertaining when they expect to travel through the United States, and with a view to facilitating arrangements between them and the civic organizations which form a chain across the continent.

HORNELL HART,
Secretary.

MUNICIPAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE

As the result of a casual but interesting get-together meeting at the Baltimore convention of the National Municipal League, when representatives from a number of efficiency organizations were present, a committee was appointed by the executive committee to arrange a similar meeting this year during the sessions of the Municipal League. Through the efforts of F. A. Cleveland, C. O. Dustin, and Lent D. Upson, letters were written to all efficiency bureaus in the country, and representatives were present from the Akron bureau of municipal research, Chicago bureau of efficiency, Cincinnati and Dayton bureaus. In addition, there attended the dinner as guests of the Dayton bureau a dozen or more persons who had previously been connected with public efficiency bureaus, including two city managers and several other city officers.

The dinner was very informal, and speech-making was curtailed by the evening session of the league. However, the members present were able during the days of the convention to hold a number of "anteroom meetings" for the discussion of "what next" in public service. This informal program included the possibility of civic organizations becoming a larger factor for good government; the making available of governmental methods in accounting, reporting, etc., to small cities at a reasonable cost; publicity of local experience with common problems; the training of city managers and other public officers; the possibilities of field service for college graduates, undergraduates, etc.

It is hoped that next year the convention

will be used not only by bureau men, but also by municipal reference librarians, efficiency engineers attached to municipal civil service commissions, and others in the municipal field, as a place to shake hands with the men with whom they have been corresponding for the year. To this end perhaps a special program can be arranged, dealing with some of the more technical problems of city government which would be of interest to this group.

L. D. U.

OHIO CIVIL SERVICE ASSOCIATION

The first annual meeting of the Ohio Civil Service Association was held November 17, at Dayton, just prior to the meeting of the National Municipal League. Delegates and civil service commissioners from various parts of the state were present.

A brief address on the principles of the merit system and a history of the movement in Ohio was made by President Charles B. Wilby of Cincinnati. A report on the present status of the law and its operation in the two years since the constitutional amendment was adopted, was made by Mayo Fesler, secretary, of Cleveland. William Dudley Foulke, former United States civil service commissioner and president of the National Municipal League, discussed the defects of the Ohio law and the model civil service law. Mr. Foulke expressed strong opposition to the provisions of the model law requiring the appointment of civil service commissioners after competitive examinations, and requiring a trial before a trial board in case of dismissal from the service. Mr. Foulke made a vigorous plea for administrative responsibility in the service.

A resolution was offered, urging the Ohio Association to go on record against the adoption by the National Civil Service Reform League of the proposed model law. After some discussion, action on the resolution was postponed after assurances were given that that league would not take final action on the model law at its December meeting. A committee consisting of Charles B. Wilby of Cincinnati, C. H. Bryson of Athens, Mayor Charles

A. Stolberg of Canton, Charles T. Warner of Columbus, and Mayo Fesler of Cleveland was appointed to consider debated questions in connection with the model civil service law and express to the national organization the views of the Ohio association on that subject.

Dr. Z. B. Campbell, president of the state civil service commission, K. McKinley, its secretary, George T. Keyes, secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League, and others joined in the discussion of the civil service situation in Ohio.

M. F.

The City Managers' Association, the Ohio Civil Service Association and the Ohio Municipal League met in Dayton the same week with the League, and there was a mingling of the delegates and members and an exchange of views which was highly helpful.

The significant features of the City Managers' Association will be touched upon in the April issue of the NATIONAL

MUNICIPAL REVIEW, which will be largely a city manager number. There was a joint meeting with the city managers on Thursday evening to which reference has already been made, and which was one of the most profitable sessions of the whole meeting.

The Ohio Municipal League discussed the question of city revenues and the Smith one per cent law¹ which is one of the pressing issues of the state. A comprehensive plan of action for the ensuing year to secure statutory reform of its tax system was discussed and agreed upon.

The principal speaker at the Ohio Civil Service Reform Association was President Foulke of the National Municipal League, who discussed the Ohio law and incidentally the question of removals from office. There was a highly profitable round table discussion of the civil service situation in Ohio.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, pp. 255, 454.

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PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND PROFESSIONAL ETHICS IN THE NEW PROFESSION OF CITY MANAGER

A DISCUSSION

BY RICHARD S. CHILDS, HENRY M. WAITE AND OTHERS¹

The Opening Paper

BY RICHARD S. CHILDS

Secretary, National Short Ballot Organization

PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS

THE first question before the house is, "What is a city manager?" It is obvious that everybody who calls himself a city manager is not necessarily a real one. It is obvious that the title of city manager conferred upon a given office in a city charter does not necessarily make the incumbent really a city manager or entitle him to admission into a scrupulous city managers' association as a member of the profession in full standing.

A certain city in Tennessee, for example, had an officer known as the city commissioner, who had considerable work to do in connection with public works. The council passed a resolution which ran substantially as follows:

WHEREAS it is getting to be the fashion for up to date cities to have city managers, and,

WHEREAS it will make — City look like an up to date city to have a city manager,

Therefore, be it resolved, that the title of the present city commissioner be changed to city manager.

¹As presented at the meeting of the National Municipal League, Dayton, Ohio, Nov. 18, 1915. For the discussion of the city manager plan at the Baltimore meeting of the League see the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. iv, p. 40.

To be sure that officer had little or no appointive power, was completely excluded from some of the most important city departments, and despite his title, could not in any sense assume to "manage" the city, but the council nevertheless forwarded a copy of the resolution to the Short Ballot Organization and evidently expected to be listed thenceforth among commission manager cities, and no doubt the city manager of that town considers himself a full-fledged city manager,

Titusville, Pa., has a so-called city manager, but he is only the manager of part of the departments. The police department, for example, is not under his charge at all. He is in reality simply a superintendent of public works. In San Diego, Cal., likewise, the powers of the city manager and the experience and training which he is getting are very incomplete.

Another set of cases is the cities which have a city manager subject to divided responsibility under a mayor and council of the old-fashioned type. Such cities have city managers, but not the commission-manager plan. In some cases the manager is appointed by the mayor. Such a framework of government, lacking so many of the basic principles which are essential to good government in the long run, is very liable to get into trouble from time to time and to give to the true commission-manager plan and to city managers, an undeserved bad name.

Should not the City Managers' Association, anxious to establish high and sound standards for membership in the new profession, exclude such managers, or set them apart as being not quite the real thing?

Again, what is a "city?" Shall the future manager of Podunk (pop. 900) stand on a professional parity with the future city manager of Boston?

Here's another teaser. Some commission manager charters require the manager to be chosen from among local talent. This provision denies the existence of the profession and in effect insists that the manager must be an amateur. City managers chosen under that provincial limitation will not in the long run be an ornament to the profession. Shall such a city be encouraged to believe that it has the whole genuine modern plan of government?

The City Managers' Association has already adopted a definition of city manager and admits to its membership "any one who is the administrative head of the city appointed by its legislative body." At the present stage of development this rather easy-going definition is acceptable, for of course there are so few city managers in the country at present that it would be difficult otherwise to make up a satisfactory membership list. However, it seems to me that a stricter standard will eventually be necessary and I offer the following unasked fatherly advice to the city managers:

The association should co-operate in every possible way to insure the success and fullest development of the true commission-manager form of

government. They can do this very effectively and inexpensively by the simple expedient of refusing to grant full membership and full rights to any city managers except those who are really managing real cities under charters which give full opportunity for the success of this form of government as well as for the success of city managers who must work there.

I suggest the following membership principles:

I. Full membership: Any person of good repute is eligible for election to full membership in the City Managers' Association who has been for two years an appointive chief executive of a municipal government, under an approved charter.

An approved charter must provide substantially,

(1) That all the powers of the city shall be reposed in a single elective governing body;

(2) Said governing body shall select and direct the city manager;

(3) The city manager shall not be required to be a local resident at the time of his selection;

(4) The city manager shall be chief executive of the municipal administration with appointive power over all city departments.

A member meeting the above requirements shall be styled

"Member of the City Managers' Association," Class A, B or C, 1910 census.

Class A, Managers of cities of 100,000 pop. and over (50 cities).

Class B, Managers of cities of 30,000 pop. to 100,000 (119 cities).

Class C, Managers of cities of 8,000 pop. to 30,000.

II. Associate membership: All other city managers as per the present broad definition, including the managers of municipalities under 8,000 population, may style themselves "associate members" of the association, Class A, B, C or D, D being the division for towns of less than 8,000.

The two year minimum experience qualification shall be waived until 1920.

The influence of such action on the part of the city managers would be of incalculable value in keeping city charter makers on the right track. It may seem impossible that such a detail is capable of controlling the city charter movement in America, but it is. Even the mere statement of the Short Ballot Organization that such-and-such a proposed provision in a city charter would exclude the city from our official list of commission-governed or commission-manager cities, is often enough to kill off undesirable modifications. Nothing is juicier meat for the local opposition than to be able to say that the writers of the proposed charter have erred so grievously that yonder national organization refuses to grant it recognition as a commission charter at all. To the charter revision commission that ignorantly, or for political reasons, attempts to emasculate the commission-manager plan, we would like to be able to say—"your freak scheme is so unsound and so far afield from the principles of this

modern idea that your city manager will not even be eligible for full membership in the city managers' association." It would work like magic; and it would do wonders to bulwark the fundamental necessities of the new profession.

To insist that managers must have appointive power over all the administrative departments does not exclude managers in cities where the charter excepts a few odd minor officers from the manager's control such as corporation counsel, city clerk, assessors or police judge, for these officers are not necessarily integral parts of the administrative establishment. The provision does, however, prevent some future city from hiring a manager of ten years' experience from another city and finding that he knows nothing of police problems. Such situations would tend to bring the professional managers into disrepute.

Dividing the managers into classes looks far forward to the time when they will naturally separate themselves into appropriate groups for discussing common technical problems. It may seem too early to do this now. I am afraid it is too late. It will require some anguish for the manager of a breezy little western tank town to say "aye" on a motion that relegates him to "associate member Class D," for the good of the profession!

To require that a manager must be of good personal repute gives the association the power to exclude or expel a manager who has been involved in scandal.

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

A city manager who does not frequently know better than the people of the town or the commissioners what is good for them is a pretty poor city manager, but the people may not want what is good for them and it is not the city manager's business to jam it down their throats. No doubt there are towns where on a clear cut referendum the electorate would be likely to vote that all administrative offices, large or small, must be held by Republicans. The city manager knows better, but should he appoint a Democrat? How is he to determine whether or not he may venture to do it? The charter provides a guide for him. If a certain five or seven local citizens who have been elected for that very purpose of serving as fair samples of the ignorance and prejudices of the town, permit him to appoint a Democrat and will take the responsibility, then and not otherwise he may go ahead and do so.

The city manager is not called in to reform the city—that is the work for its citizens. He is called in to give as good an administration as he can persuade the commission to stand for. He may yearn to go further, to give them single tax, or strict law enforcement, a closed and dry Sunday, an efficient full rate assessment system, a non-political set of appointments, a less gaudy lighting of Main street, or a wholesome water supply,

but if he cannot make these things seem worth while to the commissioners, he must stay his hand and bide his time.

He is the servant of the people first and always, but he has no authority to seek or interpret orders from the people direct—only through the commission. Suppose in his opinion the commission distorts those orders and instructs him to act counter to the popular wish? Is it his job to obey, provided no moral turpitude or deception is involved?

Take the case of R. C. Horne, ex-city manager of Beaufort, S. C. He had a brief dime-novel career there involving risk of his life and his story of his adventures and discoveries in that backward little burg would make a most enlivening contribution to the literature of the commission-manager movement. He undertook to reform the town in spite of the commissioners. Certain features of the tax laws had never been enforced with the result that numerous property owners in the town were, technically at least, heavily in arrears. He took it upon himself to revive these dead letter laws and made a sudden attack upon the leading bank, the president and cashier of which constituted two of his three commissioners, with a policeman, a warrant and a demand for \$10,000 of back taxes. So there was a fight, a recall election and a political upheaval in which he became the popular leader of the so-called Horne forces. Incidentally, of course, he lost his job and was supplanted by another manager of different disposition.

Query—Did Horne do right?

I say it was right enough if he felt like doing it, but quite outside of his profession. If he had been mayor of that town the whole fight would have been within his clear field of duty. But he was not mayor—he was city manager. He stepped out of his profession, just as much as did the local physician and the local lawyer who helped him. He was frankly insubordinate. He took what was for one in his position a disorderly way to rectify a wrong. The orderly way would have been to present a formal proposal to a public meeting of the commission explaining openly and clearly the situation as he saw it. The commission would have to find an excuse for turning him down and would do so. The manager would then have his personal record clear. Unofficially he could privately call the attention of some of the local citizens to the incident and even wink in doing so, thus being personally disloyal, but not officially disloyal, to the commissioners who have no right to expect him to keep secrets for them. If a newspaper asks for an interview, he may officially restate the facts of the case, offering no opinions. Then it is up to local citizens to start something. Such a method is slower and less sensational. In some cases it would be less efficacious, in others more so. At any rate it is, I think, the professional way.

I am not prepared to contend that Mr. Horne's spectacular raid into Beaufort politics did not do Beaufort lots of good, nor do I contend that

any less spectacular method could have succeeded, I only contend that it does not furnish a sound precedent for the profession.

Here is another case—Phoenix, Arizona. Manager Farrish, I understand, administered the town according to his ideals which were stricter than those of the commissioners. He demanded efficiency and economy of his subordinates and removed some politicians from the city service. The commission said “have a heart,” but he kept going. He lost his job and the town was much wrought up about it for a time.

My theory of what should have been done in this case is this: When Manager Farrish had been given reason to think that his energy in kicking out politicians from the municipal service was distasteful to his superiors, he should have brought up the next case at the next public commission meeting saying “Mr. John Republican, superintendent of the water works, does not report for duty on Mondays, takes a great deal of time off during the week, neglects his inspection of the reservoirs, and continued admonition has been ineffective. I feel that the good of the service requires his removal and unless the commission objects, I will put in a new man there.”

That brings it out in the open. If the commission wants to take the responsibility of standing up for Mr. John Republican, let it do so. It is the best judge of what the people of the town will like. If the commission openly insists on “having a heart,” it is quite likely that the people in the town who consider such a thing outrageous will be found to be a minority. The manager, of course, could have simply removed John Republican, knowing that it would make the commissioners mad even if they did not dare say anything publicly about it—I take it that that is about what Farrish did do—but thereby the manager exceeds his true function. It may be very possible that the people, like the commissioners, are more interested in the sad fate of bibulous, glad-handed John Republican out of a good job with six pretty children dependent upon him, than in the dainty curved line with which the manager indicates the decreased cost per thousand gallons of water.

It is not the city manager's function to govern, but only to administer. The occasional manager who favors fixed definite tenure and power to defy the commission fails to comprehend the higher aspects of his job. It is not his function to blow into town and immediately implant in city hall all the ideals of the bureau of municipal research from which he graduated. Friends of this plan of government often seem to expect exactly that. His function is only to give as good an administration as the commission will take responsibility for. In a town that elects a machine-controlled bunch of political puppets, the manager must go slow and cautiously and be content with getting ready to do very much better as soon as the town is in a mood to elect a better commission.

Good government that comes to a town, unasked and unwelcomed, will be unstable and transitory. Reform that endures must be built up laboriously, piece by piece, upon a firm basis of popular sympathy and consent.

An Answer to Mr. Child's Paper

BY HENRY M. WAITE

City Manager of Dayton and President of the City Managers' Associations

It is necessary to accept the first part of Mr. Child's paper as a criticism. Before criticism can be considered constructive, certain principles must first be established. Failing to observe any principles established as to standards and ethics in the city manager profession, I take the liberty of setting forth a few which are generally accepted.

The city manager form of municipal government is considered the nearest approach to the ideal form yet established. We can well afford to establish this principle, as the most ideal organization. The National Municipal League, is writing a charter on that basis.

It will be agreed that cities will be governed precisely as well as the citizens deserve and desire; that successful government must have the continued support of the majority of the citizenship; that the large majority of the citizenship must eliminate partisan politics from municipal affairs; that there must be a clear line of demarcation between legislative and administrative authority; that good government can advance and improve only so far as the majority of the citizenship is able to appreciate and understand it.

Therefore, the ideal government can be approached as nearly as the majority of the people are able to appreciate and understand it.

There are various grades of city managers, as there are various grades to theorists. This will always be true. Much that can be said in a sarcastic vein will lead away a great many people from the real issues, and and is dangerous. The city managers have adopted a definition, which, for the present, meets all necessary requirements: "Any person who is, or has been, the administrative head of a municipality, appointed by its legislative body, is eligible for membership." The lines are broad, and must be at first, or there would not be any membership in the association. Theorists alone cannot establish successful results.

The city managers took the opportunity of convening at the same time as the National Municipal League for guidance and information. Not one of the theorists attended the city managers' convention. Practically all of the city managers are present at the National Municipal League convention. Comparisons are obvious.

I sincerely regret that Mr. Childs did not take advantage of the meeting that was held by the city managers on Tuesday afternoon. If he had

done so it would have been soon demonstrated to his entire satisfaction, the wonderful success that is being attained by city managers with varying authorities, under varying charters and under varying local conditions. This meeting was given up to five minute talks and each city manager gave the high points of his accomplishments. The representatives were of varying personalities, and have had various experiences from engineers to county clerks and to the president of a baseball league. Yet every one of them proved that with an earnest desire to accomplish results, coupled with application and sincerity, all reinforced by common horse sense, that they have accomplished practically uniform results. Any city manager, to be a success, must of course use common sense in his dealings both with the commission and with the public.

Mr. Childs absolutely confuses legislative and administrative functions through his paper. The City Managers' Association adopted the following: "Communities that, for any reason, cannot give broad authority to the executive are not ready for the ideal and should accept a more modified centralized authority, and not call it a city manager form."

A man accepting a position as city manager must govern himself in accordance with the charter under which he works.

If a commission assumes the administrative functions and designates that a certain man shall be appointed under the administrator, it becomes a question of the personality of the city manager as to whether he desires to retain the position under such circumstances or not. Personally, I think very few would; I should hope that none would. On the other hand, those in the performance of the administrative functions of the city should not insist on legislative enactments over which he has not, and should not have, any control other than in the way of a suggestion. City managers should work with their council or commission the same as an executive works with his board of directors. With the right disposition on the part of both much can be accomplished and there is no reason for a confusion of the responsibilities.

Mr. Childs mentions John Republican. If John Republican or Bill Democrat is brought up between the commission and the administrative head, partisan politics have not been eliminated from your city government, and such a city is not entitled to have a commission manager form of government, because it has demonstrated that it has accepted an ideal that is beyond the understanding and appreciation of its citizenship.

In any business (and the same applies to the commission manager form of cities) when the legislative body assumes the administrative duties over the head of the administrator it is time for the administrator to retire, good business and good results demand it. Personally, if such a condition arose, as used by Mr. Childs as an example, the city manager of Dayton would retire.

A great deal of the difficulty to-day in drawing charters is due to the fact that there has not been an accepted form. The National Municipal League is now drafting a charter on the city manager principle and we would urge all haste in getting this out as soon as possible, or in getting out parts of it as completed, as a guidance.

Much more can be accomplished in getting out such a model charter under such auspices than by haranguing in meetings over minor details that are of no ultimate consequence and liable to confuse the public mind as to the success of the principle of city manager form of government, and this is particularly true when such criticisms are promulgated by people who can only approach it from a theoretical side. It may be true, at some future time, that it will be advisable to divide the city managers' association into two classes. At the present time we do not think that it is.

Mr. Childs uses the village Podunk of 900 population. If Mr. Childs could have taken the opportunity to gain some practical knowledge by attending the city managers' convention, particularly Tuesday afternoon's session, he would have been impressed with the fact that the Podunk managers (using the term as I presume he intends to imply to the city managers of the smaller communities) are accomplishing the best results under the greatest difficulties, as in Podunk the city manager is everything. The Podunks draw men not having wide experience, and yet every one of them is accomplishing definite and progressive results.

To obtain the best results from any association it is necessary to broaden your field as much as possible. It would be just as fair to put a limit on the intelligence and experience of the theorists, who may join the National Municipal League, as it would be to put a limit on members of the City Managers' Association.

The association is for the benefit of all of those who are struggling to make the practical application of the profession a success, and it can do the most good by giving the experience of the larger communities to the smaller communities, and I assure you that we have found in the larger communities that we have much to learn from the experience of the smaller communities. It is undoubtedly true that the city managers should not take their authority from the people, only from the commission.

As to the personality of a certain city manager which Mr. Childs has taken the trouble to go into, I will have nothing to say as there are those present who are more qualified to answer than I am, as we have one man here who is the successor of Mr. Horne at Beaufort. If any community elects, as Mr. Childs suggests, a machine controlled bunch of political puppets, I sincerely trust that such a commission may not be able to get anyone to accept the position of city manager.

*The Discussion*¹

MR. GAYLORD C. CUMMIN, *City Manager of Jackson, Michigan*: My views coincide entirely with those of Mr. Waite. I do not see how it is possible to set up any such standards as Mr. Childs has proposed; indeed, I cannot even sympathize with his point of view as to ethics. I think that at least one of the city managers, whose course he criticized, did exactly right. Some of the unasked advice of these theorists appears to us practical men as little more than bosh.

Charles E. Ashburner, city manager of Springfield, O., when he left Dayton yesterday to go to Springfield, the secretary announced, fully expected to be back so as to participate in the discussion, but found such an accumulation of duties before him in Springfield on his return that he was obliged to send me the following telegram:

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO,
November 18, 1915.

MR. CLINTON RODGERS WOODRUFF,
National Municipal League,
Miami Hotel, Dayton, Ohio.

I sincerely regret my inability to participate in tonight's program on account of the accumulated work during my absence from the city. I might suggest that my ideas of the standards for the new profession of City Manager are: The manager should be a man of unquestionable integrity, should above all things be practical rather than theoretical. A manager should be a man who will let his actions speak for him rather than his words. He should be a man who would give his entire energy to the work before him rather than be always looking for another job and bigger money for himself. He should be democratic rather than autocratic, and fearless when he believes he is right.

CHAS. E. ASHBURNER,
City Manager.

CLINTON RODGERS WOODRUFF: I have been very much impressed while I have listened to the debates which have been going on, not only in this room, but

in the committees and in the corridors, where some of the most interesting discussions are had by men who are very serious in their purpose—I have been impressed with this thought, that the profession of city manager is very much further along than some of us expected, a year ago, would be possible at this time. It is due to the splendid work which these men have been accomplishing in the very short time they have been at work, some of them under circumstances discouraging in the extreme.

I have been impressed with another fact, and that is the general good character of the work. Here we have two city managers who have gone out from Dayton to do effective work elsewhere; we also have the secretary of the large and effective Women's city club of Cincinnati, a product of what I might call, at the risk of being deemed facetious, the Dayton University. The men who are engaged as city managers to-day are slowly building up standards for their professions. Those of you who are thinking of criticizing Mr. Childs' paper must bear in mind that the reply of Mr. Waite was almost equally facetious. Some of the finest notes of this week of conventions have been struck by the city managers who have but recently come into this work of governing our cities, upon higher and more ambitious lines. The note of democracy has been struck, and with no uncertain sound, by men who have gained their inspiration at first hand, in very difficult situations. It is no new thing to hear that note struck in the National Municipal League; it has been the dominant note very nearly from the beginning, certainly from the time the League began to find itself; but it is significant that in the new order of things the city managers, fresh from the difficulties of actually administering the affairs of American cities, should feel the same as men who have been working at the problem for many years. It may be true, as

¹As reported in condensed form by Ferdinand H. Graser, of Philadelphia, who acted as assistant secretary of the meeting.—EDITOR.

Manager Waite has said, that many of the members of the National Municipal League are theorists, but you will find in the personnel of this organization a great many men who have done actual fighting upon the firing line, under difficult circumstances. It is also a significant thing that the city managers have met here in the same city with the League, and that they have approached this problem from almost identical bases, and the two are working together in a very effective way.

I had hoped that we might discuss tonight with these same speakers—and I trust that the opportunity will come sooner or later, preferably sooner—this question, "What should be the concept of city government in our cities?" For too many of our publicists and theorists, and even city managers themselves, feel that when the city manager is inaugurated in a city, that the municipal problem is solved. We must bear constantly in mind that this is only a good and adequate instrument with which to carry out the work of governing cities, and the larger idea of what constitutes the aim and the end of city government, what problems are to be solved, must still be threshed out in organizations more or less like the National Municipal League, even if we are theorists, for here is where sound theories are needed.

GEORGE C. SIKES, of *Chicago*: I had not intended to take part in this discussion, but I have been moved by what has been said here, and I think I have had sufficient experience to entitle me to speak upon this subject. For twenty years, I have been connected with civic organizations and with legislative bodies, and I think I know something about politics in cities; what can be accomplished, and what cannot be accomplished. I had the privilege of looking over Mr. Childs' paper before it was presented, and it struck me as excellent. I think this is just the time to say what he said. It is a little facetious, to be sure, but I am surprised that the paper brought the response that it did. The fact that it did bring that response, is to my mind the indication that we need this dis-

cussion right here and now, and we needed to have these suggestions brought out.

Mr. Childs is one of the best friends of the city manager system in the country. He has done more to help bring it about than any person I know of. Now, Mr. Childs wants to be in a position to make the city manager system go. He has had some experience in politics; he knows what political conditions are, and he wants to get something done. What does it profit to establish a fine system, if the city manager system, after it is established throughout the country, fails to appeal to the people, and then goes down like a lot of ten-pins because city managers take positions which these commissioners cannot defend before the people. If the city managers are taking exception to such remarks as those of Mr. Childs in this place what is going to happen when they get out before the people?

Mr. Waite spoke of Mr. Childs as a theorist. He is not a theorist any more than any of the rest of us. We are all theorists, more or less, in certain subjects, and the city managers just as much as anybody else. As engineers they are entitled to the highest respect, but as politicians they may still have much to learn. I lost a job which I was holding once in order that I might get Bion J. Arnold into office in Chicago. Mr. Arnold was an expert engineer, but in politics he is a theorist, and had it not been for some of the rest of us this would have gotten him into trouble. Mr. Fisher and others who were government experts worked with him and kept things right. Mr. Waite is handling the affairs of Dayton in an excellent way as an engineer but, I take it, he knows enough not to mix politics with engineering, and he lets the commissioners attend to their part of the job. A city manager who cannot maintain in his mind the proper concepts of his relations with his commission and with the people must get out. Unless city managers take the proper view of these things, five years from now there will not be a city manager left in office in the country, or those now in office will be superseded by

men who know how to get along with their commissioners. The city manager should help the people get as good government as the commissioners think the people will stand for.

MR. CUMMIN: What Mr. Sikes says as to politics represents Mr. Waite's idea and my idea exactly, namely, that politics should not enter into the situation at all. If I was ordered to appoint or ordered to discharge an employe simply because of his politics I would have nothing further to do with the commission and would resign.

OSSIAN E. CARR, *City Manager, Cadillac, Mich.*: I wish to endorse most heartily what has been said by Brother Waite and Brother Cummin. I would like to inquire just what profit it will be to any municipality to change its charter in order to eliminate politics, and then to go back into the rotten political methods.

MR. HARRISON G. OTIS, *City Manager of Beaufort, South Carolina*: I am the man from Podunk. If I may be allowed to indulge in child's play I should like to take the stand for the small city in the city manager game, and particularly for that small city which is so handicapped by the state in which it happens to lie as to make it impossible for that small city to have an approved commission manager charter. I am from South Carolina. South Carolina has in its constitution a provision that no city officer shall hold a position in the state of South Carolina unless he has been a citizen for at least two years' residence. Where is your professional city manager, then, if a man cannot come in from another state and hold the position of city manager in the state of South Carolina? We have to contend with a position of delegated powers, and if a man can successfully contend with such a constitution, and develop all the gold that may be developed from a true commission manager city and to put that city on a business basis and get it running along business line, he is deserving of a certain amount of credit. Now whether I be in class D of the third division or not, I maintain that there are more small cities

in this country than there are large, and that the problem of city government as worked out in the small cities is a most vital problem.

I have lived in New York, lived there for several years, and when I suggested to my bureau of municipal research in New York last summer, that I was going to Beaufort, a town of some 3,500 people, I was laughed at, and was told that I could do all the work in two or three weeks; but I assure you most sincerely, that the work of remodeling a small city, putting that city on an up-to-date business plane, in the face of misunderstanding, and doing it so that everyone is satisfied, is "some" problem.

The small city is the laboratory for the development of this city manager idea, and is not to be overlooked. The work I have had to undertake there is work which I could not possibly have had an opportunity to find out about in any large city. I have had to remodel the whole city government, recodify its ordinances, dating back two hundred years, although they were burned up during the War; revamp its accounting system, and so on, and I want to remark that this matter of revision of accounting system of small cities is one that has been overlooked entirely by all theorists and a great many practical men.

Mr. Childs has brought out some very good things in his paper, and I agree with him most heartily as to certain ethical points. The manager certainly is the employe of the council. He certainly should not try to put things across over the head of his council. If the council attempts to do things he cannot stand for, instead of rearing up and pushing them back the best thing he can do, it seems to me, is to get his councilmen one at a time into a corner and show them what is the right thing to do, and then get it done.

When I went to Beaufort, I found the city managership tied up completely into a sort of Gordian knot. They had as city attorney, a man who was a sort of antebellum fossil, who maintained that the city manager should have no power. We

found that every department in the city said it was willing to have a city manager, but didn't want him in its department. So the city manager was without any power and had no standing at all as an officer of the town. Nevertheless, all the power in the city was turned over to me in less than forty-five days' time, although I came in under hostile colors and found a town split into two most hostile factions so that persons who had been friends for years would not speak to each other on the street. It is entirely because of my experience in the city manager game as gained in the theoretical university training at Michigan, I think, that with this application of diplomacy and horse sense, to borrow an expression from both sides of the house, I was able to accomplish the degree of success attained, and it seems to me that we must apply the same principles if the city manager plan is to be a success anywhere.

M. H. HARDIN, *City Manager, Amarillo, Texas*: I am the man from the water tank way out West, Amarillo, Texas. I fully agree with what Mr. Waite said in regard to the duties of the city manager and his relations with the commission, and I want to express my disagreement with Mr. Childs. I enjoyed his paper, but I happen to be a prime mover in the organization of the City Managers' Association; I sent out the call for that first meeting in Amarillo, Texas, in 1914. I realized that I needed co-operation, I needed to get in touch with other men engaged in similar work, in order that we might compare our experiences, become better acquainted with the situations we might have to meet in this new profession.

I think that the small city should be recognized just as much as the large city, and I fully agree with Mr. Cummin that the man from the small city is having the greatest difficulties by reason of the fact that he is unable to employ high priced help, and in a great many instances has to do all kinds of engineering and accounting work. For that reason a greater burden falls on him. We have to devise our own system of records and accounts and

to put it in operation and in a great many instances have to help to do the work. For that reason I hope that the small city will always be recognized in the City Managers' Association. I appreciate the efforts that the National Municipal League is making to help the city managers in their work, and I believe it is their endeavor to help make our work easier and to support the city manager plan of municipal government.

I think that Mr. Childs' statement was all right at this time. It brought out some points that otherwise we would not have had, and I appreciated it. I believe it will have a good effect.

PROFESSOR A. R. HATTON of Cleveland, pointed out that politics could not be eliminated from the city government, if by politics is meant the agency by which people of different opinions express their opinions in matters of government. He stated that the will of the people must be carried out by the city manager whether he believes in the principles expressed or not. We shall always have people grouping themselves along local lines, and thus dividing into political parties; but these need not and should not be confused with division into national parties upon national issues.

MR. FOULKE: I would like to ask a question of some of the managers. There is a problem now up, suggested by the civil service commissioners, proposing a new civil service law, and I want to see how it would strike the city managers, and how it would operate in manager governed cities. The proposition is to appoint a state civil service commission, by competitive methods. The governor is to select a special examining board, composed of three persons, first a member of some civil service commission, or examiner or secretary of a commission; second, a man who has been for at least two years engaged in employing men for some kind of professional or technical service; and third, a judge of a court of record. This board is to hold a competitive examination among applicants for the position of civil service commissioner,

and is to appoint the highest upon the list. The man who is so appointed is to hold office by an indeterminate tenure, and can only be removed upon charges of misfeasance, or gross negligence, or conduct bringing scandal upon his office, after trial before a board composed of two *nisi prius* judges, and a third man appointed by these judges. This state civil service commissioner is to appoint by similar competitive examinations the commissioners for the cities, these commissioners holding upon the same tenure, and this state commissioner is to have entire charge practically of the whole state service, and the city commissioner practical charge of the city service, in the matter of promotions, transfers, removals, etc. The power that has been exercised by the city manager in the right to dismiss subordinates would under this law be changed so that no subordinate could be dismissed except by filing charges with the city civil service commissioner. That commissioner, once appointed in this manner, is to have the entire and exclusive control of all the civil service of the city.

HORNELL HART, *Milwaukee*: May I ask also as part of the same question, whether the city managers think that civil service reform is necessary at all under a city manager, properly installed?

MR. WAITE: There must be for some years to come some sort of civil service protection. That protection should be in the appointing power. It is a great help many times, in the selection of men, to have a civil service board of such character that good men can be turned into the service. In Dayton, we have called upon the civil service board to hold competitive examinations for positions which are not inside the civil service regulations at all.

But if you are going to look to an executive for results, he must have and should have the power of dismissal. You can strengthen the power of your government by giving this authority to an executive, who is building on a basis of efficiency and who stands on a record of

efficiency. To curtail an executive in his management of the affairs of the city, by saying to him that he cannot dismiss his subordinates absolutely, is the beginning of the end of efficiency in that organization.

I cannot see how any man could tie himself up to an organization over which he had no control, so that he might not say to a man, regardless of how insubordinate he may be, how inefficient, that he would have to leave the service. You are not giving your executive an opportunity to carry on the affairs of the government in an efficient manner, and you cannot get efficiency if you do not have control of your organization.

MR. CUMMIN: I can strengthen what has been said by Mr. Waite, by calling attention to one easily conceived condition which might arise when the power of dismissal is withheld, for that is what it practically means if you are obliged to get a hearing before a civil service commission on charges. Anyone who has ever handled bodies of men knows that the most dangerous man in an organization is very often the man who is not frankly insubordinate, who is not inefficient in the way that you can put your finger on him, yet he is absolutely dangerous in small things, for in ways that you cannot definitely locate he is disrupting your organization. It is worse than if you had a most inefficient man, because you can take such a man before the Civil Service Commission that he is insubordinate or inefficient or anything else. I do not see how you can get efficiency unless the power of dismissal is left with the executive.

As far as the other question is concerned, the more efficient the civil service board is in securing good men, I think the better the city manager would be pleased.

MR. HARDIN: I fully believe that every city manager we now have in this country is only too glad to secure the very best men that can be secured, and he is only too anxious to get rid of any dead wood he may have about his office force. The wise method, of course, of getting rid of the man who is useless is to have the

power of dismissal; hence, if the manager is fully satisfied that the person is worthy of dismissal, he should get rid of him. Sometimes it is very difficult to prove charges. You know, we are very often fully satisfied that certain crimes have been committed, and that a certain individual has committed the crime, and yet it is extremely hard to make out such a case as would convict that man. The same condition will arise in an executive or administrative office.

MR. FOULKE: Mr. Childs is now entitled to the last word.

MR. CHILDS: When the subject was originally selected for this evening, another topic was chosen but I thought I could start a much better scrap on another subject. Accordingly, my instructions were to go ahead and get up a dog fight if I could, but I did not expect to be the bone!

A great deal has been said about theorists this evening. I am, frankly and absolutely, a theorist, and am proud of it. You know, the chief difference between a theorist and a practical man is that the theorist knows just where he wants to go, but has no facilities for getting there. The practical man gets there,—and finds he is in the wrong place. I suppose some of you city managers, who have just picked your way out of the shell and looked out upon the world and thought you discovered America, considered it rather an assumption for me to offer all this practical fatherly advice; but while the number of years involved are few, I want to have you know, without seeming to claim glory, that I was sawing wood on the commission manager plan years before any of you ever heard of it. The first city manager charter was drawn in my office, under my direction, and was peddled around to various cities, and was finally sold to the Lockport chamber of commerce and became known as the Lockport plan for a time. Some three or four years ago, at the Richmond meeting, this Lockport plan was the subject of discussion by one of our committees. Then Sumter, South Carolina, adopted it, and it became known for a while as the Sumter plan, but it was

nothing more than what had been brought out originally as the Lockport plan. Accordingly, I hope I may be pardoned if I seem to act a little bit like an old hen with ducks when I consider where these plans are going to.

I did not mean to sneer in the least when I talked about Podunk. The small town, with a population under 8,000, is certainly important, for the people who live in those towns are the bulk of our population and the hope of democracy, and in that field there lies probably a more difficult and bigger work for social service on the part of city managers than in the larger cities. In the big cities the duties of the executives are more or less of the corporation type. On the human side, these smaller jobs are the big jobs, and the suggestion of calling the men from the smaller towns class A and the men from the large cities, class D, suits me perfectly. I did not mean to sneer at them. If I was so interpreted I am sorry.

There are a great many people, and some of them are city managers, who think that the city manager ought to have a definite status and a protected tenure in other ways, so that he could, if he wanted to, "sass back" at the commission over him. I want to say again that such a man has not the proper conception of his job. He is not at all in the same position that he would be as manager of a private corporation. He is dealing in this case with democracy. He is the agent of a commission which has been chosen by the people, and the very fact that there are conflicts shows that there are some city managers who do not realize that they are the agent of a community, not of a corporation. The manager should not assume to set up his own standard. That is what makes the job a big job and a useful job; and I am glad to see that most of the city managers see that and feel that; glad to see that they realize that democracy comes first, efficiency and economy second; that their function is to carry out the popular will as it is expressed to them, not to seek to oppose or to control the current of public opinion.

LIEUT. SHAW, *Norfolk, Va.*: I should like to ask Mr. Childs this one question. He spoke of those little cities of 8,000 as constituting the hope of democracy. Is it not the fact that the germ idea of the city manager plan came from one of those little towns about three years before the Lockport plan was evolved?

MR. CHILDS: The idea of the city manager, not the idea of the commission

manager plan, came from Staunton, Virginia.

LIEUT. SHAW: I merely wanted to get that little act of justice for Staunton, Virginia.

MR. CHILDS: I was the minister who performed the marriage ceremony between the city manager plan as first thought of in Staunton, and the commission plan in Des Moines.

THE BLANKENBURG ADMINISTRATION IN PHILADELPHIA: A SYMPOSIUM¹

BY CHARLES FRANCIS JENKINS

Philadelphia

THERE never has been in Philadelphia, since William Penn handed over the charter to the city of his heart (the city named before it was born), an equal four years of growth and of civic uplift than during the Blankenburg administration which has just gone out of office.

It is not desired to dwell on the millions in money which have been saved by an administration free from graft, and administered by business men in a business way;

¹ No more difficult task rests upon the shoulders of the editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW than to secure a thoughtful and discriminating appraisal of a particular city administration. As a rule the subject is approached from the point of view of a partisan or of a critic. Now and then an impartial observer may be found, but the result is all too often a colorless account of events. This task has been particularly difficult with regard to the Blankenburg administration. His advocates are the strongest partisans and his opponents the bitterest of critics. The truth no doubt lies somewhere between.

That the Blankenburg administration has established in many directions new standards which will continue there is no doubt in the mind of any reasonable observer. That the administration fell short of its possibilities is equally true. In order to give the readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW as comprehensive an appraisal of the situation as possible, he is printing three articles. One is an address by Mr. Jenkins, an ardent supporter of the administration. The address was delivered at a meeting where all the members of the administration were present. He is reproducing an editorial from the *Philadelphia North American* of January 3, 1916, representing the point of view of those who were among the earliest and strongest advocates of Mr. Blankenburg's nomination and election. On two previous occasions editorials from the *North American* have been quoted in the department of Notes and Events (See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 114, vol. iii, p. 149) as representing the point of view of those who were disappointed in the results. The third article reproduced is a special article from the *Evening Bulletin* of December 30, 1915, written by William Perrine, the editor, under his pseudonym of "Penn." Mr. Perrine has been actively identified with Philadelphia newspapers for upwards of forty years, and has been in close touch with developments in the city. His point of view is that of one who is neither an opponent nor a critic, but a stander-by who wishes to see just what has been accomplished and just what has been omitted.

These three articles in a way supplement each other and will give to the reader a fairly comprehensive survey of the situation. Perhaps the best tribute which has thus far been paid to the Blankenburg administration is the number of its chiefs of bureaus who have been retained by the new administration.

See also articles on "The Blankenburg Administration," by T. Henry Walnut, Vol. i, p. 435, and "Taxation in Philadelphia," by Louis F. Post, Vol. ii, p. 57.—Editor, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

\$733,000 saved in garbage contracts,—

\$970,000 reduced operating expenses in the water department,—

\$88,000 saved in coal bills,—

\$50,000 saved in purchasing milk,—

on down to a few dollars here and there by better methods and honest buying and spending. It may be said at once and without fear of contradiction, that a full \$5,000,000 have been saved to the city in operating expenses. This has been the least of the administration's accomplishments, and five years from now this money side of it will probably be forgotten.

There are three great physical accomplishments that are memorable in their character and epoch making in their effect on the physical character of the city.

By the South Philadelphia railroad agreement, with its attendant abolition of grade crossings, an additional area equal to the original city is now made available for homes and factories, for wharves and terminals. Never before had any agency brought the heads of all the great railroads serving the city into a conference in which they were citizens first and railroad men afterward. And the reason they continued in the delicate, long drawn out and sometimes nearly broken negotiations was because they had confidence in the mayor and his counselors, and because they were being asked only for a square deal for the city, and for their companies as well.

What administration would not be proud to have given the city the comprehensive rapid transit plan, which will directly benefit every citizen no matter where he lives; and we, on the outside, cannot appreciate the thousand and one moves involved in carrying through this gigantic engineering project. New acts of the legislature, ordinances of councils, legal obstacles, great physical engineering and financial problems, all have apparently been satisfactorily solved.

The third great undertaking was the getting underway of the development of the port of Philadelphia that our foreign and coast wide commerce might have room to breathe. This work had been started by previous administrations, but nothing done. Philadelphia will yet be one of the important ports of the country, the Hon. Charles Seger to the contrary notwithstanding. Go down and see some of those giant piers and take an added pride in Philadelphia and in the outgoing administration.

These three undertakings, all of which must extend into the future for their full development, if carried through on the broad lines of their inception, will be enduring monuments of the administration of Rudolph Blankenburg. And when to such undertakings as these can be added scores of almost equally important steps forward, is it any wonder thinking people say, "Good work" and "Well done"?

Were our streets and roads ever better paved and cared for?—is it nothing that the city hall is clean and at less cost?—what of the water,

purser than most of that sold in bottles to unwary customers? And there is all you want of it at less cost, because the leaks have been found and fixed. Need you be reminded that every gas lamp has a Welsbach mantle with twice the illumination at no cost to the city? Have you noticed the beautiful bridges over our streets, replacing the homely iron girders? Are not your garbage and ashes collected more promptly and with less scattered dirt, after it is done? Delaware Avenue has been widened. The greatest landscape artists in the world have replanned the Southern Boulevard, the Plaza and League Island Park. And as a sample of the many little accomplishments which betoken good management, the unnecessary fences around reservoirs have gone, saving hundreds of dollars in their care and upkeep.

But it is probably not these visible things which will, in the long run, clearly set aside the Blankenburg administration from any and particularly those which immediately preceded it. It is its dealings with men, not things, which will be the more enduring.

Over the portal of the Convention Hall some philosopher of the present administration had placed this motto: "Where there is no vision, the people perish"; and it is in the understanding of the underlying principles, and sympathy with the problems of the people, that the mayor and his devoted assistants have done their best.

The mayor, himself, has said that the greatest single change effected by the administration was the status of the individual employe,—his emancipation from the galling yoke of the political gangster. Free men can hardly imagine the condition of servitude in which every office holder lived prior to this administration. Compelled to live in certain divisions, where his political services would be most useful, forbidden to move without permission, assessed for political funds, the disbursement of a large part of which was never accounted for, he was made to serve the bosses rather than the dictates of his judgment or conscience. It is true we had a law on our statute books forbidding all this, but it was a dead letter from the day it was passed in 1906 until Rudolph Blankenburg's administration enforced it. Instead of a cringing, fawning set of office holders driven to pull door bells and perform many a mean and odious task for the bosses, within two years the city departments were alive with alert, clean, interested young men, who instead of sauntering in at 10 o'clock were on the job at 9, and worked until five, like most of the rest of us have to do. And many young women found places, where they could be truly helpful and retain their self-respect.

Just as Rudolph Blankenburg selected the best men he could find for his important cabinet officers, so did these in time get the greatest experts they could find, no matter from where they came. The one poor, lone engineer in the highway bureau, when this administration went in, grew to 180 or more, when the highway job became an engineering and not a

political one. The civil service commission worked overtime to supply the best men that could be found, their lists were not juggled and every citizen who wanted to work for the city could do so if he had the qualifications. This was the only basis for appointments.

Employees who had never known a regular holiday had one planned for them, like civilized citizens and those who had worked seven days a week were cut down to six, as Christians should be. The weary police who had tramped the streets twelve hours a day were given eight.

And then the administration branched out in lines where it was never dreamed the city might take an intelligent interest—in the real welfare of its stockholders.

To make the bringing of produce easier and help reduce its cost, trolley freight lines, and new stations for them, were planned. And because a great war came with industrial depression, the administration set about to study unemployment and a *Philadelphia society to study employment problems* was established. Because the police had not been encouraged to "butt in" in any matter which might bring embarrassment to the division or ward boss, efforts were made to make them more alert, a training school was established for them and for the firemen. A police band was organized which not only added to the *esprit de corps*, but earned \$50,000 for the police pension fund.

Because it was known that Wisconsin in many ways was ahead of some of its sister states in the service it was rendering to its people through its great university, the administration fathered an excursion of a hundred or more experts along different lines who went out to Madison and spent several days in studying the "whys" and "hows." This excursion and its attendant return visit from the Wisconsin University officials, was not without effect on some of our large educational institutions, in creating in them a more ardent desire to get nearer the people and supply them their needs.

Because it was recognized that the utility problems of all our municipalities were alike, Mayor Blankenburg called a conference of American mayors and municipal officials, which conference was successfully carried through and resulted in the formation of the utilities bureau for giving expert advice to cities and towns that may need it and not know where to find it. This promises to be one of the great civic landmarks of this administration.

The great Overbrook freight yard, through the gentle insistence of the city and the co-operation of the Pennsylvania Railroad, is to be electrified and the attendant smoke nuisance thus eliminated.

Contracts are now drawn by the departments so they are understandable, enforceable and fair, and when executed they are inspected by those who serve the city and not the contractors. Outside bidders are now willing to bid. The building code has been revised; the death rate

reduced. A spirit of co-operation and helpfulness has been fostered by bringing together the city employes in social gatherings, in schools for instruction and in other helpful ways.

Even such minor matters as increasing the quality of music furnished by the municipal band, and of starting singing on the city hall plaza with as many as six thousand voices joined, have not been too small to occupy those who were really interested in helping Philadelphia citizens as being the better part of Philadelphia as a corporation.

All this has been accomplished despite the hostile efforts of an unfriendly and unwilling council which endeavored to thwart every important move; and despite, in the early days, the disloyalty of many subordinates.

Is it any wonder, then, that in the face of such a record it was with a feeling of consternation and amazement that we awakened the day after election to find that the voters of Philadelphia had set aside an administration that had done so much for them? Did the people prefer graft and contractors' rule and the old ways? Did they not approve of efficiency and economy and good order and honesty?

It is difficult to explain it. We know that the great movements are slow movements, and if an opinion was ventured as to why we were defeated, it was that we had moved too fast, done too much, struck out in too many new ways, to please the great body of the people. There was too much that was beyond their ken. Municipal progress must now halt and wait for them to catch up, wait until the vision comes to them.

Level roads are always uninteresting, and as we go down a hill and along a valley and climb the other side and look backward over ridge after ridge of progress, and forward over difficulties yet to be overcome, we have the most happiness out of our journey. It is a trite saying that the human race has progressed, not in a steady continuous movement, but like one of our big Broad street processions that halts at intervals to let the street cars get through. It is the natural trend of the people to be settled, but as the sage remarks, only so far as they are *unsettled* is there any hope for them. Tennyson expresses it exactly:

"Evolution ever climbing after some ideal good,
And Reversion ever dragging Evolution in the mud.
Forward, backward, backward, forward, in the immeasurable sea,
Swayed by vaster ebbs and flows than can be known to you or me."

Taking this philosophical view of the result of the election, we know that municipal affairs can never be as bad as they were, simply because the great mass of the people will not stand for it. They may not want to go forward as fast as we would like them to, but give them time and they will catch up with a broader vision. It is an aphorism that we cannot stand still; we must either go forward and grow or stand still and die.

There is not a Philadelphian, and surely not our out-going officials, who does not hope that the incoming administration may do well; and they

will do well when they mark time on the high standards that have been set for them, and they will fail if they depart far from them. Let them break down the bars of the civil service, let them again enslave the office holders, let them get their feet in the feed trough of public contracts, let them favor the few at the expense of the many and play politics generally as 'gainst an honest business administration, and out they will go. So let us not be critical and carping, but helpful and constructive, hoping for the best and expecting the best until we see to the contrary.

The first newspaper news of the weeks in November after the election were disquieting to a well wisher of the city. The situation brought to mind an incident of years ago. When the writer was a boy and lived on a farm, his great desire was to own a pair of overalls. At the country store they kept a brand that had a wonderful trademark of two elephants, one pulling on each leg of a pair of overalls, to the limit of their strength, to show the quality of the stuff, and particularly the strong sewing in the seat seam. And so the situation seemed to me in this day; the two big contractor Republican (?) political bosses were well represented by the elephants, poor old Philadelphia by the overalls. When the fabric gave way each would get a leg, and all that would be left for all the rest of us would be a scrap of the seat as big as your hand. However, the trend of the last few days gives some hope that all the good work of the past four years will not be undone. It must be with a note of optimism, a willingness to speak a good word, a desire to help that we view the immediate civic horizon.

And now a few words for the men who have performed this yeoman service in the way of civic regeneration.

To Cyrus D. Foss, Jr., who has made a real sacrifice to help the Mayor as private secretary; to Director Loeb of the department of supplies, who filled one of the less obtrusive but important parts with fidelity and absolute honesty; to Directors Ziegler and Meigs of the health and docks departments respectively; to that human dynamo, A. Merritt Taylor of the department of transit; to that patriotic diplomat and financier, George W. Norris, whose guiding hand has smoothed many rough places in the last four years; to our efficient, dependable Robert D. Dripps, ever ready to step in the breach where a level headed, well balanced man is wanted—to all of them, the *warmest, heartiest* thanks of the people of Philadelphia go out as they close their official connection with the city.

No man has grown more in public office, or made the office grow with him, than the director of public works, Morris Llewellyn Cooke. He has made many of his subordinates and associates take seven league strides trying to keep up with him. He has met every demand that would naturally be made upon him, and then has looked around for other openings for his activities. Many of us feel there is now no civic job in the whole country too big for him to tackle. And through it all, has been his

guiding star of absolute justice to all. It is violating no confidence when I say that some of the big and little contractors, since the election, have come to him and thanked him for the "above board" treatment they had received at his hands.²

To George D. Porter, former director of public safety and late candidate for mayor, who is loved best by those who know him best, our good wishes go out to-night. We should have liked to have seen him mayor of the city to carry forward the good work of the past four years, for this we know he would have done. He has the confidence and the warm affection of his fellow townsmen, he has come through, unscathed, a big man's task—at every turn he was "on the job." He is a young man yet and if there comes a time when we have a chance to show our confidence in him, he will be ever ready to respond to the call of duty.

With Rudolph Blankenburg, who has returned to private life, goes the love and esteem of a grateful city. If there are any who do not wish him well, Philadelphia does not know it; but if by any chance there should be any, we say, as it has often been said before, "We love him for the enemies he has made."

His guiding watchword has ever been "Philadelphia, my city," and it has seemed to many of us, that in his heart, the great city—its aims, its hopes, its struggles and trials—has been to him as a foster child, to be mourned over in its shortcomings, to be proud and happy in its successes and never losing faith in its ultimate regeneration. The very sacrifices he has made for his city have drawn it closer into his heart. Time and time again we have heard from him a renewal of the pledge of devotion, and many of us have hung our heads in shame that we have done so little when he has done so much.

We hope that many years of comfort, peace and quiet enjoyment may be his. We know he cannot be idle, and we know that while life lasts he will not abate one jot or tittle of his care for Philadelphia. And for his official life, for what his administration has done for posterity, we want to record with all the earnestness at our command that he shall feel free to say, as the solemn truth, as did one of the greatest reformers of old: "I have fought a good fight," and *above all*, "I have kept the faith."

BY THE EDITOR OF THE PHILADELPHIA "NORTH AMERICAN"

With the close of the Blankenburg administration to-day ends a sixteen-year campaign for the political regeneration of Philadelphia. It is worthy of a retrospective glance.

The campaign began soon after Samuel H. Ashbridge took office as mayor, when the true character of his administration was revealed. During this period graft in its coarsest forms became the undisguised

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 5.

purpose and policy of the city government. Its manifestations ranged from the fortunes taken by officials and contractors down to the most sordid kinds of macing, traffic in private licenses and the theft of children's pennies in policy gambling.

No source of illicit tribute was overlooked. More than two thousand speakeasies flourished under the protection of politicians, yielding vast profits to the promoters and, in return, furnishing legal addresses for 75,000 fictitious names entered on the voting lists. Gamblers operated in perfect security, and paid a specified percentage of their gains to "the front." White slavery during this régime became an organized and protected traffic. The very streets of the city were sold by private treaty to a group of political and financial adventurers. Even from the privations of the helpless paupers of the community graft was extorted to enrich favorites of the ring.

In various forms these abuses flourished almost continuously for twelve years. For sixteen years unremitting warfare was waged against the contractors and politicians responsible for them. During that period many prominent citizens were constantly active in the cause of good government, and a still larger number were spasmodically interested. But the number striving to uproot the criminal system steadily increased, and it was certain that they would eventually overcome the power which was exploiting and disgracing the city.

The zeal with which the *North American* carried on its part in the fight for decent government earned for this newspaper the implacable hostility of the privileged politicians and all the evil forces behind them. The desperate and unflagging opposition of these interests has been a tribute which we have always prized. Only once did we co-operate with representatives of that side. That was when John Weaver, who had been a complacent organization mayor, was moved to rebellion by the attempt to steal the gas works and for a short period checked the operations of the gang.

In the twelve years of the fight preceding his election Rudolph Blankenburg was a conspicuous exponent of reform. For a long time he was regarded by the public with interest rather than with serious attention; but finally his persistent and picturesque denunciations of the city's despoilers touched the imagination of the ever-growing army of revolt against misrule.

He made his greatest impression by the oft-repeated assertion that the mayor of Philadelphia was clothed by the charter with sufficient power to destroy the contractors' combine, and that the election of a reform executive would mean the sweeping away of that evil system. By the time he had convinced the majority of decent citizens on these points they had made up their minds that he was himself the one man qualified for the task.

After twelve years of incessant warfare against corruption, therefore, during which the grosser forms of election fraud had been eliminated, the demand for decent government prevailed. Mr. Blankenburg was elected mayor.

That was four years ago. He took office with the best wishes of an overwhelming majority of the people of Philadelphia. All those who possessed a shred of civic pride were utterly sick of the long régime of gang graft and incompetence, and welcomed the prospect of a change. Even the contractors and their followers felt almost a sense of relief that a respite had come in their struggle to impose their corrupt rule upon the city.

Four years later, however, the combine had not only rebuilt its shattered power, but had so intrenched itself that it felt secure in openly and defiantly selecting its own candidate for mayor and pitting him against one named by Mayor Blankenburg as the representative of his achievements and policies. How accurately the contractors read the public mind was shown when they elected their man by a crushing plurality.

This result has been a cause of bewilderment to outside observers. Yet a candid statement of the case will show that it was inevitable.

While no one has ever questioned the integrity, the sincerity and the lofty patriotism of Mayor Blankenburg, the restoration of gang rule is directly chargeable to his personal deficiencies in other respects. His inability to cope with the problems of municipal finance created by the sins of former administrations, his lamentable lack of political common sense and his utter incapacity to compel co-operation or even respect from hostile councils, although he possessed tremendous official power—these were the things that broke him down.

His status was a hopeless anomaly. Admired personally for his robust integrity and honest purposes, he was derided, affronted and buffeted by those whom he might have destroyed, because they discerned in him no evidences of administrative force; and he fell into public disesteem as a chosen champion who had shown neither courage nor competence. The disappointment of the people was accentuated and was transformed into downright hostility by his shuffling evasion and final repudiation of his pledge to reduce the price of gas and by his grotesque suggestions for impossible schemes of taxation.

Any one of these things would have been sufficient to account for the collapse of his prestige, but the fundamental cause was his failure even to hamper the contractors' combine, whose destruction he had declared for years would be the simplest task and chief glory of a reform administration.

That was the main issue of his campaign, the burden of his most effective speeches, the foundation of all his pledges. The mayor of Philadelphia, he proclaimed again and again, had power to tear up by the roots the system that had so long injured and disgraced the city, and, if he

were elected, the extermination of that sinister growth would be accomplished without delay.

It was upon this platform that he was elected, and upon this was adjudged an utter failure. Month after month went by, and those who had enthusiastically intrusted him with the power to dislodge the enemies of the city saw their hopes mocked.

Far from suffering defeat, the combine steadily grew more influential and more arrogant. The contractors and their followers found it unnecessary to preserve even the forms of respect for the chief executive of the city. His recommendations to councils were contemptuously ignored or studiously negatived, his vetoes were nullified at will, and his entire program made the sport of the interests which at any time during his first two years in office he might have reduced to wholesome subjection.

These fatal evidences of incapacity may be traced chiefly to defects of character and moral fiber. But a stronger man than he might have been unable to resist the malign influences with which he surrounded himself. From the beginning he selected as his unofficial advisers men who had always been against the principles for which he stood, representatives of big corporations and property interests who had been the beneficiaries of contractor rule. To their subtle guidance may be charged some of his most serious errors and deficiencies.

Aside from these causes of failure, Mayor Blankenburg both suffered and profited by his cabinet appointments.

His chief misstep was in putting a weak and immature figure at the head of the department of public safety—the most influential post in a city administration. And this was magnified into a monumental blunder when he made this man his candidate for the mayoralty as the embodiment of the Blankenburg policies and ideals.

In the department of health he made another failure by retaining a gang appointee, with the inevitable result that this important department lost caste and efficiency. Two successors named were of a far higher type, but they had not the time nor the backing to enable them to accomplish much good.

The director of supplies gave an honest, competent and businesslike administration and saved the city large sums of money. But the futility of it all is shown by the fact that his assistant for two years—the man chiefly responsible for the system he tried to modify—is now head of the department. He has been given that post as a reward for the attacks he made during the recent campaign against the administration which kept him in office for two years after the day he should have been discharged. The mayor was never able to command councilmanic support for supply department changes that would be fundamental and lasting.

Mayor Blankenburg is to be held accountable for departmental failures and deficiencies. On the other hand, the fullest credit must be given to

him for the successes achieved by men of his selection. The three departments with constructive functions performed work of permanent value.

Director Cooke found in the department of public works a system marked by archaic, wasteful and even crooked methods and an utter lack of any comprehensive plans. He revolutionized it from top to bottom and made it a model which other municipalities have found worthy of study. His sole aim was efficiency, and he sought out the best men available for every post at his disposal, bringing some from other cities, despite the outcry of job-hunting politicians.

His course was justified by the results he achieved, and it has received a striking vindication in the fact that Mayor Smith has continued in office one of the principal bureau chiefs. But Mr. Cooke's best contribution has been the framing of far-reaching plans and a system of honest specifications which will benefit the city permanently.

In the department of wharves, docks and ferries the work of Director Norris was conspicuously good. He showed that he understood the needs of the port and possessed the vision to build for the future. In co-operation with Director Cooke, he devised a comprehensive policy for the development of the commercial possibilities of South Philadelphia and of the entire river front.

Director Taylor is responsible for the great program of transit, and has started undertakings which insure to the city vitally needed expansion of its transportation facilities.

Collectively, the work of these three departments is enough to make any administration notable. Had it not been for the failure of Mayor Blankenburg to do the one thing for which the people elected him—destroy contractor rule—the record would be a substantial success.

It is well for him that the account is not finally made up according to the judgment of the people to-day. In time, it is to be hoped, his weaknesses and failures will be forgotten, and, as the constructive works begun under his régime are carried on, his part in them will be remembered. And one other noteworthy item will go to his credit. His pledge that his administration would be honest was vigilantly kept.

Aside from these things, the fame of the Blankenburg administration will depend very largely upon the character of that which succeeds it. If Mayor Smith keeps measurably free from evil influences and follows the good policies inaugurated during the last four years, the public will not fail to give credit to his predecessor.

The chief regret must be that a mayor animated by such good intentions and capable of so many praiseworthy performances did not possess the force of character to use the power conferred upon him to free the city once for all from the burden of contractor domination. Had he done so, the cause of good government would have been immeasurably advanced. Because he failed, it has suffered eclipse.

For twelve years the very heart of the fight was the conviction that the one thing necessary to eradicate the evil system was the election of a reform mayor. This was done, but the opportunity was frittered away by feebleness and incompetence. The deplorable fact is that the cause cannot be rebuilt upon the same foundation. The war against misrule will go on, but its most effective means of raising recruits has been destroyed.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE "EVENING BULLETIN," PHILADELPHIA

When Mayor Blankenburg was elected four years ago, he had never held any public office save a place as city commissioner. This he had not sought for; he was urged by his friends to become a candidate for it in order that the city party ticket in the independent campaign of 1905 might be strengthened, and when he completed the term to which he had been elected, he found that the duties had been so light that it did not quite accord with his sense of the fitness of things to pocket the salary; and hence he turned the three years' amount over as a personal donation to the pension funds of the teachers, the firemen and the policemen. Consequently when, at the age of sixty-eight, he went into the mayoralty, his actual experience in public office had been extremely limited. It is true that for more than a generation he had been active as an agitator and critic in municipal affairs, that he had been associated with many movements or undertakings of a civic, philanthropic or patriotic nature and that he had thus come into contact with most of the live and interesting questions that have entered into our local public life since the time of the committee of one hundred and its notable campaign against Mayor Stokley and the gas trust. But until the close of the year 1911, when he had long passed the meridian of his years, he had not shouldered, on any large scale, a single responsibility in the direct administration of public affairs. Up to that time Mr. Blankenburg's principal function in the politics of the city had been to lead, or to help in the leading of, committees, factions or parties opposed to the party in power or favoring changes and reforms along the line of what would usually be termed "non-partisan" or "business-like" government. Whatever he did in this respect was marked by much vigor and vehemence by the ardor of a courageous temperament, by the enthusiasm which springs largely from a joyous love of combat in the public arena and, fundamentally, by an innate abhorrence of venality, chicanery and oppressive abuses. No man was more qualified to stir the popular mind and at the same time command respect for sincerity than he was in all the years when he was free-footed in attacking wrongs and in bearding the most powerful of their defenders.

Very few men with such a temperament possess also in large degree the virtues which enter into the making of a successful administrator in an

extensive public office elected by the people and involved in active politics. Patience, reticence, a shrewd knowledge of human nature, practical concentration of purpose, a keen perception of public opinion in all its fluctuations and eccentricities, the faculty for ready co-operation with all sorts of men who represent the varied life of the community, and the cool judgment or insight by which a useful man discerns the things which can be done and avoids those which can't be done are among the qualities which are to be found in the mayoralty or any kindred office when it is well and satisfactorily administered. In these respects Mr. Blankenburg has not been strong. But in honesty, in sincerity, in a sense of fidelity to conception of the mayoralty as a trust, in a pure love of the city and in eagerness to serve it to the very best of his ability, there is no man among us to whom he stands second.

Four years ago this month, when he went into that office, Mr. Blankenburg earnestly looked forward—far more earnestly than might have been expected of a man of his age—to the realization of some ideals of popular government in which he evidently had great faith. His inaugural address, the general spirit of his plans and intentions, and his appointments, even when some of them were mistaken, plainly indicated the zeal of an upright man whose mind and heart are bent on high and salutary aims. He was even moderate and conciliatory toward the party organization which had opposed him at the polls and which he had been almost continually in the habit of fighting, on local questions, for more than a generation. He went so far, too, as to retain one of its principal directors in order to show that he wanted to be fair and that he would be ready to appreciate merit among his opponents. But politically, or in an understanding of the customary workings of cause and effect when such acts of benevolence or magnanimity take place in politics, he exhibited less the wisdom of an experienced hand than the good intentions of a novice. Moreover he proceeded to adopt measures which, although they were in line with good government and were creditable to himself, alienated from him the good will and support of most of the active men who had been instrumental in procuring his election. Apparently he believed that "the people" would recognize the rectitude of his purpose and take their places in "rallying around" his administration. But within less than a year, the powerful following which had elected him had begun to fall apart, and from that time until his own picked candidate to succeed him was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls, he had only small, or relatively small, minority parties behind him.

Doubtless there were many people who had expected altogether too much of him. They found that the extent of corruption and misgovernment was by no means so great as they had supposed it to be, or, at least, that neither he nor his directors succeeded in uncovering the infamies and scandals which he had led them to believe honeycombed the city

hall in all its parts as it had never before been. This was eventually found to be a gross exaggeration. It may also be questioned whether the mayor was prudent in the second year of his administration when he deliberately resolved that he would become belligerent and make a fight for councils. Such action was not altogether in accord with what seemed to be his conception of the mayoralty as a business trust to be kept clear of political turmoil. Nor was it clever at a time when it must have been pretty plain to most men up a tree in feeling out public sentiment that he could not start up his fight policy without surely being beaten. That he had provocation for it, however, is undoubted. The organization managers in councils had begun to withhold from his administration what was fairly due it, to lay plans for "putting him in a hole," and to do no more toward the support of the departments under him than was necessary. But in the controversies which followed, the mayor was not always sagacious in either his plans or his tactics, and, after having lost most of his strong political friends who had been foremost in the campaign of 1911, he lost also the advisory board of citizens whom he had especially called around him with the very best of motives on his part, but who were afterwards disposed to say that it was not easy to co-operate with him as useful and practical advisers.

I shall not attempt to make any specific recital of either the mistakes or the successes of the mayor. To do so with a just analysis would need prolonged discussion. In general terms, however, it may be said that after full allowance has been made for his failures in realizing his ideals and for public disappointments at times as to his methods, his record in the mayoralty is worthy of respect from his fellow-citizens. His errors have been of the kind which good men will not be inclined to dwell upon harshly when they consider that they were not the errors of a bad heart, but that they sprang, for the most part, from a really altruistic and patriotic spirit. In fact, his kindly nature, despite his ardent love of a "fight," together with the perfectly manifest unselfishness in all his endeavors, despite his defective judgment at times, has caused the epithet of "the old man" to be bestowed upon him with a good-natured liking of the best traits in him both as a man and a public officer.

One thing is especially to be said of his administration. There has been less graft or venality in it than in any administration which active Philadelphians can now recall, and there has probably been less unfair or offensive politics in it than in any that the city has ever had either before or since the time of the Bullitt act. In these respects Mr. Blankenburg's standards have been high; and had it not been for his yielding to the impulse to go down town on election day, after having ordered hundreds of policemen to man the inside of the polling places—a mistake which was just as honest as it was improper—even the bitterest of his critics would say very little against him, so far as his personal acts are concerned.

It is seldom that a mayor goes out of office as strong or as popular as when he went in. Remembering all the occupants of the office from the time of Fox, I can think of only one who had not lost prestige or was not somewhat discredited when he went back into private life. If Mr. Blankenburg is viewed in a somewhat different light from that in which he was known to the public four years ago, if he has made enemies, if the measure of his achievements has been less than his supporters thought they saw coming in the midst of their millennial enthusiasm over his advent at the city hall, he is simply like most of even the very best of his predecessors. It is unfortunate, however, that such a man could not now be placed in select or common council for the rest of his days. There he would have full play for the exercise of his public virtues in outspoken expression or as an agitator; no matter how small the minority behind him, he would have the Holman-like spirit on the floor, of a "watch dog of the treasury." But as it is, he will be entitled to receive, when he shall come back to us from California, to settle down as a private citizen, the good-will of all Philadelphians who, whether they are organization men or reformers, are clear-headed and manly enough to recognize an upright man in the midst of whatever may be charged against him as blunders or as follies.

If he could not do all that he thought he could do, there are at least no stains or splotches on his honor.

PENN.

MAYOR BAKER'S ADMINISTRATION IN CLEVELAND¹

BY PROF. C. C. ARBUTHNOT

Western Reserve University

THE decision of Mayor Baker to refuse, for personal reasons, to be a candidate for a third term as mayor of Cleveland, together with the defeat at the polls in November of Peter Witt, the Democratic organization's candidate as Mr. Baker's successor, marks the close of an important period in the city's history. Barring the two years of Mr. Baehr's term, the municipality has been for fifteen years under the influence of the Johnson school of politics. Again it has swung back to a Republican régime, headed by Harry L. Davis, though the council is still controlled by a moderate majority of Democrats. A brief review of Mr. Baker's administration seems fitting at this time and incidentally may bring out some of the causes that lead to the defeat of the Democrats, though the influences prevalent in the recent contest were matters of personality of the candidates, as well as of policy and achievement.

The following discussion will concern itself with Mayor Baker's administration in its relation to finance, efficiency in management, the public service corporations, trained specialization as a test for city employes, the reduction of the influence of national political parties in city government, the public health, the departments of public safety and service, and Mr. Baker's personal influence on the city's life.

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

Cleveland's financial condition is the subject of keen discussion and anxiety. Like most municipalities in the country, and practically all of those in Ohio, the city is hard pressed for funds. The deficit due to operating expenses has now reached a million and half of dollars. Most of this has appeared during the period of the Baker administration's conduct of the city's business; part being inherited from the previous administration. No one who has given the matter thought believes that this situation is due to corrupt expenditure or gross carelessness in management.

THE BURDEN OF DEBT

Investigation by the Civic league in 1914, made on the basis of data for 1912, the latest then available, showing the fiscal experience of St.

¹ See E. C. Hopwood's article, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. ii, page 461.
—EDITOR.

Louis, Boston, Baltimore, Pittsburgh and Detroit, compared with that of Cleveland brought out facts favorable to the latter.²

The striking case in which Cleveland appeared at a disadvantage was in the rate of growth in her indebtedness. In a ten year period the increase in the city's debt was more rapid than in any of the six cities. This bad eminence was due to an evasion of sinking fund requirements demanded by sound finance and a failure to liquidate debts as they came due. Such practices are common in Ohio municipal experience. The upshot, in Cleveland, of this inherited and continued policy is a general bonded debt whose interest in 1915 amounted to nearly one and a half million of dollars paid from general tax revenues. In addition there is interest amounting to over a half million dollars to be paid from water department and special assessment revenues. Taking a million and a half for the debt service from general revenues of four and a third millions is a serious blow to the operating departments in any current year.

Aside from public thriftlessness, the cause of this general practice is doubtless to be found in the fact that the growth in civic necessities has been more rapid than the development of civic consciousness. The citizen who required the improvements has not with equal step become the taxpayer ready to bear the cost. Administrations have felt compelled in self-defense to adopt what could be but a temporary expedient of disguising in bonded indebtedness what ought to have been paid out of increased taxation. A sound policy of facing the expense year by year would have been resented at the polls by the retarded civic sense of the community. A courageous stand on the correct principles of finance might have jarred the citizens into an appreciation of the situation, but it would have been suicidal for the party in power. It should have been done, but the politician is in the grip of the will to survive, especially when he believes that his successors will not be able to remedy the situation more rapidly than he could. The responsibility for the present state of affairs, so far as it is due to an abnormal burden of interest charges, is not to be unloaded entirely upon the city officials. It is the price to be paid by a lagging public intelligence for the rapidity of municipal growth. Moreover the expedient is not unknown in private business and has been practised in rapidly growing educational institutions whose administrators have felt obliged to show what ought to be done by doing

²(a) Cleveland's annual per capita expenditures for the maintenance and operation of the various departments of the city government were less than in most of these cities.

(b) Cleveland's total outlay for permanent improvements has averaged fairly low in comparison.

(c) Cleveland's rate of taxation was lower than in any of the six cities, excepting St. Louis.

(d) Cleveland's total income from all sources and her outlays for all purposes have been less per capita than the similar items of any of the other five cities and less than the average for cities over 300,000.

it, and then securing financial support on the basis of accomplishments rather than on a prospectus. It is bad business, but the municipal corporations are not alone in pursuing the policy.

LEGISLATURE'S CONTROL OF CITY'S INCOME

A more obvious reason for Cleveland's financial plight is found in two measures enacted by the state legislature and entirely beyond the city administration's control. These are (1) the Smith tax law, and (2) the reduction in the number of licensed saloons.

The Smith law of 1912 limits the total tax rate for state, county, city and school purposes to fifteen mills on each dollar of taxable property.³ From the city's portion of ten mills that may be levied are paid operating expenses plus the interest and sinking funds for bonds issued by the council. The additional five mills are reserved for interest and sinking funds upon bonds issued by vote of the people and for additional levies approved at the polls. Outside the fifteen mill limit additional taxes may be levied for state roads, repairing damage due to the flood of 1913 and other emergencies.

The reduction in the licenses of saloons cut their number in 1913 from 2,200 to 1,300 and reduced the share of revenue from liquor licenses falling to the city by \$546,000 a year.

The results of these measures affecting the city's two chief sources of income during a period in which the population has been growing steadily may be seen in the chart on page 229.

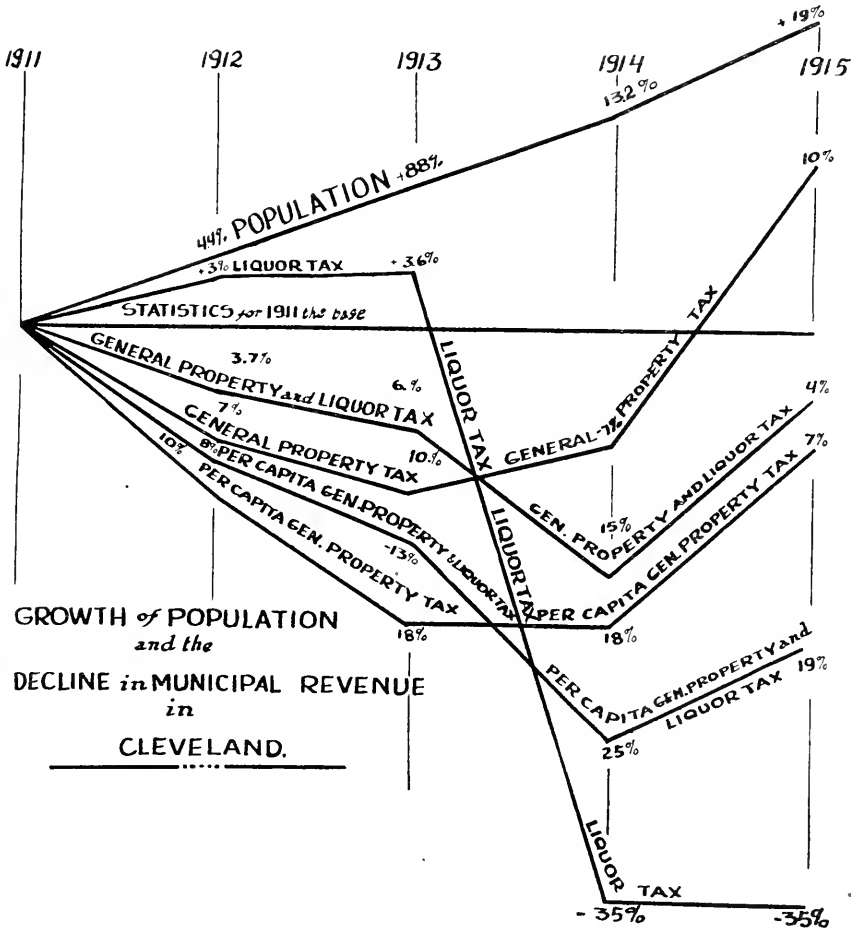
In view of the extraordinary fiscal experience through which the Baker administration has passed in the last four years it is not to be wondered at that the problem of securing funds for current operations has become critical. Cleveland's plight is shared by other Ohio municipalities to greater or less degree and the criticisms of the administration should be tempered by an appreciation of the difficulties that had to be faced. On the surface it is evident that considerable economy must have been practised, or the situation would have been worse than it is.

CRITICISMS OF OUTLAY

Notwithstanding the facts concerning the restricted income, perhaps because of an incomplete realization of the real significance of these facts, the Baker administration has been the subject of criticism from various sources, partisan and otherwise. The deficit in the operating account has been explained as due to excessive outlay for services. Charges of poor management, particularly in regard to high expense in cases where work was done by direct labor, have been made in specified instances, and general assertions of uneconomical expenditures throughout the conduct

³See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, page 453.—EDITOR.

of public business have been freely handed about without being pinned down always to exact details.⁴



The contrast between the rising line of population and the falling lines showing income is striking. With a steadily growing population it is to be noted that the totals from general property and liquor tax fell in 1912 to a level 3.7 per cent below that of 1911, in 1913 6 per cent below, and reached the extraordinary point of 15 per cent below in 1914. The increase in tax duplicate raised the total in 1915, but even then the total income is 4 per cent less than in 1911, while the population has increased 19 per cent. If the city had enjoyed each year since 1911 an income equal to the income of 1911 it would have received \$1,328,833 more than it did receive. Other things remaining the same, the accumulated deficit would have been but \$171,167 instead of \$1,500,000, during the period in which the population increased from 587,000 to 700,000. If the per capita burden of municipal taxation had remained since 1911 at the level of 1911 (\$7.651) the city would have received in the four years a total of \$3,406,844 more than it did receive. There would have been a surplus, other things remaining the same, of \$1,906,844 instead of the present deficit of \$1,500,000.

⁴It has been alleged, for example, that the leveling of Fairview reservoir which cost the city, by direct labor, 45 cents a yard, could have been done by the contract system for 25 cents a yard. This allegation, it should be noted, was made after the work was

The reply of the administration is a specific and a general denial, and a challenge to be more precise in pointing out services to be curtailed and expenses to be reduced.

FAILURE TO PROVIDE THE INDEPENDENT AUDIT

The candid observer is left with an unsatisfactory sensation of uncertainty and incomplete information in trying to estimate the force of the criticisms and the strength of the replies. The high character of the men with whom Mayor Baker surrounded himself, their fine conception of public responsibility, their superior level of intelligence and industry in the city's service have impressed those who have been thrown in contact with them. It is all the more to be regretted that the facts of the city's business have not been revealed in such detail as to enable these men to explain the charges or remedy the weaknesses that may have appeared. This failure on the part of the administration has been the more inexplicable in face of the definite provisions of the city charter drawn by a commission of which Mayor Baker was the president.⁵

The imperative mandate of the charter has been flatly disregarded. The director of finance has issued an excellent general ledger report each year: but the continuous independent audit contemplated by the charter has never been made. The explanations of this negligence on the ground of expense and that the administration's own records were sufficient have never been satisfactory to those intelligently interested in the municipality's government. Many an independent who has voted for Mr. Baker because of a belief in his ability and integrity, has been chagrined at the absence of impartial data upon which to base a sound judgment of the

finished, and does not mean that a contractor offered to do the work for 25 cents a yard. It has been pointed out, for instance, that when an extension of the tunnels into the lake for the purpose of improving the water supply was submitted to contractors for bids, the administration rejected all bids on the ground that they were too high and undertook construction by direct labor under its own supervision. It is now charged that the ultimate expense will greatly exceed the figures at which contractors offered to do the work. This, it will be observed, is a prediction.

In the complaints of general inefficiency the number of positions and size of salaries in proportion to the service rendered are the main items. Keeping a number of foremen on the payroll during the winter when their men were let go with the cessation of outdoor work, and less definite charges and suggestions constitute the blanket indictment respecting loose business methods.

⁵The charter requires that "the council shall cause a continuous audit to be made of the books of account, records and transactions of the administrative departments of the city . . . by one or more certified public accountants" covering "in detail all transactions affecting the acquisition, custodianship and disposition of values, including cash receipts and disbursements; and the recorded facts shall be presented periodically to officials and to the public in such summaries and analytical schedules in detailed support thereof, as shall be necessary to show the full effect of such transactions for each fiscal year upon the finances of the city. . . ."

administration's achievements. This regrettable neglect and refusal to comply with a fundamental requirement of the charter was not only bad policy, but also bad politics as shown in the last election when the administration's candidate was defeated. A substantial number of people, who were otherwise favorably disposed to the existing régime, wanted the audit and had no other way of showing their desires except by turning out the party in power. This may fairly be said to have been one in the complex of influences that compassed Mr. Witt's defeat.

There is a disposition on the part of generous critics of the administration to grant that within the obvious limitations of political possibilities, the public business has been conducted as efficiently as the general run of private businesses. But there is a growing belief that under the pressure of increasing public needs and the limitation of income the public business must be raised from the plane of ordinary business efficiency toward the level of the highest grade of management. The percentage of failures in ordinary business is so large that a concern like a municipality, operating on about the same level, must likewise go on the rocks. To raise the quality of public service a prime requisite is the constructive criticism of an independent audit and budget practice that will show not merely the formal compliance with the principles of sound bookkeeping, but also whether or not the specific expenditures are wise and the best under the circumstances. Even after this is done it may be necessary to spend more of the total income of the community through public channels. Citizens are enjoying more common services now, and will be obliged to spend more as a group. There is no question about the increased income of the community as a whole. The crux of the question is what fraction shall we spend individually and what fraction shall we in our organized relation spend for these services that are jointly operated and enjoyed. The willingness of the citizens to carry the burdens in the form of taxation will depend largely upon their belief as to whether they are getting their money's worth from the current expenditures.

In view of these criticisms it ought to be repeated that the facts of the city's finances make a *prima facie* case favorable to the claim that the administration has been reasonably economical and effective considering the service it has rendered. It is a matter for regret that detailed independent information is not available to make a conclusive judgment possible.

DISTINCTIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

Over against the record of general management of city affairs in which the citizen is in doubt stand certain achievements in business management for which the municipality will always be indebted to the Baker administration. Notable among these is the completion of the city hall, begun by Mayor Baehr, Baker's predecessor, one of the structures in

the anticipated group plan of public buildings. The monumental edifice, which at one time threatened to become as expensive as its sister structure, the county court house, has been all but finished at a cost little more than half that of the latter, and its utility and beauty as a feature on the proposed Mall is all that need be desired. It is a striking building and distinguished public work, constructed within a reasonable length of time without scandal, graft, or extravagance, unless all monumental buildings for public offices are extravagant.

Just beside the new city hall, at the end of the Mall will be erected in the immediate future the long-heralded Union depot which will be the gateway to Cleveland and a memorial of a successful negotiation between Mayor Baker and the railroads, closing a long dispute regarding the city's and the railroad's rights to lake shore property and opening a way to a constructive program for improving the waterfront, facilitating transportation, hastening the completion of the group plan and removing that ancient eyesore, the present union station. The railroads are to pay the city \$1,400,000 for the site for the depot and the money is to be spent in acquiring lands for the Mall which will extend from the Union depot to Superior avenue. Mayor Baker's activities in the legal struggles involved in this controversy as well as in the business transactions with which the matter was wound up, have been of the highest order and of the greatest public service. The voters have endorsed the settlement which closes a chapter in Cleveland's history and closes it with justice and honor to all parties concerned.

Hard by the new Union depot are the passenger boat docks that have been removed from their ancient and malodorous situation on the river to the splendid piers at the foot of East Ninth street. Every passenger who crosses a gang-plank in the new situation and remembers the old will recall with gratitude to Mr. Baker that this change was made during his administration.

Another successful negotiation with a public service corporation on the part of the Baker administration was that with the East Ohio gas company. The skill and persistence with which it was demonstrated to the company that the supply of gas was inadequate led to the construction of a new main from the West Virginia fields, a reasonable provision for the extension of service to consumers and the possibility of substituting 30 cent natural gas for 80 cent artificial gas when advantageous to private consumers and the city.

Among the greatest of Mayor Baker's services to the city are these reasonable arrangements that have been made with the managers of quasi-public utilities. His interest in proposed improvements of facilities for handling freight in and out of the city, easier access to the lake front for all the railroads by means of a subway and reduction in the expense of cartage are sometimes overlooked by persons who think of him

as the originator of a premature municipal orchestra and his administration as sponsor for a project to pay the cost of a new boulevard by excess condemnation of abutting land, a scheme which is in a state of arrested development.

STREET RAILWAYS

For a long period the politics of Cleveland revolved around the street railway situation. The problem was eventually restated in the form of the plan devised by Judge Robert W. Tayler and an attempt at solution is now being worked out along the lines thus laid down. The stockholders of the company are guaranteed a 6 per cent return upon the capital, as it was readjusted by Mayor Johnson and F. H. Goff, through a provision that the rate of fare shall be raised or lowered within certain limits sufficiently to meet the cost of maintenance and operation and to provide a fund large enough to insure the regular payment of the fixed dividend. The slogan during the long struggle that preceded the initiation of this scheme was "three cent fare." The basis of the settlement as indicated was "fare at 'cost' plus 6%." Whether the rate of three cents can be maintained or approached depends in part on the quality of the management. To secure the public interest the Tayler plan provided for a commissioner to be appointed by the mayor, at a salary not to exceed \$12,000 a year, \$2,000 higher than the salary of the mayor, and twice that of the director of any department of the city government. This large salary is paid by the street railway company. The evident intent of the originators of the plan was to secure for this position a competent expert, trained in transportation problems and able to advise and control the company in an endeavor to get the desired service at the lowest possible outlay.

The first appointment to this position was under Mayor Baker's predecessor in office and the position was given to the ablest campaigner on the winning side in the contest preceding the election, a lawyer with no experience in street railway matters.

The second appointment was by Mayor Baker who awarded the place to the ablest campaigner in the contest preceding his election, Peter Witt, who likewise was without experience in railway management. The salary, however, was scaled down to \$7,500.

Mr. Witt, a man of exceptional ability and vigor, learned rapidly and the company management co-operated effectively.

The system has been improved physically and the service rendered is well worth what is paid for it, and will not suffer by comparison with that of the surface lines in many cities where a five cent fare is charged.

It has been found, however, that a duplication at three cents of the long rides and free transfers prevalent under the five cent fare or eleven tickets for fifty cents was not possible. Many of the suburban riders

have continued to pay the old rates. Within the city and East Cleveland the fare is three cents for a ride on any line with a one cent charge for a transfer. The plan amounts to a three cent fare for 75 per cent of the riders and a four cent fare for the other 25 per cent. The long haul to and from East Cleveland is rendered at a loss to the system, but there is no remedy at present because provisions in the franchise require the same rate to this suburb as is enjoyed by passengers in the city along the same route.

What the future fare will be is still in the lap of the gods. The charge for transfers has been explained as due to a slump in earnings caused by the dull period in business and hope is held out that restored prosperity with the use of the better equipment will raise the interest fund to the point where all within the city can enjoy the three cent rate. Over against this is the deficit in maintenance and other funds that leads pessimists to assert that the tendency of fares is bound to be upward rather than the reverse. The hope that the increasing efficiency of Mr. Witt would help to keep down and reduce the expense of operation has vanished. He decided to give up the commissionership and become the Democratic organization's candidate to succeed Mayor Baker, but was defeated, as noted above. If the Republican mayor had possessed the political heroism to have offered to reappoint Mr. Witt as commissioner or had named another street railway expert for the position the outlook for a conclusive determination as to whether or not three cent fare is possible would be brighter. He, however, has followed the precedent of his Republican and Democratic predecessors and named a political adherent, untrained in the business, for the position. An office that began in this enlightened era without the trammels of traditions, with the easy possibility of being classified as an expert's post has been lowered to the level of a partisan appointment in one of the best governed cities in the country and that by three mayors representing both parties, and all of them honorable men. We still have some distance to go in municipal government!

TRAINED SERVICE

Over against this neglect of an opportunity to put the municipality's business on the high plane of trained service, stands Mayor Baker's action in seeking even in other cities for the best talent available. The commissioner of recreation was brought to Cleveland strictly on the basis of promised usefulness, notwithstanding the presence on the ground of persons whose appointment might have been of consequence in strengthening the party organization. The appointment of the commissioner of smoke prevention under the ordinance drawn by the chamber of commerce committee was based entirely on the mayor's judgment that the engineer who was the chairman of that committee was the most competent man to give effect to its provisions. A long story might be told of instances where

Mayor Baker's appointments for merit alone have raised the tone of the public service, and the list would be made up not only from the testimony of his followers, but also from the tributes of minority councilmen. Mayor Baker's insistence upon merit and refusal to pass out the jobs to "the boys" during his first term would probably have cost him the election to his second term if it had not been for the non-partisan support he received from independent Republicans.

PARTISAN POLITICS

During his administration Mayor Baker had an overwhelming Democratic majority in the city council. He also was for a considerable period the head of the local Democratic organization. He was president of the commission which drew up the existing city charter. Among the more prominent features of the charter are the provisions looking toward a reduction in the influence of national party organizations on the city's government. It ought to be said in passing that this reform is of less significance in Cleveland than in many other municipalities because party contests in the city, in recent years, have turned almost entirely upon local issues. Party primaries are now eliminated, candidates are nominated by petition only. No party designations appear upon the ballots. The preferential system of voting is in use. Notwithstanding these provisions the existing political organizations have thus far named their candidates and elected them with little more inconvenience than under the old system. The possibilities of the charter in this respect remain for future exploitation—possibly for the not too remote future. Under the present conditions the so-called non-partisan municipal administration as a practical matter has been the subject of considerable light-hearted jesting and ironical allusion. The minority members of the council have been gently hazed by giving them such positions as chairman of the committee on printing, or putting them upon the audit committee that had no money to spend. It may be quixotic to believe that minorities as representatives of certain groups of citizens have a part to play in government and that they can be used to the advantage of the whole group if the majority cares to give them any free play. The failure of the majority to recognize the minority created unnecessary antagonism and put the smaller group in the position of always "viewing with alarm," and rarely utilized the intelligence of the few for the good of the whole.

The prospect of saving municipal government from the disturbances of national politics is remote if reliance upon changes in the form of election machinery is the basis of our dreams. It behooves the majority in municipalities without surrendering the power that the electors have placed in their hands, to put the minority members into active service, load them with some share of responsibility for the public work, entangle

them indeed in the execution of the administration's policies and by sheer force of working together put the minority in a positive relation to the city government. The policy of isolating the group in comparative ineffectiveness draws the partisan line sharper, turns energy that should be constructive into obstructive tactics, sours the milk of common interest and sacrifices matters of local concern to an overemphasized national distinction. The cities will never begin to free themselves from this incubus unless they commence in substance as well as form. An enlightened majority must start the unloading process. The Democratic majority with Mayor Baker at its head failed entirely in furthering the development of this reform, a failure all the more keenly felt because Mayor Baker has taught many a Republican in this city to forget national party affiliations when voting for himself as city solicitor or as mayor.

PUBLIC HEALTH

One of the outstanding activities of the city to which Mayor Baker has lent his whole-hearted support is the splendid and encouraging efforts being put forth to check the ravages of tuberculosis and reduce its prevalence. The work in this crucial test of social strength has been well organized within the city, administered through strategically located dispensaries and a body of competent trained nurses. At Warrensville, on the city farm, there is developed an expanding provision for the treatment of sufferers along the lines of the best modern practice. The administration has reason to be proud of its fostering this admirable enterprise.

When the quick and intelligent response that Mayor Baker's administration has characteristically made to all well-grounded efforts to protect the public health is compared with his stand respecting the construction of a filtration plant to purify the city's water supply, the candid observer is somewhat puzzled. The rapid growth of the population on the shores of Lake Erie has resulted in the pollution of its waters to a degree that renders it at times dangerous as a beverage and forbidding in a bath.

After nearly everyone else had become morally certain that filtration was the only way out, the mayor, clinging to a report made for him by an expert upon whom he alone relied, intimated that the turbidity of the water was an esthetic phenomenon, largely subjective and possible of elimination by the self-directed psychological reaction of changing one's taste.

It required a referendum petition in the hands of the minority councilmen and a mighty storm that roiled the waters of the lake to convince the mayor that his fellow citizens who could afford it were buying distilled water and those who could least afford it were running the risk of doctors' and undertakers' bills. When the mayor changed his mind, his administration, securing the advice of competent engineers and

chemists and health authorities, vigorously undertook the task of building a filtration plant and within a short time it is expected that an abundant supply of pure water will be distributed through the city's mains with the possibility of taking care of twice the present population. Supplementing this great improvement is the progress in constructing intercepting sewers and disposal plants.

The low death rate—rather less than thirteen per thousand of the population—is a substantial evidence of the effectiveness of the health bureau with its physicians and nurses. The increased facilities in the city hospital, the progress at Warrensville Farm in the care of dependents and defectives, the boys' and girls' farms for wayward young people, the efforts toward better housing are significant and characteristic of the administration's interest in the humane side of city government.

The bureau of immigration has made an outstanding record in its service for new-comers to Cleveland and this country. The city-state employment bureau did splendid work in the hard times of last winter, while the employment division for women and girls, taken over from a private organization, is second to none in the country.

It would make a long story to set down in detail the work of the fire and police departments whose competent and intelligent management has made a minimum amount of money do a maximum amount of work.

The multifarious activities of the department of public service in lighting the streets, in paving and laying of sewers, in garbage disposal, in the elimination of grade crossings, in the renovation of bridges, in the building of bath houses, in the improvement of parks and recreation facilities, have been such that their story would fill pages. Hard work and high endeavor have characterized the administration of this phase of the city's services to its citizens.

MERIT SYSTEM

In Mayor Baker's first term there was a halting application of the merit system in the appointment of employes in the street cleaning and street repair divisions, but the conditions have changed for the better and civil service has been firmly established as an administrative policy. The new charter originally provided that the merit system should cover all city employes who were carrying out but not formulating policies. The situation has been eased somewhat by exempting unskilled laborers from the operation of the rules.

The attempt at getting away from the spoils system in Cleveland has brought out a distinction between the administrative department and the council of more than passing interest. The mayor and his cabinet have stood as the exponents of advanced ideas in government and the newer standards in political morality: all this without forgetting a belated devotion to party organization and a submission to political regularity,

doubtless due to a constrained belief that bowing down oneself in the house of Rimmon is not more than a venial sin, and is a political necessity in order to accomplish larger ends. The members of the council, on the other hand, more nearly represent the tenaciously surviving political beliefs of the mass of citizens that party victory is more than an opportunity for public service. Some of the mayor's followers have marked time in appearing to keep step with him. But to abandon the flesh pots of the older régime was to leave real meat behind. The mayor has needed the organization's political strength to put through his ideas; the organization has needed the mayor to carry them to victory. The council though making the motions of advancing has hung back in regard to the general application of the merit system. It has been hostile to the non-partisan ballot. It set the date of election on an amendment to the charter restoring the partisan method of nomination and election on primary day when partisans alone are likely to go to the polls. Non-partisan elections would take away the political power of the ward organizations and the councilmen. It has been painful for councilmen to surrender their administrative powers to the executive division and content themselves with their proper functions under the new charter; that of determining policies. They can appeal more strongly to many of their constituents with patronage rather than with measures.

The mutual attraction and repulsion of these two political bodies, the administrative and legislative divisions, in their revolutions around each other help to explain the aberrations of both. The conduct of one at times has not been as high as the group's level of civic interest while the policy of the other has often been better than it might have been.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

There are two enterprises of uncertain future that Mayor Baker's administration has left upon retiring from office: the municipal lighting plant and the steam heating plant.

Two methods of securing satisfactory service and rates from public service corporations have been tried in Cleveland: that of negotiation, so ably pursued by Mayor Baker as indicated above, and that of competition through a municipal enterprise created for the purpose, the method Mayor Johnson made notable in the street railway struggles of his administration.

The method of adjustment by competition has been the policy of the Baker administration in attempting to secure lower rates for the users of electricity. The slogan of three cent light was adopted as a criticism and goal compared with the illuminating company's 10 cents per unit for the initial rated quantity and five cents per unit for subsequent amounts, averaging between six and seven cents in a great number of residences.

The municipal plant charges a minimum rate of fifty cents a month, which in summer months when little current is used, may in some homes result in a rate somewhat above three cents per unit. The new municipal lighting plant has been in operation since July 1914 and is now serving some 15,000 customers. The relative scope of its business is shown by the rough comparison with the 75,000 customers of the Electric Illuminating Company. The proportion of the municipal plant's current sold under power contracts as compared to that used in residences is large and its distributing net work of wires is not as extensive as is the corporation's so that the number of consumers who can enjoy the reduced rate for home illumination is at present limited though increasing. The municipality's competition has advertised central station power and reduced expenses for the users of electricity.

The municipal plant claims to be operating at a substantial profit—some \$33,000 during the first seven months of 1915. The illuminating company on the other hand asserts that in the municipal plant's accounts too little has been set aside as reserve for depreciation, that not enough has been charged for interest and that a sinking fund reserve has been neglected: the total loss that would be shown if these assertions are true would be \$81,000 for the period in which the municipal plant claims the above profit. Unfortunately the absence of an independent audit leaves the citizens in doubt about the relative merits of the situation.

The purchase of bonds for the extension of the plant by the trustees of the city's sinking funds has excited considerable criticism. Certainly the practice in the hands of a weaker administration would give rise to grave dangers. The interrelations with the water works has left many citizens with an uneasy feeling that a sound system demands a more complete separation of enterprises and funds for the purpose of exactly estimating the standing of each institution.

The steam heating plant was started in connection with the Fairmount pumping station which is no longer important as part of the water works system. The city has embarked in this pioneering project with results and prospects that at this writing are in serious doubt, though there is a considerable body of opinion that an independent audit would show the plan to be a losing venture. And not a few believe that its ostensible purpose, to heat the new art building, which is a mile away, will never be economically served.

MUNICIPALISM

The attempt to measure the significance of Mayor Baker's service to Cleveland merely by an enumeration of the things done, that took the eye and had the price, or the things undone, or the failure always to rise to the level set by himself, would be an instance of a coarse thumb and finger failing to plumb truly and missing what ought to be included in

making up the main account. An elevated political idealism is one of Cleveland's public assets and while it savors of hero worship to credit an individual with a determining influence on public feeling, still it may truly be said that Mr. Baker has had no mean part in expressing and cherishing a civic spirit of extraordinary vitality. So vigorous has this spirit become at times that modesty is not always one of its chief characteristics as it sets itself upon a hill.

In its finer manifestations the prevalent municipalism exhibits an alertness to the increasing interdependence of community life and the necessity and possibilities of community services under the control of both municipal and privately managed organizations. The city is neither committed to the general adoption of municipal ownership, nor will it let the bugaboo cry of "socialism" prevent its serviceable extension of functions. This conservative progression is more than a halting between two opinions. It is a pragmatic pursuit of an ideal. To the establishment of this policy Mr. Baker has devoted the full strength of a splendid intelligence influenced by a wholesome sympathy.

MR. BAKER'S PERSONALITY

It has been said of John Stuart Mill that his presence in the House of Commons elevated the tone of debate. Occasionally a man appears whose personality is radio-active. Certainly it is true that the cultural attainments of Cleveland's retiring executive have advanced among the mass of citizens the general esteem in which things of the mind are held. Mr. Baker possesses the singular ability of being able to participate in political discussions at Saturday night ward meetings and deliver Sunday evening lectures in the university without raising or lowering the plane of his addresses. He could welcome the Daughters of Rebekah to the freedom of the city and clap the lid on the licentious sons of Belial with equal grace and effectiveness. A cultivated taste and a wide intellectual outlook, united with a catholicity in judgment, made the scholar in the mayor's office a source of more real gratification to many of his fellow townsmen than malls and monumental buildings.

Along with personal endowments of the nobler sort Mr. Baker possesses a capacity for dispatching business that stood him in good stead during the four years of severe labor just closed. After the storm and stress period of Mayor Johnson's régime, there was the wearing task of constructive and conciliatory upbuilding of the city's interests. The mayor's aptitude for positive achievement fitted him well for the need of the time. He showed a power of adjustment and an ability for negotiation that reduced strained relationships, and sought the equitable way out of conflicts between public and private interests. The city's routine activities, in view of the exceptional financial difficulties thrust upon the administration by the state legislature, necessitated unremitting exertion.

Joined with all the other interests that have engaged his attention, these cumulative tasks laid a burden upon Mr. Baker's shoulders that would have broken an ordinary man. He has stood up under the load only because his strength was as the strength of ten—and this for the ancient, knightly reason.

The lack of standards of comparison brings the attempt at summing up Mayor Baker's contribution to Cleveland's life to an incomplete close. To draw a parallel between his career and that of the general run of mayors in this country would be provocative of adulation distasteful to a man of his fine fiber. That there were times when he was not all that he aspired to be comforts his better fellow citizens in their own shortcomings. That he will rank in history as one of the few great mayors of American cities is certain. That he will be permitted permanently to retire to private life and the practice of law is improbable.

Among Cleveland's chief industries is the clothing trade. In this line of business the designer creates a garment that is the embodiment of his ideal for the use to which it is to be put. Thereupon his creation is handed over to the business managers for their consideration. The thing of beauty must be made at an expense which will bring the retail price within the range of a large enough body of consumers to make it a profitable article of merchandise. The managers, therefore, begin the process of reducing the expense of production by changing the linings, or substituting cheaper buttons, or altering the trimming, or adopting a somewhat different type of material, always keeping the ideal garment in mind, but remembering that the ideal must be made a commercial possibility or it will remain a fancy.

The task before succeeding Cleveland administrators is to see if the type of government that has been set up as an ideal can be made a financial possibility. Can its virtues be retained in spite of trimming here, substituting there, modifying and consolidating? Will these changes reduce the expenses to a sufficient degree? If and when this is done, should the funds still be inadequate, can the new Republican régime more easily influence the legislature so to revise the taxing system or the division of the receipts that it will allow the city an adequate income? These are the problems confronting Mayor Davis and his associates who have the interest and sympathy of their fellow citizens in the magnitude of the task that is before them.

THE PROGRESS OF MUNICIPAL HOME RULE IN OHIO¹

BY MAYO FESLER

Secretary, Cleveland Civic League

WHEN the cities of Ohio succeeded in having adopted in 1912 the constitutional home rule amendment, they thought they had secured three things:

1. Freedom from legislative interference.
2. Authority to exercise all powers of local self-government.
3. The right to determine their own form of government in any one of the following three ways:
 - a. By continuing to be governed by the general municipal code.
 - b. By adopting a charter enacted by the legislature, subject to adoption by a vote of the people in any municipality.
 - c. By electing a charter commission to frame its own charter.

The friends of the amendment believed that the new constitutional provisions guaranteed all of the above freedom and authority under whatever form of government might be adopted by a municipality. They also knew that freedom from legislative interference in local affairs and authority to exercise all powers of local self government would not be assured until the amendment itself had been interpreted by the supreme court of the state. A strict construction might leave the cities with home rule only in name, as has occurred in several of the so-called home rule state. A liberal construction would give them the freedom which they have for years been seeking. Five cases have gone to the supreme court since January 1913, each of which has determined some important phase of the home rule grant.

TOLEDO CASE

The first case went up from the city of Toledo. This case arose over an effort of Mayor Brand Whitlock to test out, in a friendly suit, the meaning of section 3 of the amendment which reads:

Municipalities shall have authority to exercise all powers of local self government and to adopt and enforce within their limits such local police, sanitary and other similar regulations as are not in conflict with general laws.

¹A paper read at the twenty-first annual meeting of the National Municipal League, held in Dayton, Ohio, November 18, 1915.

The following articles on municipal affairs in Ohio, which in a way involve some of the questions discussed by Mr. Fesler in the present article, have recently appeared in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW: Cincinnati's Charter Campaign, S. Gale Lowrie, vol. iii, p. 730; Municipal Revenues in Ohio, S. Gale Lowrie, vol. iv, p. 254; The Financial Condition of Ohio Municipalities, Karl F. Geiser, vol. iv, p. 453.—EDITOR.

The council of Toledo had passed an ordinance appropriating money to establish a moving picture theatre. The city auditor refused to make the transfer of funds and to furnish the certificate required by the ordinance. The city solicitor then petitioned the court for a writ of mandamus to compel the auditor to comply with the provisions of the ordinance. The writ was refused and the case was carried through the court of appeals to the supreme court. The decision of the court,² written by Justice Schauck, held that section 3 above quoted is not self executive, and that municipalities of the state will continue to be governed by general laws until they have either framed and adopted charters of their own, or have adopted charters framed by the legislature. The court held that the maintenance and operation of moving picture shows is not a governmental function. The court thus avoided the important question involved in the suit, namely, "Does the establishment of moving picture shows come within the meaning of the term 'powers of local self government'?"

One conclusion was clear, however, and that was that if a city did not adopt a charter, it could not exercise the powers of local self government whatever they might be. This interpretation was a surprise to the framers of the amendment, because they intended to grant these powers to municipalities whether they adopted home made charters or not.

CLEVELAND'S ELECTION CASE

Cleveland, in the meantime, was framing its new city charter which was approved by the people in June 1913. It provided, among other things, for nomination by petition and a non-partisan preferential ballot in municipal elections, in direct conflict with the provisions of the election laws of the state which had been on the statute books for several years. Both could not be the law in Cleveland. Which would control?

The board of elections, following the instructions of the secretary of state and the legal opinion of the attorney general, made preparation to hold the regular party primaries in conformity with the provisions of the state law. The city sought to restrain the election authorities from spending the city's money for a party primary which had been abolished in the city by the adoption of the charter. The injunction was granted and an appeal was taken to the supreme court.

When the supreme court, by a vote of three to three, refused to reverse the action of the lower court, the friends of the amendment were pleased; but when the decision of the court³ was handed down in the form of an extended written opinion prepared by Justice Johnson, they were much more pleased. The decision fully sustained the position taken by the

² The State, ex rel, The City of Toledo v. Lynch, auditor, 88 O. S. 71.

³ Fitzgerald et al, Board of Deputy State Supervisors, etc., v. The City of Cleveland, 88 O. S. 338.

framers of the amendment, that these constitutional provisions grant to the cities of the state the broadest powers of local self government, and place charter provisions above state law in matters of local concern. Discussing the relation of these two kinds of laws, the court said:

But this general law (the election law) passed under this constitutional provision must yield to a charter provision adopted by a municipality under a special constitutional provision, which special provision was adopted for the purpose of enabling the municipality to relieve itself of the operation of general statutes and adopt a method of its own to assist its own self government, and which charter, when adopted, has the force and effect of a law. . . . The provisions of a charter which is passed within the limits of a constitutional grant of authority to the city is as much the law as a statute passed by the general assembly. . . . Municipal elections are and should be regarded as affairs relating to the municipality itself, and are things that may be provided by the local government.

If this favorable and sweeping decision had been expressed as the opinion of a majority of the court, the cities would have felt that the principle of municipal home rule had been pretty firmly established; but it was only the opinion of three—a tie—just enough to save a reversal of the opinion of the lower court.

DAYTON'S CIVIL SERVICE CASE

The next case came from Dayton where a new charter had been adopted, providing among other things for the appointment by the council of a civil service commission. The members of the commission in office on January 1, 1914, when the charter took effect, refused to vacate their offices, claiming that under the state civil service law enacted in April 1913, they were to continue in office for the terms for which they were originally appointed. Here again was presented the issue: "In case of conflict between the general law and the charter provision on a matter of local concern which prevails?" The supreme court by a vote of four concurring and none dissenting sustained the demurrer and rendered a decision in favor of the charter provision.

This decision bolstered up the hopes of the friends of home rule and they began to feel that the principle was in the hands of an unprejudiced if not a sympathetic court.

SINKING FUND CASE

The next case came before the supreme court in the summer of 1914 when a taxpayer of Cleveland asked for a writ of mandamus compelling the mayor of Cleveland to appoint a sinking fund commission in conformity with the requirements of the general code, rather than under the provisions of the city charter. The issue was clear: "Shall the provisions of the city charter as to the formation and personnel of the board of

sinking fund trustees prevail over the provisions of the constitution and the general code on that subject, or shall they be held invalid because of the conflict?"

This was a more severe test of the extent and meaning of the grant of powers of local self government than the other cases, because it involved two other constitutional provisions, namely, article XII, section 2, and article XIII, section 6.

Section 2 of article XII provides:

No bonded indebtedness of the state or any political sub-division thereof shall be incurred unless in the legislation under which such indebtedness is incurred or renewed provision is made for levying and collecting annually by taxation an amount sufficient to pay the interest on said bonds and to provide a sinking fund for their final redemption at maturity.

Section 6 of article XIII gives the general assembly authority to restrict by general law the city's power "of taxation, assessments, borrowing money, contracting debts and loaning their credit, so as to prevent the abuse of such power."

The legislature had, under the latter provisions, established for each municipality by general law a board called the trustees of the sinking fund, consisting of four citizens to be appointed by the mayor. The Cleveland charter, on the other hand, provided for a sinking fund commission consisting of the mayor, the director of finance and the president of the council. The attorney for the plaintiff contended that a municipality cannot clothe itself, by the adoption of a charter, with the power to establish a sinking fund commission, because such power is not granted by the constitution, and the assumption of such power by the city is contrary to the controlling provisions of the constitution and the general laws of the state. The city's contention was that the language of the home rule amendment is clear and unambiguous, and that by the adoption of the amendment, the people intended to free the municipalities of the state from the control of the general assembly in matters of local concern, and that this is a matter of local concern.

Some of the ablest legal talent in the state was employed to frame the leading brief of the plaintiff. Two members of the constitutional convention were also prevailed upon to file briefs on behalf of the plaintiff. Not only was the home rule amendment and the two former decisions exhaustively analyzed in support of the plaintiff's contention, but the debates of the constitutional convention were elaborately commented upon; even an unfortunate comma which, by mistake, had crept into the draft loomed up in big proportions in these briefs and reply briefs. The leading and very able brief of the plaintiffs summed itself up in these words:

The debates and proceedings of the convention, the manner in which the original proposal was amended, the terms in which the article finally

passed show clearly enough that the advocates of unlimited charter powers got very much less than they wanted. They probably did get the power to establish charter regulations upon the subjects which have been regarded as proper for the enactment of ordinances. . . . But the terms of the amendment require the subjects of charter regulations to be confined to those subjects upon which the general assembly does not deem it necessary to exercise the superior legislative powers of the state.

In other words, they insisted that charter provisions and ordinances are subordinate to state laws even in matters of local concern.

The able brief for the city, covering 102 printed pages, showed clearly the concern with which this last and most effective attack upon the principle of home rule was regarded.

Should this court decide that with a charter, the people of a municipality are still without authority to alter even the agencies which manage and control the funds raised by taxation, they will have been swept back once again to the period when admittedly the general assembly could, under the constitution, control, with an iron hand, the destinies of every municipality, even to the minutest detail . . . and the people of Ohio will have been denied that larger freedom of action in their local concerns which article XVIII, by its plain terms, was intended to bestow upon them.

We cannot go into the detail of the arguments, but suffice it to say that the friends of municipal home rule were again greatly relieved when the court by a unanimous vote dismissed the petition and sustained the demurrer. No written opinion has, as yet, been handed down by the court in this case. We are hoping that the court will do so and clear away any doubt as to how far the debates of the convention can be used in determining the meaning of the home rule amendment. One principle of construction, however, was clearly reasserted, namely, that charter provisions relating to matters of municipal concern, supersede general laws which are in conflict therewith.

That principle was firmly established by the three decisions, but in none of them did the court or the attorneys for either side attempt to define what is meant by "powers of local self government." Judge Schauck in the Toledo case said that the phrase might mean "such powers of government, as in view of their nature and the field of their operation, are local and municipal in character," but this added nothing to the definition in the phrase itself. In the Fitzgerald election case, Justice Johnson discussed how inclusive had been the grant of powers, but he did not attempt to establish any line of demarcation between municipal affairs and state affairs.

There are some limitations, he wrote, in article XVIII on the grant of all powers of local self government . . . but the inclusion of these limitations is a conclusive indication that the convention which framed

it was conscious of the wide scope of the powers which they were conferring upon cities of the state with reference to their local self government. . . . Not only this, but in connection with the comprehensive grant they disclose the intention to confer on municipalities all other powers of local self government which are not included in the limitations specified.

This is a sweeping grant of power, but it still leaves open the question, what are powers of local self government? The court had held each of the matters presented to it as affairs of local concern: method of nominating candidates and the form of ballots in municipal elections, the appointment of civil service commissioners, and the organization of the sinking fund commission, but in all three of these cases, this question was merely incidental to the question as to the conflict between state laws and city charters.

CONSENT CASE

The question, what are local affairs, however, became the dominant question in the last case which went up to the supreme court from Cleveland in the spring of 1915. The issue arose through an effort of a number of citizens living on Euclid avenue to prevent by injunction the laying of street railway tracks on that avenue between East 22nd street and East 40th street. The general code provides that no grant to lay such tracks can be given by a city council until "the written consent of the owners of more than one-half of the lots and lands abutting on the street or public way, along which it is proposed to construct such railway or extension thereof" has been filed with the council. The city charter, however, provides that no such consents "shall be required." An injunction was asked restraining the street railway company from laying the tracks on the ground that the city has no authority to grant such a franchise without consent of more than half the property owners. While the question at issue was as to whether the provisions of the statutes or of the city charter control in this case, the arguments of the plaintiff in claiming that the general statute controlled, was based essentially upon the principle that the power to grant a franchise is not a matter of local, but of state concern, and hence is governed by general statute and not by charter provision. In their brief the attorneys for the plaintiff said:

It is evident that there are powers which are in their nature such that they are state wide, as affecting the whole state, and cannot be controlled or affected by the action of the municipal body. . . . That the granting of franchises is a matter of state wide concern has been recognized uniformly by the courts and text writers. It is the state itself exercising its sovereign power which grants the special privilege known as a franchise . . . it is a function within the exclusive control of the legislative branch of the state government as a matter of general public or state wide interest and concern. . . . It cannot be claimed that the right to grant franchises is expressly conferred upon municipal

corporations, because the subject is not referred to in "the home rule amendment." Not only has the city no right to grant a franchise, the plaintiff argued, but it has no power to grant any right to occupy the streets. If there is one principle which from time immemorial has been recognized in this state, it is that the question of the occupancy and use of the public highways for the purposes of travel and the regulation of the modes of traffic thereon is a state wide matter vested in the whole people of Ohio, and is not local or municipal in character.

Mr. Stockwell, the director of law, as attorney for the defendant, contended in his brief that the "control of the uses to which the streets of a city may be put seems unquestionably to be more clearly a matter of local concern than the form of the ballot or the conduct of elections." In support of this view, a number of decisions from other home rule states, notably California, Minnesota, Oregon and Missouri were cited; and much stress was laid upon the fact that the amendment itself determines in section 13 the limitations upon the powers of local self government granted by the other sections of the article; and these limitations disclose the intention to confer on municipalities all other powers of local self government which are not included in the limitations specified.

Upon these arguments the court rendered a decision in favor of the defendant and the city. Unfortunately, the court has not yet handed down its written opinion. Whether it will attempt to define powers of local self government is yet to be seen. The definition by application has up to this time been satisfactory to the friends of the amendment; they feel sanguine that the courts cannot go very far afield in the future. Yet there are a number of important functions which are on the border line between state and local control which must come before the courts for determination and which offer the opportunity of restricting seriously the exercise of these powers of local self government.

Many citizens claim that in spite of these favorable decisions, we have only the hollow shell, not the substance of home rule. This view is based upon the fact that the amendment specifically places the control over local taxation and local indebtedness in the hands of the general assembly. There is some justification for this view, because the cities of Ohio are to-day in bad financial condition and are prevented from exercising many of the powers granted because of the stringent limitations on the rate of taxation fixed by a legislature dominated by the rural counties.

THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE IN CHARTER MAKING

Let us turn briefly to the application of the principle in the several cities which have sought to frame charters under the provisions of the home rule amendment. Since the amendment went into effect three years ago, twenty-six cities in Ohio have undertaken the task of securing

home rule charters. In ten of these cities charters have been framed and adopted. In six, charters were framed, but failed of approval when submitted to a vote of the people. In nine the people voted "no" on the question of choosing a charter commission, and in one, Lorain, the charter commission, after some deliberation, decided they could not improve on the existing form of government and so disbanded without submitting a charter. In the following cities charters have been framed but have been rejected by the people: Cincinnati, Youngstown, Akron, Canton, Ashland and Elyria. In the following, the people rejected the proposal to choose charter commissions: Zanesville, Norwood, Gallipolis, Amherst, Ironton, Jackson, Mansfield, Marietta, and Washington Court House. In the following, charters have been adopted and are now in operation: Cleveland, Columbus, Toledo, Dayton, Ashtabula, Springfield, Lakewood, Middletown, Sandusky and Salem.

Practically all of the charters have adopted the same general arrangement as to form which was followed in the Cleveland charter. Many of them have taken over bodily whole pages from the Cleveland document. But there are many variations in the form of government adopted. Cleveland, Columbus, Toledo and Lakewood have adopted modified federal plans with an elective mayor and council. Dayton, Ashtabula, Springfield and Sandusky have adopted the city manager plan; while Middletown and Salem have adopted the commission plan.

In those cities which have adopted the federal plan, there are many variations in details. For example, Cleveland has a council by wards, nominated by petition and elected by preferential ballot; Columbus, a council at large, nominated by petition and elected on ordinary rotating ballot; Toledo, a council by wards, nominated at a non-partisan elimination primary and elected on a preferential ballot with first and second choices. In those cities which adopted the city manager plan, are also found numerous variations. For example, Dayton provides for a council of five nominated at a non-partisan primary, in number double the number of places to be filled, and elected on a non-partisan rotary ballot; Sandusky, a council of five nominated by petition and elected on a non-partisan rotary ballot; while Ashtabula has a council of seven members nominated by petition and elected by the Hare system of proportional representation.

Not a single charter yet submitted in Ohio has provided for partisan primaries or partisan elections. All have provided for ballots without party designation. All of the charters adopted have provided for the initiative, referendum and recall. All have incorporated the merit system, and all have provided the short, or at least, a shorter ballot. In Cleveland the voter elects two officials, the mayor and a councilman from his ward; in Columbus, four, the mayor, councilman, city attorney and auditor; in Toledo, three, the mayor, vice-mayor and councilman; in

Dayton and Ashtabula, only the members of the council. All of the charters so far framed have followed the principle of brevity. Not as brief, it is true, as they should be, but in no city has a long charter containing the usual amount of legislation been submitted to the voters.

LEGISLATIVE CHARTERS

A word should be added regarding optional legislative charters. It will be recalled that the Ohio amendment permits the enactment by the legislature of optional forms of charters, any one of which can be adopted by a municipality upon a majority vote of the electorate. The Ohio municipal league submitted an act to the general assembly in 1914 containing three types of charters, the city manager, the commission and the federal plans. These were all prepared in the briefest possible form and provided for a non-partisan system of election, the short ballot, merit system, centralized authority and fixed responsibility. The legislature eliminated the non-partisan features; the municipal court provisions were stricken out, and other fundamental changes were made. The measure, as it finally passed, was so defective that we have urged cities not to adopt any one of these forms. Only one municipality, Westerville, a town of less than a thousand inhabitants, has taken advantage of this method of securing home rule; and judging from the tone of the letters from its mayor and city solicitor, this municipality is already regretting its action.

The attitude of the legislature toward this optional charter bill is a strong argument in favor of constitutional home rule and absolute freedom from legislative interference in local affairs. If Ohio cities were compelled to submit their home made charters to legislative approval, as was proposed in the recent home rule amendment submitted by the New York constitutional convention, these charters, in my opinion, would not be as progressive and modern as they are, and the cities would have no real home rule.

SUMMARY

Summing up, then, the experience of cities of Ohio in the exercise of these broad powers of local self-government granted in the constitution, it can be stated in brief as follows:

(1) The courts have disposed of enough typical cases to justify the belief that Ohio cities have assured to them the broadest grant of local freedom of any cities of any state in the union.

(2) The cities have been duly cautious in exercising this new freedom, only twenty-six of the eighty-two have attempted to change their forms of government, and only thirteen of these have succeeded.

(3) The charters thus far framed have uniformly been more progressive and modern than the forms of government provided for in the general code.

(4) The cities are well pleased with their new forms of government, and their new freedom, and there is no disposition to return to the old form of legislative bondage.

(5) Municipal home rule in Ohio has already developed a more active interest in local affairs on the part of the electorate; and the campaigns for new charters and the process of framing and adopting them have acquainted the voters with the problems of municipal government as no other means of community activity and publicity could secure.

(6) And lastly, municipal home rule has made Ohio a municipal laboratory where every new form of charter and every new governmental device for promoting economy and business-like efficiency in the administration of municipal affairs can be tried. The amending process is simple and easy, so that these laboratory experiments need not be continued longer than is necessary to prove their worth. And best of all, in the process of these experiments, the people of our cities are learning how to govern themselves, which, after all, is the essence of a democratic form of government.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF BRITISH CITIES

BY LE GRAND POWERS¹

Washington, D. C.

A VOLUME of comparative municipal statistics of great interest and importance has recently been issued by the London county council, under date of July 1915. It contains statistical data, for the fiscal year 1912, for London and fifteen other British cities: Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Bristol, Newcastle, Cardiff, Swansea, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, Belfast and Dublin.

The comparative municipal statistics for the sixteen cities mentioned are modeled after those which the London county council has issued for fifteen years under the title, *London Statistics*. The volume had its inception in the growing conviction of municipal authorities and social students throughout the world, expressed so well in the introduction by Sir Lawrence Gomme, the former clerk of the council, that "municipal statistics supply the only method of subjecting municipal administration to the test of figures." The work is a study in comparative municipal administration, and provides the best material so far obtainable for ascertaining the results of conducting the various services under municipal control. It seeks to present for the sixteen cities data similar in many respects to those which, since 1902, have been compiled by the United States census for the cities of this country having a population of 30,000 and over.

OBJECTS SOUGHT BY BRITISH STATISTICS

American students of municipal problems, including the officials of American cities, may well note the principal ends or purposes which London, and the other cities co-operating to produce this volume, believe will be attained or accomplished by the regular publication of these statistics. Those are set forth in the preface by Alderman Geoffrey Drage, chairman of the sub-committee on statistics. He says that the "*first object is to ascertain whether any economies may be effected by a yearly comparison of the costs of municipal services; or whether any standard of expenditures for particular services can be laid down even approximately,*" "*A second object is the increase of efficiency in the management of the various municipal services.*" *The third object is that of self defence, or the protection of the municipalities from the national government, which*

¹ See article by Dr. Powers on "Increasing Municipal Indebtedness," vol. iii, p. 102.

bears the same relation to the cities in Great Britain that is borne by the several state governments in this country. By self defense is meant the guarding of the municipalities from undue exactions from the superior government in imposing functions upon them without bestowing sufficient grants or subventions in the form of exchequer contributions for properly maintaining the functions imposed. *The fourth object* is involved in the statement that "comparative municipal statistics are necessary in the interest of *the reform of our local government* which is rapidly becoming chaotic."

The facts set forth in the report with reference to the third and fourth objects are well worth consideration in the United States by all who are seeking to establish better relations between local and state governments, and generally to improve the conduct of governmental business. The Imperial Parliament and national governmental departments, it is said, are establishing in Great Britain new or enlarged national services, the costs of which are defrayed in part or wholly by the local governments, and the added duties and costs are threatening local bankruptcy. No statistics being compiled which adequately state these additional duties and their necessary costs, the municipalities can not at the present time make an adequate presentation of their rights and their just claims. Further, due principally to the piecemeal legislation of Great Britain, similar to that enacted by our several state governments, there are innumerable reforms required in the laws of rating and assessment, the poor law, the school law and other statutes affecting municipalities. Reforms can be brought about only when, and as, the local authorities can and do secure the necessary information. To provide some of that information is one of the objects of this volume.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN CITIES ORGANIZED AND CONDUCTED ON DIFFERENT BASES

British city governments are organized along somewhat different lines from those in the United States, and the cities in the two countries have but few services which are even approximately identical and for which local accounts or published statistics state expenses on comparable bases. Another important fact is that these London statistics are compiled on a widely different basis from that on which American municipal statistics of expenditure are prepared by city authorities and by the census. The statistics though fairly comparable as between the sixteen British cities, present but few data which are strictly or even approximately comparable with any data published in the American municipal statistics. Only three of the municipal services of British cities are known to be conducted on lines which are approximately the same as in the United States. They are the schools, the police and fire departments.

METHOD OF COMPARING GOVERNMENTAL COSTS IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN CITIES

Before reviewing the expenditures of the British cities for these municipal activities or services, and comparing them with the corresponding expenses of American cities, it must be noted that the British statistics of municipal expenditures are compiled or arranged with the principal end in view of showing exactly for each governmental service and for the individual cities as governmental units, the portion of governmental costs which are, (1) borne by "rates," or taxes imposed upon real property corresponding in character somewhat to the general property tax of the United States; and (2) those which are met by "exchequer grants or contributions" corresponding to subventions or contributions by American states to aid in the support of local schools. Municipal expenditures not met from the revenues specified are not reported in detail; neither are the revenues from which they are paid. The British cities are in receipt of exchequer grants for quite a number of purposes, the amounts of which are stated in these statistics under four different heads. Under the circumstances mentioned, if it is desired to state the total or relative costs of British and American cities, as is done for American cities in the census statistics, we are met with the fact that the only approximately correct comparison possible is that with reference to the portion of these costs resting as a burden upon property. This is a comparison between (1) the so-called "net expenditures" of British cities, those expenditures met by "local rates" and from "exchequer grants," and (2) the amounts of revenue of American cities derived from property taxes and those received as subventions or grants from the national or state governments.

COMPARATIVE TOTAL COSTS OF CITY GOVERNMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

In 1912, London, with a population, as estimated by the method employed by the census for American cities, of 4,520,227, had net expenditures (those falling upon rates and exchequer grants) of £14,957,921. This amount includes expenditures for London proper and those of the London poor districts. The amount stated is approximately \$72,515,923, or \$16.04 per capita. Of the total and per capita, 83.2 per cent was chargeable to rates and the balance, 16.8 per cent, was met by exchequer contributions. No corresponding figures are available for what is known as Greater London. In the same year, 1912, New York city, with an estimated population of 5,064,237, collected for meeting local expenditures \$151,232,920 from property taxes and received as subventions from the state \$1,970,611. The sum of the two items is \$153,202,531. This is the amount of New York local expenditures met from the specified revenues, and thus corresponds approximately to the so-called "net

expenditures" of London met from rates and exchequer grants. It is \$30.25 per capita, or nearly twice the per capita net expenditures of London. Of the specified revenues of New York, 98.3 per cent was received from property taxes, and only 1.23 per cent from subventions, as compared with the corresponding percentages for London of 83.2 and 16.8, respectively.

In 1912 the population of the fifteen cities, other than London, for which the report gives statistics, if estimated by the method of the United States census, was 6,293,476. The report does not, however, state the total "net expenditures" for all of the fifteen, but only for Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Bristol, Newcastle, Cardiff, Swansea, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dublin. These twelve cities had an estimated population in 1912 of 5,572,616 or about 10 per cent more than New York and 20 per cent more than London. The average population of the twelve cities was 464,384. Birmingham, the most populous of the twelve, had at the 1911 census 840,202 inhabitants and the least populous, Swansea, had 114,663. The net expenditures of the twelve in 1912 were £12,409,930, or approximately \$60,163,340. This is \$10.79 per capita, or a little less than two thirds the corresponding average for London. The statistics thus give evidence of a tendency in Great Britain for municipal per capita expenditures to increase with the size of the cities, as is the case according to the census statistics with American cities.

The net expenditures of the twelve British cities may well be compared with the corresponding figures for two different groups of American cities. The first group includes the seventeen cities, other than New York, with a population exceeding 300,000. Their total population in 1912 was 10,977,864, and their average population was 645,756 or nearly 50 per cent greater than for the twelve British cities. Two of the seventeen, Chicago and Philadelphia are more populous than any of the twelve British cities. Their population was 2,294,711 and 1,606,102 respectively. For meeting their governmental costs the seventeen cities in 1912 collected from property taxes and received as subventions a total of \$220,993,235. The specified revenues corresponding to the British revenues utilized in meeting the net expenditures of the twelve cities were \$20.13 per capita. This average, although only two thirds that of New York, was 25 per cent greater than the corresponding average of London and was about twice the corresponding average for the twelve second class British cities. Of the specified revenues of the seventeen cities, 92.22 per cent was derived from property taxes and 7.78 per cent from subventions.

As the average population of the seventeen American cities is about 50 per cent greater than that of the twelve British, it is well to note the results of a comparison of the British cities with the thirty-nine American

cities having a population exceeding 100,000, but less than 300,000. The total estimated population of the thirty-nine in 1912 was 6,053,814. This is an average of 155,489, or about one third that of the twelve British. For meeting their governmental costs these cities collected from property taxes, or received as subventions, a total of \$91,624,280. This is a per capita of \$15.13, or nearly as great as London and 50 per cent greater than for the twelve other British cities. The thirty-nine cities collected 91.13 per cent of their specified revenues from property taxes and received 8.87 per cent from subventions.

The fifty-six American cities, other than New York, considered in the preceding two comparisons, had in 1912 an aggregate population of 17,031,474, or an average of 304,133, as compared with an average of 464,384 for the twelve British cities. Their revenue receipts from property taxes and subventions corresponding roughly to the British rates and exchequer grants, were in 1912 \$312,617,515, or \$8.36 per capita. This average is about 70 per cent greater than the corresponding average for the twelve British cities and about 10 per cent greater than that for the populous city of London.

AMERICAN CITY EXPENSES GREATER THAN THOSE OF GREAT BRITAIN

The foregoing comparisons are very interesting, even though the figures reviewed are not strictly comparable and can not be made so with the data at hand. Those reading these comparisons should keep the fact of this non-comparability in mind. They should note on the one side that many American cities meet a portion, if not all the costs of their public improvements, such as lands, buildings, sewers and pavements, from property taxes and other revenues, while but few if any of such costs are met from British rates and exchequer grants. This difference in the method adopted for financing public improvements, of itself, tends to cause the foregoing comparisons to exaggerate the excess costs of American as compared with those of British cities. On the other hand, it should be noted that the British cities make practically no use of special assessments in financing current expenses or the costs of permanent improvements. This fact tends to cause the foregoing comparisons to understate the actual excess expenses of American cities as compared with those of the British. The census statistics of cities gives us a measure of the factor last mentioned affecting the accuracy of the comparisons made. For all the cities having a population of over 30,000 each, the revenue receipts, in 1912, from special assessments were \$2.45 per capita.

In this connection, attention should also be called to license and poll taxes. The American cities having over 30,000 inhabitants each received in 1912 in the two specified kinds of taxes a total which averaged \$1.97 per capita. The London statistics give no detailed exhibit of license

taxes and poll taxes collected by the British cities. If collected such taxes, like special assessments were considered offsets to the costs of governmental maintenance, or governmental expenses, and for that reason were deducted from the unstated gross expenditures to make the "net expenditures." The text of the London volume states that small amounts of miscellaneous taxes were received by the British cities, and that these were treated as set forth above. Their amounts are nowhere given, but it is certain that their total was much smaller on the average than the \$4.42 per capita contributed in 1912 by American taxpayers in the form of special assessments, and license and poll taxes. Taking these and all other factors of non-comparability into consideration, the conclusion is reached that the average costs of city governments resting upon the taxpayers in American cities is not less than 40 per cent and it may be as great as 70 per cent larger than the corresponding burden resting upon the taxpayers of the British cities.

LESSONS IN GOVERNMENTAL ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY

Here we have a statement of what Alderman Drage had in mind in stating the first object of the London report. American cities can learn through this report a lesson of *economy* from the British cities. Dr. Shaw and many others have called our attention in the last twenty years to the *greater efficiency* of the British cities. This modest volume brings home to us, as no other publication has, the fact that we have even more to learn from the British cities with reference to *economy of administration than in efficiency of special services*. It also shows the people of America how it subserves the second object for which it was conceived and completed: to *increase efficiency*. The figures reviewed demonstrate that the efficiency which produces economy in costs of government has been learned in British cities, and that Americans should study British methods for instruction in this economy.

The greater economy of municipal administration by British, as compared with that of American cities, shown in what the London statistics call "total net expenditures" for governmental maintenance and debt charges, is further illustrated by the statistics of the municipal services, or functional activities, for which the American and British reports present fairly comparable figures. A study of some of these statistics is well worth the time required. Attention is here called to the relative costs of the fire, police and school services of New York city and London, these being fairly typical of the same services in all American and British cities. A study of these, and especially those of the London and New York fire service, throw much light upon the reasons for the smaller relative costs of British than of American governmental maintenance.

LOW COSTS OF LONDON FIRE DEPARTMENT SERVICE

The cost of maintaining the London fire brigade, as the London fire department is called, in 1912 was only £254,310. This is about \$1,232,-892. This is an average cost per inhabitant of only \$0.29. This expenditure stands in marked contrast with the corresponding expense for maintaining the fire department of the city of New York. That expense in 1912 was \$15,036,192; a per capita average cost of \$2.97, or almost ten times as much as the corresponding average for London. The difference here noted in the costs of the London and New York fire services accounts for more than one fifth of the difference in the total costs of all governmental services to which attention has been called. This striking difference, if not contrast, needs to be considered in connection with other facts, which throw much light upon the problem of the relative economy of conducting or maintaining American and British cities.

London reported in 1912 a total of 5,753 calls to fire, or fire alarms. New York, according to the census reports, in the same year had 14,194, or nearly two and a half times as many. London in 1912 reported a total loss by fire in the city of £421,909 (which is equivalent to \$2,045,405) while the corresponding loss of New York city for 1912, the last year for which the United States census has reported the same, was \$11,827,994. Combining all the figures passed in review we secure the statement that, while the costs of the New York fire department are relatively ten times as great as those of the London fire brigade, the fires of New York are nearly two and a half times as numerous and the fire losses over five times those of London. These striking contrasts should be studied in connection of a number of other well known facts. Mention is here made of a few of them.

The city of New York has the most perfect and efficient fire fighting organization, as well as the costliest equipment of the kind in the world. Further its firemen have no superiors anywhere. Both the equipment and the firemen of New York are, by the judgment of all who have seen them at fires, vastly superior to those of London in the quickness with which the fire apparatus reaches fires and the efficiency shown in fighting fires. New York visitors in London witnessing fires are astonished at the poor showing made by the London fire brigade as compared with that of the New York fire department. But when these facts are joined to the fact that New York has relatively about two and a half times as many fires as London, and that its fire losses average not far from five times as much, we are approaching the fire problem of our cities from the British point of view and not that of the average American. We reach the point of approach to the modern fire problem which was gained many years ago by the late Edward Atkinson of Boston, Mass.

FIRE PREVENTION LESS EXPENSIVE THAN FIGHTING FIRES

Engaged in the business of operating or managing a large cotton factory, Atkinson was forced to pay an average annual insurance premium of 7 per cent of the amount of insurance obtained. This was so much greater than the corresponding premium of his British competitors that he was led to investigate the reasons therefor. He found that the actual hazard of cotton factories properly constructed and managed was only a small fraction of that which was then paid by American factories, that were constructed without regard to the risks created by faulty material and arrangement and were managed without reference to the risks resulting from allowing combustible and inflammable materials to accumulate in all parts of the establishment. Having ascertained these facts, Atkinson withdrew from the management of the cotton factory and began to organize his manufacturer's mutual insurance companies. These insured only those factories which were properly constructed to lessen fire risk, and which agreed to observe certain rules for avoiding the accumulation of inflammable materials in the factory and to provide certain apparatus for fighting fires. The construction and rules insisted upon were substantially those which are now insisted upon and enforced by the London fire brigade. The result of the work of Atkinson and his companies is that the premium rate of the Atkinson risks has been reduced for a series of years to not far from one tenth of their original proportions. This it is to be noted is substantially the difference between the average cost of maintaining the New York and London fire fighters.

In his crusade for preventing fires as a substitute for fighting them when started, Atkinson called attention to the fact that there was a North Carolina village of some considerable size which had not had a fire of any proportions for more than a century. This exemption had been secured by the applications of the London methods. The experience of the Atkinson insurance companies and of this isolated American village illustrate what the writer calls the British, and for that matter the German system, of approaching the fire problem. It is the approach from the side of *fire prevention*. The ordinary American approaches that problem from the side of *fighting fires after they have started*. *The one avoids municipal expense and prevents fire losses and the other leads to large municipal expenses and results in large and unnecessary fire losses.*

The facts about New York and London and the North Carolina village to which attention has been called, and the work of the late Edward Atkinson in the field of fire prevention, are the most forcible commentaries on the wisdom of the British course and the folly of the average American that is possible. The latter system leads to the added expense of supporting fire departments, purchasing costly equipment for fighting fires.

It results in many avoidable fires, makes unnecessary fire losses and lays an enormous added burden on the business community for insurance premiums. The tax in the last form laid upon New York as compared with London can not be less than one fourth the annual tax on real property levied in New York. It may approach one third the amount of that tax.

In presenting the foregoing comparisons and statements, the writer wishes to disclaim any criticism of the fire department officials of New York or any other American city. Such criticism would be especially unjust in the case of the fire chief of New York, who has done yeoman service in calling attention to the need of preventing as well as fighting fires. In our cities popular attention is still so fully directed towards, and concentrated upon the task of putting out fires that five fires are allowed to start where one should have shown its first spark. As he has studied the little volume of London statistics here reviewed, the writer has formed the hope if not the belief, that we are soon to have the beginning on this side of the Atlantic of a great change such as that for which Edward Atkinson so long worked. The appearance of this book will prove a potent factor in hastening that change. It will do this by providing the data for urging an *American efficiency in fire prevention as a substitute for the existing costly efficiency in fighting fires which have been allowed to spring into blaze. The existing American efficiency is a business inefficiency and waste and true governmental economy and efficiency in the management of fire departments can come only with the social economy and efficiency which practically prevents fires.*

The structures and personal property in New York city which are to be protected from loss by fires have a value of at least \$3,500,000,000 if not \$4,000,000,000. Properly to insure this property at the present time involves the payment of annual insurance premiums which aggregate from one fourth to one third the amounts paid each year in property taxes. The possible savings to the people of substituting the London for the existing New York fire efficiency is to save an amount equal to the total sum now paid for the maintenance of the fire department and all the present existing difference in the cost of maintaining the governments of the largest American and British cities. This is one of the lessons in governmental economy and efficiency which is brought home to the American people, and especially to those dwelling in cities and towns, by the publication of this little book of London statistics.

HIGH COSTS OF NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS

The London statistics state that the expenses of the public schools of London in 1912 were £4,942,003. This is approximately \$23,958,830, or a per capita expense of \$5.30. These costs are separately given under two heads: those for elementary and for secondary schools. Each of

these kinds of schools include some which are given other and specific designations, and hence the costs of both kinds of schools as reported in the volume of statistics include expenses for schools somewhat different in character. The reported costs of maintaining the London elementary schools in 1912 was £4,015,044 (the equivalent of \$19,464,933). The reported regular average attendance of these schools was 645,342. This is exclusive of the attendance of any schools whose expenses are included in the total expenses stated above. Disregarding that fact the figures seem to indicate an average expense in London elementary schools of \$3,016 for every one hundred pupils in regular attendance. Separate statements of the various classes of schools whose expenses, but not regular average attendance, are included in the figures quoted from the report would doubtless demonstrate that the foregoing average for one hundred pupils in regular attendance is larger than a correct average.

The total expenses of all the public schools of New York city in the year 1912, according to the census statistics of cities, was \$36,427,562, a per capita cost of \$6.53. The expenses of the elementary day schools were \$27,127,529. Those schools had a regular average attendance of 592,983 and the resulting average expense for every one hundred pupils in regular attendance was \$4,700. While the total cost per inhabitant in New York was only 23 per cent greater than that of London, owing to the greater average regular attendance, the cost per one hundred pupils in regular attendance was 55 per cent greater in New York than in London. More detailed figures for London school expense would doubtless exhibit a greater economy in expense than that indicated by the percentage last given. Undoubtedly a portion of this difference, as in that of the fire service to which attention has previously been directed, is explainable by the lower average compensation of the governmental employes corresponding to the difference existing in the two countries in the average wages of all classes of industrial workers and the contrast which the two countries afford in the average standard of living of the toiling masses. This difference can not, however, be the cause of all the relative excess costs of educating elementary school pupils in the two cities. A part, and the largest one, of this excess must be due to the different methods of the American and British educators in approaching the problem of public education. The difference corresponds to the one set forth at length in preceding paragraphs concerning the municipal problem of adequate fire service. The writer is not so familiar with the educational problems and policies of the two countries that he is willing to attempt a statement of the different approach of the educators and governmental administrators of the two countries to the problem. He suggests, however, the desirability of some special study of the American and British school statistics, by one thoroughly in touch with the spirit of the educators of both lands. Such a study disclosing the different lines of ap-

proach to the educational problems in the two nations, by one sympathetic with both, will give new life and force to the statistics here reviewed and prove a profound lesson in school economy and genuine efficiency.

POLICE EXPENSES IN NEW YORK AND LONDON

The metropolitan police of London has long had a reputation of being as efficient as that of any city in the world. The proportional share of the city of London for the maintenance of the Metropolitan police is reported to be £1,660,285 (approximately \$8,049,062) or an average of \$1.78 for each inhabitant of the city. The corresponding total expense for the maintenance of the New York police in 1912 was \$15,036,192 or a per capita expense of \$2.97, or 67 per cent more than London. Substantially the same difference is shown between the expenses for the police of the two countries other than London and New York. The difference in the relative expense of maintaining the police of the two countries is therefore not greatly different from the cost of educating one hundred pupils in regular attendance in the schools of London and New York. A part of the difference is without doubt due to the average compensation of the employes in the two cities as in the case of the schools. The greater portion of the difference as in the case of the fire service results from the different ways the officials of the two countries approach the problem. The writer expresses the hope that with the issue of the present volume of comparative British municipal statistics, some investigator will not only tell us about the efficiency and economy of the London and other British police organizations, but bring out in strong lights the different ways in which the people of the two countries approach the problems of regulating traffic, restraining vice, and detecting and punishing crime.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN CITY DEBTS

The London report presents statistics of municipal indebtedness for all of the cities mentioned with the exception of Dublin. The form in which they are presented permits of a ready comparison with the corresponding statistics of American cities. The net funded debt of London, including that of the London poor districts, in 1912 was £113,279,486 (this is approximately \$549,178,984), an average indebtedness per inhabitant of \$121.49. Of this, 51.62 per cent was incurred for non-revenue producing purposes, as public buildings, sewers and pavements, and 48.38 per cent for revenue producing purposes, the most important of which were water supply systems and tramways.

The corresponding net funded indebtedness of New York city, by which is meant its funded and floating indebtedness, less the sinking funds accumulated for their final amortization, in 1912 was \$792,927,021. This was a per capita debt of \$156.57, or more than a third greater than the corresponding debt of London. Of the New York debt, 60.56 per

cent was incurred for non-revenue producing purposes and only 39.44 per cent for purposes producing revenue.

The fourteen British cities, other than London and Dublin, which had an aggregate estimated population in 1912 of 5,987,258, had a total net indebtedness, including that of their poor districts, of £137,337,675 (\$665,813,048), or \$111.21 per capita, or slightly less than the corresponding debt of London. Of the debts of the specified cities, the portions incurred for non-revenue producing and revenue producing purposes were 49.53 and 50.47 per cent respectively.

The seventeen cities of the United States, other than New York, with a population exceeding 300,000 each, had a net funded indebtedness in 1912 of \$657,989,550, a per capita of \$59.94, or only a trifle more than that of the fourteen British cities. The debt of these cities was incurred for non-revenue and revenue producing purposes in portions represented by 73.22 and 26.78 per cent respectively.

The per capita net indebtedness of New York resting upon the general taxpayer was not far from \$94.81 as compared with the corresponding debt of London of \$62.71. The former is about 50 per cent greater than the latter. The per capita debt of the fourteen British cities, other than London and Dublin, to be met by rates or real property taxes averaged \$55.08 while that of the seventeen American cities other than New York was \$43.89. The first comparison made, that for London and New York, indicated a greater indebtedness to be met by rates or property taxes on the part of the British city of 50 per cent. In contrast the corresponding debt of the fourteen other British cities was relatively 25 per cent greater than that of the seventeen American cities with which they were compared. The total net indebtedness of the eighteen American cities including New York aggregated \$1,450,916,571 and that of the fifteen British cities, including London, but excluding Dublin, was \$1,214,992,032. Of the debt first mentioned 28 per cent was incurred for revenue producing purposes, while the corresponding portion of the British city debt was about 50 per cent. The per capita net debt resting upon the taxpayers and to be met from general property taxes in the United States was about \$60, while the corresponding debt of the British cities was \$58. The British have a slight advantage, but nothing such as might legitimately have been expected from the greater relative cost of operating American city governments to which attention has been called.

BRITISH STATISTICS OF LEGITIMATE AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

With the profound interest which has been aroused in the United States by the "purity" movement, great interest attaches to the figures of the London volume relating to the number of legitimate and illegitimate children born in the several British cities. From the figures presented

in the specified volume, computations show the following number of illegitimate births to every 10,000 legitimate children born.

Swansea	291	Belfast	431
Bristol	301	Sheffield	437
Birmingham	338	Newcastle	457
Liverpool	367	Leeds	563
Cardiff	369	Glasgow	726
London	384	Edinburgh	802
Dublin	384	Dundee	926
Manchester	401	Aberdeen	1,042

The Welsh cities and certain English cities make the best showing and the Scottish the worst. The figures for the Scottish cities are very striking to the average American not familiar with certain social conditions that have long prevailed in rural Scotland. They suggest the need of an American social survey to prevent the development of like social conditions in this country.

NEED OF MORE COMPREHENSIVE AMERICAN CITY STATISTICS

The London volume is suggestive, not only in the ways pointed out, but also in many others. One of the most valuable features of the book is its inclusion of such population statistics as those relating to families, dwellings, sex, age and occupation of the city dwellers; such vital statistics as those of births, deaths, causes of death, etc.; port statistics; rates of wages; rents of tenements and other subjects. The United States census gathers and publishes the great mass of these statistics, but has never included them in its reports of municipal statistics. To find them as they are now presented, the student of municipal affairs must look through a number of ponderous volumes. The London report here reviewed demonstrates that these general statistics take on an added importance and value and become something more than dull figures when collected in a report dealing exclusively with city affairs and municipal problems. The London volume thus becomes the basis for the suggestion that the bureau of the census should materially broaden the scope of city statistics. There is a great and pressing need for broader and better municipal statistics in the United States than any as yet presented for the American people.

City officials and students of municipal problems should awake to the great importance of the city in American life. Needed reforms can not be secured because there is a lack of definite and detailed statistical information relating to cities. City problems are already more important and pressing for solution in America than are those of the farm. This fact is overlooked by our general government. This condition of affairs should not and can not always continue. Sometime it will be seen that it is as important for civilization and human welfare to look after the

city babies as the country calves and pigs, and that the national government which now spends millions of dollars for the protection and advancement of agricultural interests should do as much for the promotion of the interests which have their centre in the proper management of great cities and the protection of those dwelling and toiling there. Shall we not hope, therefore, for a change in the attitude of the national government with reference to city affairs, and especially with reference to city statistics? Shall we not work for, as well as hope for, a broad and scientific enlargement of the scope, field and treatment of census city statistics? Such statistics are the best possible basis for the reforms in city administration which must come in America as Alderman Drage says that they must come in Great Britain. Those reforms are delayed and will continue to be delayed until the information needed for their consumation is provided in the form of the scientific and broader city statistics for which the London volume in part points the way.

STANDARDIZATION OF SALARIES IN AMERICAN CITIES

BY WILLIAM C. BEYER¹

Philadelphia

STANDARDIZATION of salaries forms an essential part of two distinct programs for improving the effectiveness of public administration. One is that of civil service reform which aims primarily to increase the efficiency of the personnel charged with carrying out the administrative functions of government. Civil service commissions throughout the country have come to realize that the merit principle cannot be applied fairly and effectively to promotions within the public service unless something is done to correct the confusion and chaos on the average city payroll.

The other program is that of the efficiency movement which concentrates attention mainly on procedure and method. The processes of internal administration are examined and readjusted to effect greater efficiency and economy in the operation of government. Budget making, accounting methods, purchasing procedure and similar matters of administration have been made subjects of inquiry and constructive study by efficiency bodies in many of our larger cities. Since the amount of money spent for personal service usually constitutes the biggest single item in a city's annual outlays, it is only natural that the payroll should be subjected to similar scrutiny and revision.

It will be of interest to inquire briefly what this scrutiny has revealed and what is being done to correct the evils discovered.

One of the shortcomings found in most American cities is that salaries are fixed without sufficient knowledge of the duties of positions. As a rule the legislative body is required to pass upon requests for changes in the payroll without any basis of information for determining the reasonableness of such requests except the representations of department heads and the titles of the positions under consideration. The limitations of following implicitly the recommendations of department heads are obvious at once. Too much is made to depend upon these officials who may be acting under strong personal or political pressure. Titles, in their turn, are often misleading and cannot be relied upon to indicate the character and importance of the posts to which they are attached. To illustrate: Anyone, upon glancing down the payroll of a certain Eastern city and coming to the title "superintendent of L—— Park," would naturally suppose that this official had custody of a park at some distance from the center of the city and was charged with considerable responsibility;

¹ Of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.

further inquiry would disclose the fact that he was employed as a clerk in one of the offices at the city hall and had nothing whatever to do with the management of any park. The average legislator, however, has not the time to make a personal investigation of each case of this character that comes before him during the busy budget making season when salary ordinances are usually considered. The result is that in the majority of instances he is compelled to act without adequate information about the positions in which changes are contemplated.

CONSIDERING SERVICE IN ITS ENTIRETY

Another imperfection in the usual method of fixing salaries is the absence of opportunity to consider the service in its entirety and to secure uniformity in the standards of compensation in the different branches of government. As a rule the salary needs of each department are considered by themselves and with slight regard to those of other departments. Little effort is made to consider positions in groups and to confine rates of pay for similar employments within definite ranges. Too often the fact that Jones happens to occupy a certain position has greater weight in determining the amount of salary than the character and grade of duties which the position involves. In consequence of these conditions we find on municipal payrolls the most glaring discrepancies and irregularities in the salary rates for the same kinds of service.

A third criticism that should be mentioned is the fact that, for the most part, no distinction in salary is made between an employe who has had long experience in a certain position and a new appointe who is wholly unfamiliar with the work. Obviously a clerk who is worth \$900 at the start ought to be worth considerably more at the end of several years of satisfactory service, and to leave his salary unchanged is doing him an injustice which may dampen his enthusiasm and ultimately reduce his efficiency. If, on the other hand, he begins at \$900 and is worth no more after having held the position for two or three years, then it is fair to assume that he was overpaid in the beginning. In either case the employe is robbed of incentive by having to continue at the same rate of pay year after year and the entire force suffers from the demoralizing effect of such an unfair method of compensation. The corollary of this practice is to increase salaries in isolated instances to reward long and faithful service, and then to leave them unchanged for inexperienced successors when vacancies occur. The taxpayer, of course, must foot the bill.

Bearing in mind the unscientific and haphazard methods by which salaries are usually fixed, what can be said for a scheme of promotion which is based on a grading of positions according to rates of compensation? Manifestly, it could not be more scientific nor more equitable than the salary rates themselves. Yet, until very recently, all civil service classifications in this country were based on compensation, and

the majority of them are on that basis still. Since salaries and duties in most cities are not necessarily co-ordinate, it is possible under such a classification that promotion in grade and salary might mean actual demotion in character of work, and vice versa. Moreover, the misleading titles are as harassing to civil service commissions in their endeavor to fit the man to the job as they are to appropriating bodies when salary changes are being considered. It goes without saying that in those branches of public service in which the primeval chaos still remains undisturbed, it is difficult for employes, or even civil service administrators, to discover many real lines of promotion. Blind alleys far outnumber the open avenues to higher employments. The result is that employes become discouraged and lose all interest and zeal in their work.

CHICAGO'S EXPERIMENTS

The first notable effort to correct these conditions was made recently in Chicago. In 1908 the civil service commission of that city enlisted the co-operation of the city council in a standardization program which embraced, among other things, the reclassification of the service according to duties and the adoption of uniform salary rates for similar positions. Early in the following year, Mayor Busse appointed the municipal efficiency commission which acted for a time as the co-ordinating force between the civil service body and the city council in working out the details of the program. Later this commission was superseded by the efficiency division of the civil service commission itself. By the end of 1910 the reclassification of positions was practically completed and a beginning had been made on the adjustment of salaries to the new grades, which was continued during 1911. On July 15, 1912, the city council passed an ordinance which gave official recognition to the standardization scheme adopted by the civil service commission. Since that time the annual appropriations for salaries have been made in accordance with the provisions of this scheme.

The outstanding features of the Chicago standardization may be stated briefly as follows: First, all positions under civil service rules are classified, according to the general character of the duties involved, into eleven distinct classes, known as the medical, engineering, clerical, police, operating engineering, fire, library, inspection, supervising, skilled labor, and labor services. Second, the positions in each distinct class, or service, are divided into grades according to their relative authority, importance and responsibility. Third, for each grade a salary schedule is established providing minimum, maximum and intermediate rates that apply uniformly to all positions within the grade. Fourth, promotion from a lower to a higher grade is made subject to a competitive promotion examination, but advancement from a lower salary rate to the next higher rate within a grade is made to depend on efficiency and length of service.

Fifth, efficiency of employes is ascertained from efficiency markings reported regularly by department heads in accordance with instructions submitted to them by the civil service commission. Sixth, titles of positions are standardized and made descriptive of actual duties.²

Since Chicago did its pioneer work in salary standardization a number of other cities have undertaken similar programs. Portland, Oregon, several years ago worked out a standardization which is substantially the same as that of Chicago and is now partially in effect. In 1914 Houston, Texas, adopted practically a reproduction of the Chicago scheme. During the last two years Oakland, California, has reclassified its service on the basis of duties and is gradually putting into effect a standardization that varies but slightly from its Chicago pattern. On October 30, 1915, St. Paul took a similar step and now has in force a standardization ordinance which in the main is a copy of the same original that the other cities have followed.

THE LOS ANGELES AND PITTSBURGH VARIATIONS

During 1914 Los Angeles county, California, and Pittsburgh, have adopted standardization measures that vary more widely from the Chicago model. Both Los Angeles county and Pittsburgh have made a more searching analysis of the service than is found in any previous classification. Instead of grouping the many different lines of municipal employment into eleven broad classes, as Chicago has done, and then subjecting all the employments in each of these classes to the same grading and scale of compensation, Los Angeles county has made it possible to deal independently with individual lines of work by increasing the number of subdivisions of the service to upwards of fifty. The same departure from former methods is found in the Pittsburgh classification. The Los Angeles standardization, moreover, does not provide for efficiency markings to determine advancement from a lower to a higher salary rate. The first increase comes automatically after one year's service and subsequent increases are made after investigation and favorable recommendation by the bureau of efficiency of the civil service commission. Another noteworthy variation from the Chicago idea is the attempt by Pittsburgh to standardize requirements for admission to each distinct grade of service. Chicago has standard requirements for individual positions, but not for grades.

A number of other cities are engaged at the present time on standardization programs. New York City has well under way the most monumental task of standardization yet attempted in this country.³ Philadelphia

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 662.

³ Late in February, after this article had gone to press, the New York Bureau of Municipal Research published an extended discussion under the caption "Standardization of Public Employments" in the issue of *Municipal Research* dated November, 1915.

and Milwaukee are both engaged in a study of the salary problem, the latter city having rejected a standardization measure in 1913. Similar studies are being carried on by a number of states, among them Ohio, New York and Wisconsin.

A review of various standardization plans, either already in force or now under consideration, reveals a development of ideas common to them all rather than revolutionary departures in fundamentals. All involve a classification of service on the basis of duties; all provide for a simplification and standardization of titles; all assume the application of the merit principle in determining promotion from grade to grade; and all recognize the importance of providing opportunity for advancement in salary even when no change in position or grade has taken place. Development appears principally in the more scientific character of later classifications. In this respect the high water mark thus far probably has been reached by New York City. Its classification and grade specifications not only go into greater detail than any previous effort along this line, but also achieve a degree of administrative flexibility that has been attained by few other standardizations. The New York plan also includes a standardization of requirements similar to that of Pittsburgh.

INCREASES WITHIN GRADES

There is one aspect of the problem, however, with regard to which we find less unanimity of opinion, and that is the manner of advancing employes to higher salary rates within grades. Three different methods of accomplishing this may be distinguished: First, by making increases automatic at the expiration of fixed periods of time, regardless of the efficiency of the service rendered; second, by making increases dependent upon efficiency, measured by a system of efficiency marking; third, by basing legislative action regarding increases upon special investigation and recommendation by efficiency bureaus.

The first of these methods, that of increasing salaries automatically regardless of efficiency, is open to serious objection. It makes no distinction between employes who have given unusual satisfaction in the performance of duty and employes who have simply managed to hold their jobs. It is preferable, however, to the flat salary rate which permits of no increases whatever. The Los Angeles standardization provides for automatic advancement in case of first increase only, and no other standardization embodies this method even in limited measure.

The second method, which includes the factor of efficiency ascertained by a system of efficiency marking, is theoretically more nearly correct, but practically more difficult to apply. The idea of keeping record of the efficiency of employes is not entirely new, and in most instances where it has been tried it has fallen short of expectations. Too often these records are kept in a perfunctory manner and prove of little value for

administrative purposes. Even where they are kept conscientiously, it is difficult to reconcile the markings of different officials who rate employees according to widely varying standards. The theory of efficiency records is sufficiently appealing, however, to warrant further experimentation, and practically every city that has adopted standardization measures has shown its disposition to experiment. Chicago has worked out an elaborate system of efficiency marking which has achieved a certain degree of success. Other cities are adapting the Chicago idea to their local needs. In time, no doubt, improvements will be effected that will make the system a more helpful instrument for determining individual efficiency than it is at present.

The third method, that of basing legislative action regarding increases on investigation and recommendation by efficiency bureaus, is an important feature in the standardizations of Los Angeles and of New York City. In the former it is applied to advancement from the second salary rate to the third, and final, rate; while in the latter it often applies to all increases. In the New York City standardization, however, this method is only supplemental to efficiency markings maintained under the rules of the civil service commission, whereas in Los Angeles county it is the sole means of ascertaining the efficiency factor in advancement. How satisfactory this method will prove still remains to be seen. Naturally a great deal will depend on the amount of freedom which efficiency bodies will enjoy in making their investigations and recommendations.

These and other problems involved in salary standardization no doubt will be simplified by the experience of coming years. At this stage it is enough to know that however imperfect certain methods may be, they are nevertheless vastly superior to the unsystematic practices which they are designed to displace.

The entire standardization movement is still so new that sweeping generalizations with regard to past experience are hardly in order. Even Chicago, the first city to adopt a standardization measure, has had less than six years' experience in administering it. Nevertheless it is quite well established that an immense improvement has been effected in the civil service of that city. No official who is familiar with conditions both prior to and since the adoption of the standardization seems willing to return to the old order. Dire predictions that the total annual outlays for salaries would be increased enormously by the new schedules have not come true. In a large measure the question of compensation for personal service has been taken out of the realm of the lobby and placed on a scientific basis. Whatever shortcomings there may be in the present method of fixing salaries in Chicago they do not compare with the unintelligent blundering and absence of system of former years.

In general we may say that the standardization program accomplishes its main purposes in an acceptable manner. While it is not a panacea,

it does much to correct conditions that have been so largely responsible for the unattractive character of municipal service in the past. It aims primarily to improve the administrative methods of utilizing human energy to the best advantage of both employes and the service. To that end it simplifies the problem of the legislative body by making available to legislators complete and reliable information to guide them in passing on salary changes. The wide discrepancies in rates of pay for similar positions, unavoidable under the old methods and which proved so demoralizing to employes, can no longer appear if the standardization is adhered to in appropriations. At the same time the way is paved for a more flexible adjustment of salaries to individual needs than was formerly the case. The problem of the civil service commission also is simplified. A classification of service based on duties and providing proper grades for advancement makes possible a more equitable system of promotion than could obtain under the old grading scheme with haphazard salary rates as a basis. These improvements in the methods of dealing with the employment situation are bound in time to work salutary changes in the general tone and character of our municipal service.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION: A FUNDAMENTAL OR A FAD?

BY HERMAN G. JAMES, J.D., PH.D.

University of Texas

WITH the adoption by Ashtabula, Ohio, of a plan of proportional representation¹ and the widespread publicity accorded to the first election recently held under that plan, it becomes necessary to consider seriously what attitude the friends of municipal improvement should take toward this innovation. As long as the matter was merely the subject of theoretical discussion and propaganda by those actively interested in the proportional representation movement it did not present a living issue. Owing, however, to the imitative instinct which has played so large a part in the history of municipal government in this country, the actual adoption by an American city of the plan in question makes it a real issue which must be faced at once by those who are leaders in moulding public opinion along lines of municipal progress.

The advantages claimed for the plan of electing a city council by proportional representation have been so adequately set forth in the pages of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and in publications of the National Proportional Representation League that it is unnecessary to repeat them here, except as they arise in a consideration of the possible disadvantages of the system. It would seem that the objections or possible objections to the latest innovation may conveniently be classified under three heads: theoretical, legal, and practical.

THE THEORETICAL OBJECTIONS

The most fundamental objections to the scheme of proportional representation are of course those that go to the question of the theory of the plan. Briefly stated the argument in favor of proportional representation rests on the theory that all shades of political opinion that are held by an appreciable number of the electors should have representation in the legislative body. To put it more concretely, every group of electors should be permitted to choose a proportion of the legislative body as nearly equal as possible to the ratio that their vote bears to the entire vote cast. In this way, it is claimed, there will be reflected in the council every important shade of political opinion that exists in the community, and the action of the council will represent in the end the composite of the opinions of the electorate, instead of merely the opinion of the majority.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 56.

Now that proposition, if true, sounds attractive. But is it true? Let us consider first the case of a truly representative, as distinguished from a primary, city government, that is, one in which all matters of policy are determined by elective representatives without the use of the referendum or initiative. It is at once apparent that the action of such a body cannot be completely representative in the sense that the advocates of proportional representation demand. Even if the various councilors are elected by well defined and organized groups of persons, that is, virtually by more or less permanent political parties, they cannot be instructed on every question of policy that may arise before the council. On such questions they must of course act according to their own convictions, which as experience shows are by no means necessarily in accord with the opinions of their constituents on those points. Unless, therefore, there is a party boss, or ring, or executive committee by whose determinations both the group of voters and the councilor will be governed—a situation against the evils of which all municipal reformers have been preaching—they cannot reflect the opinion of their constituents on such points. This is true, if for no other reason, because of the simple fact that no group of persons think alike on more than one or two important questions of policy. This being the situation in the case where a well defined majority or minority has elected a councilor, how much greater will be the difficulty of having a councilor reflect the opinions of his constituents when he is chosen by an undefined, unknown and temporary group of electors. Yet this is exactly what the Hare system of proportional representation will result in and indeed it is one of the advantages claimed for the system by its advocates, *viz* that it tends to help the independent candidate who is backed by no organization, but can get the necessary quotient by reason of personal qualifications. How can a councilor elected by, let us say, one tenth of the voters of a city, not knowing who his electors were or what policies they represent, reflect the political opinions of anyone but himself?

Furthermore, whatever may be said of the value of having all the important shades of political opinion voiced in the council, and that we have seen is not possible either under the proportional representation plan or under any other scheme, the fact remains that all action, all legislation must be by majorities. However lengthy and careful may be the discussion, however many conflicting points of view may be brought out, however ably the interests of minorities are presented, the final action is and must be action by majorities. There is and can be no way in which minorities can appear in the final action. Only two sides then appear with regard to any action taken, the majority who voted for it and the minority who voted against it. Minor groups, those whose interests are supposed to be safeguarded by the scheme of proportional representation all line up at the "show down" in one or the other of

these two parts. Their only chance for effective expression lies therefore in the possibility of forcing some compromise in the measure before final vote. If, however, the various members of the council really reflected the political convictions of a definite group of voters, and that is the hypothesis of the advocates of proportional representation, a compromise measure inevitably means that none of the representatives any longer exactly reflected the supposedly known wishes of his constituents. Obviously there is not the slightest assurance that the concessions made in the process of compromise are those which would be approved by the group to which the councilor owes his election. When it is remembered that the tendency of municipal voters to break away from state and national party affiliations is increasing and is being encouraged by almost all municipal reformers, it can readily be seen that the normal composition of a council say of ten members elected under the Hare system of proportional representation would tend to represent a number of more or less equal minority groups. That means of course that no legislation could be effected wholly in accord with the wishes of any of the constituencies and that all legislation would be compromises between conflicting opinions. The more truly the councilors reflect the conflicting interests of the constituencies, the ideal of the proportional representation advocates, the more difficult does the process of legislation become and the more unsatisfactory will the finally inevitable compromises prove. What becomes now of the chief contention of the advocates of this scheme that under it you have a true reflection of the composite political wisdom, or stupidity, of the electorate?

Let us look now at the situation when we no longer have the true representative type of government for cities, that is when we introduce as working elements the initiative and the referendum. The chief advocates of proportional representation in this country are also supporters of the initiative and referendum and it is a safe guess that no city will adopt the wholly novel—for American cities—plan of proportional representation which has not been willing to introduce the now widely used and quite familiar devices of direct legislation. We may therefore regard the combination of proportional representation with direct legislation as the normal case. Now direct legislation does undoubtedly offer a theoretical remedy for the evil of incomplete representation, not only in the extreme cases where representatives willingly disregard the known wishes of the electorate, but also in the normal cases where those wishes have not been ascertained or where, as under proportional representation is especially likely, the council's action must be a compromise. For this kind of incomplete representation, inevitable non-representation we may call it, the instruments of direct legislation offer a possibility of remedy by direct submission of concrete simple proposals to the electors. Even here, as every student of direct legislation knows, it is next to impossible

to have initiative and referendum measures so framed that every voter can either entirely agree or disagree with them. However that may be, the tendency will inevitably be toward relying more and more on this form of remedy for the evil of incomplete representation in regard to all important questions of policy that may arise, whenever it is realized that the representatives of the various minority groups in the city are powerless to put through their program of policies. The advocates of proportional representation, standing on the ground of desiring a more complete reflection of the political opinions of the electors, must if they are consistent welcome the application of this remedy. But with the increased application of this remedy for incomplete representation, there is a continual diminution in the policy determining function of the council until it degenerates into a mere board of supervisors for the city manager. What need then for an elaborate and complicated election procedure intended to insure a reflection of the political opinions of groups of electors when those opinions are in important matters applied directly and are no longer reflected?

We conclude therefore that the dreams of the proportional representation advocates are not possible of realization under any form of representative government, and that under the system of direct government which we are rapidly approaching and which they endorse, important questions of policy are no longer left to the decision of the representative body anyway. Under those circumstances *the only issue in the choice of candidates is one of personality and character*. The ordinary preferential ballot insures that the successful candidates for election to the council will be acceptable to a majority of the voters either as first, second or third choices, or to as near a majority as can ever be obtained. The proportional representation plan insures and boasts of insuring that if there are ten councilors to be elected any candidate who can muster a number of first choices equal to one tenth of the vote cast is entitled to a seat. If, therefore, under the case supposed there is one tenth of the city electorate that is law-breaking, corrupt and disgraceful the proportional representation plan insures their representative a seat in the council. That is a kind of democracy which I, for one, cannot endorse. Under the ordinary preferential ballot it would be necessary to have not one tenth merely but a majority of the electors in the city in favor of disgraceful candidates before they could be elected. But if that is the situation in any city, Heaven help it! No human scheme of government could be of any value.

LEGAL AND PRACTICAL OBJECTIONS

The limited space available precludes an extended discussion of the legal and practical objections that were stated to exist at the outset. It

will be possible merely to point out that they do exist. In view of the fact that a state supreme court has held the preferential ballot to constitute an unconstitutional limitation of the freedom of voting, a wholly senseless and unsound decision it is true, but nevertheless an authority for that view, it seems reasonably certain that the proportional representation plan that would limit the voters to casting one first choice for a council at an election in which a number of councillors are to be elected would be declared unconstitutional. Certainly such a holding would have much more to justify it than did the holding with regard to the simple preferential ballot.

As practical objections there may be urged, in the first place, the unavoidably complicated description of the voting process, which is quite unintelligible to persons of much higher intelligence than that of the average voter without very careful examination. This means that the average voter will have to take the results of the system of counting on faith and naturally many will be sceptical and suspicious and so far from having their interest in voting increased it will be decreased. Secondly, the complicated voting process makes the recount of the ballots in large voting districts very much more difficult. It is quite impossible to note the effects of even gross election frauds on the face of the returns with this plan and if the election officers are corrupt, their corruption is much more difficult to discover. Third, a satisfactory working of the recall, if such a thing is possible, has certainly not been worked out under this system of election. Finally, it may be urged that even should we grant all that enthusiastic advocates claim for this system, it is strategically unwise for the supporters of good city government to advocate at this time so radical a change in the manner of constituting the governing bodies of our cities. Two years after the National Municipal League declared itself in favor of a mayor and council form of government in the municipal program of 1899 commission government came into existence and received the enthusiastic support of municipal reformers. Some ten years later the city manager plan began to be offered as an improvement on commission government, and now before the latest development has been given a chance to prove or disprove itself, reformers are advocating another departure. Small wonder that many persons are confused by this apparent vacillation and accuse municipal reformers of not knowing their own minds. Much better would it be for the cause of municipal reform if all efforts were concentrated on urging the commission manager plan in its present form until its value has been recognized, before we muddle matters more by asserting that the plan which has received such general approbation be modified by a new departure, even granting that the departure advocated were capable of accomplishing everything that its advocates claim for it.

SHORT ARTICLES

WHAT IS CIVIC EDUCATION?

BY EDWARD A. FITZPATRICK¹

Madison, Wis.

MORE is written about the subject of civic education perhaps than any other phase of education. Yet one does not find anywhere a generally accepted definition of the term. What is this civic education? In a National Education Association report on the teaching of community civics, the subject of civic education is made to include practically every phase of the question, how to live. In that sense there is absolutely no distinction between civic education and education in general, and this identification of the term dissipates the problem. Without attempting any specific definition, I shall understand civic education as that which helps to make a man a useful citizen. From the basic meaning of the term it relates itself to the city, and particularly from our standpoint to the city government. But unfortunately most of the civics taught in our elementary schools and high schools and in the universities of the country deals with the state and the nation. The city is an incidental concern, and yet from every standpoint of life and of our education the city is the fundamental phase of government. It is a phase of government with which every individual comes in direct contact. It is the only phase of government in which civic education can be said to deal with the community life. The state is not a community, nor is the nation in any genuine sense of these terms. The state and the nation are merely more or less artificial things compared to the city. *They are merely the over-head charges of the city government.* It is unfortunate that this over-head charge is so excessive and occupies most of our time in education.

If you have ever visited a court where persons are taken in as citizens you have probably been surprised by the formal character of the questions asked by the learned judge. These questions, practically in all cases, relate to the national government, and not to the national government as a living, functioning thing, but as the formally organized thing of our federal constitution. This examination ought to be totally changed and made to deal entirely, or at least to a considerable degree, with the city.

The courses of study that have been outlined by the various committees that have been working on the subject have not dealt with the concrete

¹ Abstract of remarks of Edward A. Fitzpatrick at the meeting of the National Municipal League at Dayton, November 18, 1915.

action of communities, but with the abstract, logical, adult analysis of such things as elements of welfare.

AMERICANIZATION, THE NEW CIVIC CATCHWORD

The favorite catchword of our present efforts in civic education is "Americanization." We must Americanize and we are planning to spend a very great deal of money and effort in Americanizing. Americanize whom? The immigrant! Those who were in attendance at the meeting of urban universities in Cincinnati heard a very convincing analysis of the citizenship of our cities. We were told that there was from 5 to 10 per cent of active interest by the public at one end. At the other end there was from 10 to 20 per cent active interest in government by people who wanted to get something out of it, and there was in between 70 per cent of citizen indifference. If Americanization means anything as a civic movement, which at the present time is its sole meaning, then we ought to Americanize this 70 per cent lump of citizen indifference.

BUREAUS OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH AND CIVIC EDUCATION

Ten years ago to-morrow there was established in New York City the bureau of municipal research, and that movement has extended, as you know, all over the country. It was premised on the proposition that it was an agency for the civic education of adults. Publicity was of its essence, and the reiterated publicity of facts about government was to be the primary means of awakening citizens to a demand for improved public administration. Now that movement is ship-wrecked, and has become largely a private agreement between the board of trustees of the bureau and the city officials in whose office the work was carried on without even letting the public know what was being done; and sometimes a bureau is practically supported by a single individual. Two things will help the municipal research movement: a wider basis of citizen support and a frank taking of the citizenship into its confidence.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND THE COMMON SCHOOL

The great trouble with the whole civic movement is that it has concentrated its efforts on a single instrumentality, the common school. The effort is to make that the instrument of civic education. Fortunately, that is where such a movement must begin, but as a single means it misses the great opportunity. We are told by a competent authority that not very many more than 25 per cent of the children who enter school in this country actually survive the sixth grade. We are told by another student of education that half of the children of the schools leave between the ages of 13 and 15. If this vast mass of children leave the common schools before they get any real civic education, then those interested in civic education ought to look to supplementary means.

CONTINUATION SCHOOLS AS AGENCIES OF CIVIC EDUCATION

One of the most significant of these is the continuation school, particularly as it has been developed in the state of Wisconsin. By the law creating these schools, citizenship is specifically required as a subject of study. There come to these schools our educationally disinherited children. No special courses of study, no technique, no teachers trained to give them adequate conception of citizenship, are now available. Wisconsin is working heroically at the problem. Interest in civic education is here an immediate and pressing duty.

The state of Wisconsin originally required children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen to attend these schools out of the employers' time. At the last session of the legislature this time was extended to seventeen years of age. This is the period of adolescence—what psychologists call the golden age, the age of the deepest emotional impressions. To give direction at this time to the new life energies that will be unleashed is to determine in a very great degree the fundamental welfare of these children—and the welfare of the community in which they live.

COLLEGE AND CIVIC EDUCATION

A group of college professors representing the American Political Science Association told us in so many words that "the large amount of time and emphasis given to the study of such subjects as general political science, comparative government and international law shows that foreign affairs receive more attention than do home affairs." And again: "The function of college instruction in politics is to train for citizenship as well as to train for the professions. In performing this function colleges too frequently confine attention almost exclusively to the theories of the origin of the state and the nature of law and sovereignty, in fact, to a consideration of abstract notions and principles which find scant place in the actual operation of governmental affairs." And finally, that "students of politics like those of other fields have been inclined to philosophize and work out abstract principles rather than to search laboriously the records and activities of society in its myriad and complex operations." They said also that the colleges of the country ought to avail themselves of the many opportunities of service to their communities and that bureaus of governmental reference and research ought to be established. The exact words are: "that the department of political science furnish aid and be in readiness, in equipment and spirit, to render advice to government officials not only in the making and enforcing of laws but also in extending assistance in whatever special fields the instructors in the departments are competently equipped." At least some of the college professors are beginning to realize the social obligations of the university and the immediate opportunity in the field of civic education.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND SCHOOL TEACHERS

An article in one of the English quarterlies made the comment that "the school teachers are the least civic of men." An editorial in *The Survey* recently pointed out certain civic shortcomings of teachers. The opportunity of normal schools and training schools in affecting the large number of people who are going out to teach our schools, does not seem to be realized, except in rare cases, as for example, the work of Dr. E. C. Branson in connection with the Georgia club at the State normal school in Athens, Georgia—a work, by the way, that he is carrying on in his new position at the University of North Carolina.

If a digression may be permitted here, if it be a digression, I should like to say that woman suffrage has absolutely no grounds in its favor except its educational one. The direct participation in government by women would be unquestionably a great and very welcome civic factor. One of its most beneficent results will be the civic education of the vast number of women teachers all over the country to whom is committed the education of our children.

SOME FUNDAMENTALS OF CIVIC EDUCATION

There are a number of things—appreciations or attitudes, if you will—that our present attempts in civic education are not teaching. I should like to name some of these briefly. One is the very simple fact that *there is no progress in mere law-abiding*. The reverence for the constitution and the law as things perfected and complete must be changed. We must recognize both the statute law and constitution merely as instruments in achieving the social welfare. The proper attitude of citizens toward the law is not one of resignation or adoration, but of alert questioning and desire to improve.

Another thing that we do not teach is that *everybody is wise*. There is a bold challenge to American democracy in a motto like that of *Leslie's Weekly*, "Let the thinking people rule." It is merely an expression of the current unbelief in the basic principle of American democracy. There is a Napoleon story that will illustrate this point. Talleyrand in speaking to Napoleon said, "There is somebody wiser than you, Napoleon, and wiser than all your ministers." Napoleon asked, "Who is that?" Talleyrand answered, "Everybody!" Lincoln knew this profound lesson of democracy. His remark that you can fool some of the people all the time and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time, is simply an expression of his faith in fundamental democracy—that in the long run the common judgment of ordinary men is wiser than all the experts that exist.

Another thing that we do not teach is the *actual process* of government as distinct from the formal organization in charters and constitutions. I had received some fairly good instruction in government so far as ordi-

nary school and college instruction went, but when I was placed in a legislature with a school program to put over, I did not recognize any of the text-book processes in the actual processes that I had to deal with. It is this failure to provide this contact with government that is perhaps the fundamental failure of our educational system, but particularly of our universities.

Still another thing we do not really teach is the significance of the vast number of civic agencies in their relation to government both as critical and as co-operative agencies. The wonderful transformation of the chamber of commerce movement in this country is a striking example of the usefulness of these agencies in civic work.

And finally, we do not give an adequate conception of the significance of the court as an agency to aid or hinder the social welfare. This final arbiter of our democratic destinies is treated in terms of a reverent phraseology. The denial of elementary justice in the twentieth century because of fifteenth century precedent never gets into the class-room. The political affiliations of judges are tabooed. Perhaps one of the most essential things in our industrial life is a real understanding of the significance of the courts. Yet no attempt is made to give this in the schools. If education is going to mean anything in an industrial democracy or in a social democracy, our citizens must understand the actual function of the judiciary and its actual operation.

WHY STUDY MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS? ADVANTAGES AS VIEWED FROM THE STUDENT'S STANDPOINT

BY ROCKWELL D. HUNT

University of Southern California

DURING the academic year 1914-15 it fell to the present writer's lot to conduct a Saturday class in municipal problems in the University of Southern California. It was essentially a teachers' class, for each year the university schedules a number of Saturday and late afternoon classes for the special convenience of school principals and teachers of Los Angeles and near-by towns.

The class numbered upwards of forty members, of whom fifteen were registered as graduate students. The work of the first semester was devoted in the main to political, economic and administrative aspects of the city, including the examination of many typical charters and a study of the changing forms of city government. The second semester's work was largely in the field of that emerging science called urban sociology.

In the course various methods of instruction were employed. Lectures, required text-books, specially recommended works, extensive collateral

readings, investigation of special topics, and class discussion—each of these had a place. A distinctive feature that proved vitally interesting and most helpful was a series of special lectures by carefully chosen practical experts in their respective fields.

Since almost all the members of this class were actively engaged in the work of education either as principals or as teachers, it seemed proper to set up as one of the aims of the course a deepened and more intelligent civic interest to the further end that this in turn might yield somewhat of social betterment through wider projection and dissemination.

At the close of the course each member was requested to write out, with perfect candor, the personal and general advantages to be derived from a university course in municipal problems. So significant and interesting did the responses prove that the instructor has concluded that some slight epitome of them might with profit be given to a wider audience.

The city is clearly recognized as the very center of civic problems; and this will be increasingly true in days to come. A course in municipal problems affords excellent means of acquiring a knowledge of the history and development of civic institutions and problems. One enthusiastic teacher uses these strong words: "The knowledge gained in such a course should be counted a *necessary* equipment for every citizen. . . . It was a liberal education in itself."

Such a course in a university assumes the scientific point of view and gives assurance of such a breadth and disinterestedness as could not easily be secured in other than academic environment; and no other attitude of mind or method of procedure could yield results that would be wholly adequate.

There was developed a "sense of personal touch" with recognized civic leaders, who were found most willing to respond to invitations to address the class. Their intelligent enthusiasm and lofty purposes are invaluable in vitalizing the respective problems studied.

Reciprocally, this vital interest, once thoroughly aroused, is certain to yield a wholesome reflex on the city or community. For students will have a deepened sense of responsibility which will lead them to intelligent participation in the solution of our social and civic problems. One principal declared: "Such a course cannot help but be a boon to the municipality in which given."

Moreover, higher standards of official efficiency will be stimulated and new experts will be equipped for various special lines of public service. "Particularly," writes one of long experience, "has the city a right to look to her leaders in the educational field for guidance and example in helping to solve its problems. The course in municipal problems is one of the most important in our curriculum."

It did not escape notice that a systematic course of study is of especial value to teachers, since their advice in civic matters is frequently sought

and since they are rightly expected to give intelligent answers to inquirers. This has added force when applied to the actual work of the school-room itself.

Greatest emphasis was laid upon the advantages afforded in preparation for a higher type of citizenship. This point may be well illustrated by the introduction of a few selected extracts. One bright teacher of alien birth, recently adopted into American citizenship, writes: "With knowledge comes interest; and when people are interested, they will themselves work for the improvement of existing conditions as well as arouse the interest of others. . . . Personally, I feel that the course in municipal problems has given me more information on the topic than I could have acquired in a life-time." Another, whose name also has a foreign sound, waxes enthusiastic: "A course in municipal problems should be a requisite for graduation in every university, for what more essential function can education possess than that which makes for better citizenship?" A manual training teacher makes confession: "A new world is opened to me and I am made to look upon the city with an entirely new vision." A gifted young woman, recently transferred from a great state university, declares: "For practical knowledge it has offered me more than any other university course I have ever pursued. I have lived in California less than a year, and yet I find that I am better acquainted with existing conditions in Los Angeles than other cities in which I have resided for years." One city principal is led to pledge himself to higher civic loyalty: "This course," he writes, "has so aroused my interest in certain problems in connection with Los Angeles that I will give them much more of my time in both thought and work." This deepened interest has reference to himself as private person, teacher, and citizen.

Finally, the new note of civic evangelism is clearly sounded by numerous members of the class. For, says one: "The course inspires the student to become thoroughly conversant with the city's problems, and to do his full duty in promoting the best interests of the city." This call applies with peculiar force to the college-bred citizen, to whom the community has a right to look for safe and active leadership and who cannot justify himself in standing aloof from actual affairs. Another prophet of the "coming city" believes that such a study "creates a wholesome discontent with present conditions and urges one on to attempt better things. It begets visions. It makes one dream dreams and then hasten to make them come true in civic righteousness."

A perusal of the entire 36 replies submitted would seem to justify, as an expression of the verdict of the class as a whole, the final statement of one of its most earnest members,—“The subject is intensely interesting to the student and absolutely necessary for intelligent citizenship.”

CIVICS: THE ART OF CITIZENSHIP¹

BY E. MABEL SKINNER

New York City.

WHAT shall it profit a girl if she knows how many United States senators there are and what they are paid, their term of office, duties, powers, etc., if she knows not her personal responsibilities as a citizen, and has no desire to render social and civic service to those around her in community and state?

For years civics has been taught as the science of government. It is only recently that teachers have discovered in this subject a splendid chance to get our boys and girls to thinking and acting socially, and an opportunity to develop in them a civic conscience and sense of community obligation. Civics at last is coming to be recognized as "the art of good citizenship."

Because this is a part of our creed at the Washington Irving High School we no longer in our work in civics start with any unit of government or even with the needs of government, but with the family. We discuss its historic origin through the needs of the children, John Fiske's theory of the lengthening period of infancy, the significance of this idea, the bonds which tend to hold the family together, disruptive influences which tend to break down family life, etc. Among the latter we emphasize those for which our women are especially to blame—"bad cooking," "slovenly house-keeping," "nagging," etc. Next come the duties and rights of parents, eugenics, euthenics; the duties and rights of children; the evils of child labor, its injustice to the child and pernicious influence in a community; beautifying the home; William Morris' plea that we should have nothing in our homes except what we know to be useful and believe to be beautiful; beautiful allusions to the home in prose and poetry, avoiding the cheap and maudlin and searching for what is big and fine; the opportunity of the girl in the home, that is, opportunity for service.

Now we trace the development of the family into the clan, tribe and nation, and then begin to study the state as an institution. What does the government do for us at the present time? Which of these services could be performed by private enterprise? What services now performed by private enterprise could be performed by the state? Municipal and federal ownership: arguments for and against. Abuses of the government and political evils. Attempts to remedy these evils: referendum, recall, initiative, civil service, impeachment, commission plan of govern-

¹ As taught at the Washington Irving High School in New York City.

ment, etc. Where have these things been tried? How have they worked? What are the girl's opportunities for service in the community in which she lives?

This completes our first term's work. In the second term our lessons are grouped under the following headings: Problems of the housekeeper and parent, of the wage-earner, of industry, of the community, of the nation. We begin with the vital connection between the home and the government and study the work of those departments of our city government which come into the most intimate contact with the home (tenement, fire, street cleaning, health, etc.). How may we co-operate with these departments? Under the second group we consider matters of income, saving, expenditure; the budget system; what is a normal apportionment of one's income for rent, clothes, etc; recreation; a frank and free airing of views on the different forms of amusement and their relative values. How shall we decide what "fun" is worth while? Problems of industry include a careful statement of a few of the most pressing ones, with an earnest effort to get the girls to learn to look on both sides of the question, since nothing else is fair and because there always are two sides. One lesson on the cost of war from an economic, social and moral viewpoint we introduced the year before war was declared in Europe.—We also consider the cost of peace. Finally, different forces at work in the world for social and civic betterment, and woman's place in all this. (Not so much a matter of "where" she's placed, but "how" she's filling the place she occupies.) The ideal set forth in the description of one of whom it was said: Wherever he went he made a place for himself through his service.

This account contains no allusion to our library work, our reports on current history; our various social and civic activities outside of the class room correlated with our lessons; our talk on the social evil and warnings to our girls so soon to go from us into the maelstrom of business life; our special lessons on elections in the last of October and first of November each year (at which time we also hold the election of officers in the student organization, with printed ballots, inspectors of election, watchers, etc. and the whole preceded by campaign posters, speeches of candidates in foyer and assembly and most vigorous electioneering of rival managers). Nor has anything been said about our study of the school system: what it costs the city and what the city expects in return for the millions it spends on its schools; our visits to sessions of the board of aldermen, board of estimate, children's court, etc.; our debates and note-books and bulletin board with its caption: "Citizens: attention."

At least civics as we teach it at Washington Irving has one advantage if no more: it is simply impossible for the instructor to teach it twice alike.

EDUCATING THE RURAL LEGISLATOR

BY WILLIAM C. CULKINS¹*Cincinnati*

MAYOR SPIEGEL of Cincinnati has just appointed a rapid transit commission, to devise a rapid transit system for Cincinnati at an estimated cost of from \$6,000,000 to \$10,000,000. It was appointed under an enabling act passed by the last Ohio legislature, and thereby hangs a tale of unusual interest to those interested in the business and civic legislative problems of the country.

During the winter of 1914-1915 it was necessary for the Cincinnati chamber of commerce and other business and civic organizations representing 7,000 members, to send two special delegations of more than 100 each to the state capitol on the subject of rapid transit. The men who composed these delegations were obliged to neglect their ordinary business on these occasions and spend their time visiting the governor of Ohio, the floor leaders of both leading political parties in senate and house, and others influential in the passing of laws. They were obliged to demonstrate to the members of the legislature that the people of Cincinnati were heart and soul for the solution of the problem of rapid intercommunication within their city. Even then the rapid transit measure hung in the balance for many days and was one of the last acts passed by the legislature prior to its adjournment. As the legislators retired from their chambers after the act had been passed the majority of them were doubtless still dubious as to the policy of giving Cincinnati power to create a rapid transit commission for activity within its own boundaries.

The business men of Cincinnati realized the atmosphere of distrust within the legislative halls, and knew that the measure had passed merely because there had been no active opposition. The law had the support of every active organization in Cincinnati. Business men of other cities, visiting their own legislatures on similar business, have noted the same atmosphere. It remained for the business men of Cincinnati to take the first steps toward removing that influence, which might be described as distinctly antagonistic to the larger cities.

Men of rural communities are almost always found opposed to the activities of those in the cities. Misunderstanding and distrust of one for the other have hampered desirable legislative enactments in every state of the Union. Bitterness has been a common result, and an attitude of armed preparedness between the camps of ruralist and urbanite. The solution of this problem is one of education. Inasmuch as most ruralists are not prepared to expend their own means to secure this education, and no law has yet been passed to enable them to spend state

¹ Executive secretary of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce.

moneys for the purpose, the business men of Cincinnati, headed by officials of the Cincinnati chamber of commerce, raised a large fund and entertained the legislators in Cincinnati.

About 200 of the lawmakers and their wives accepted the invitation sent out by the entertainment committee. They were shown the beautiful parks of Cincinnati covering 2,500 acres and given an account of how public funds are expended to improve them. The industrial districts and their needs were shown. The municipal school system, ranging from kindergarten to university, and the new \$4,000,000 municipal hospital were inspected. The great municipal waterworks system was explained; a review of the city fire and police departments was staged, and they were made acquainted with the intricate mazes of city government and the advisory system of civic and commercial organization committee work in connection with the passage of ordinances. Afterwards they were placed aboard an all steel special train on the Cincinnati Southern line, and borne over this municipally owned railroad 335 miles to Chattanooga. The story of the construction of the railroad by the city to tap the resources of the great south and to afford a market for northern commerce was related to them, and they were shown the city's financial statement which proves that the road has doubled in value since its construction and annually pays the city a revenue of nearly a million dollars.

Of the legislators who took part in the Cincinnati experiment, two thirds came from rural communities. Their knowledge of city affairs in many instances was limited to what they had picked up in the state capitol. Their amazement at the progress of Cincinnati was unconcealed. They were made to realize the betterment of living conditions, the strides made for education, the accomplishment of easy means of intercommunication and the opening up of easy avenues to and from a great trade territory. Finally they were honestly convinced that tax rates which produce a sufficient revenue for the needs of rural communities are entirely insufficient to take care of the needs of metropolitan cities. They partook of the hospitality of Cincinnati's citizens for an entire week, not a moment of which was empty of revelation to them. The statement of one rural legislator just prior to his departure from Cincinnati expresses the sentiments of all who enjoyed this educational experiment: "I don't believe in letting down the bars to permit the cities to make wanton expenditures, but I do believe the legislature of Ohio will in the future have to look much more favorably upon legislation especially applicable to the needs of big cities. We have worked in the dark in the past, basing our votes on our own experiences which we now agree were limited. Our eyes have been opened by what we saw and heard in Cincinnati."

In reviewing the results of this visit of the legislature to Cincinnati, it seems that large cities of other states will find it highly important to

arrange similar excursions for their legislatures. Possibly they will not be called upon to provide so extensive an entertainment as that given by Cincinnati, but they will at least be obliged to give the country legislator his information about city problems by personal observation. In Cincinnati the citizens are convinced that this experiment has been successful. That it will give excellent results in years to come and will produce a hearty co-operation on the part of the rural legislators who were the city's guests there can be no doubt. Every large city in Ohio will participate in the benefits, and the same plan may be applied effectively in every state in the union. It will serve the purpose of eliminating the feeling of prejudice and distrust confessed to exist between the man of the city and he of the country. The feeling is a mistaken one, the outgrowth of ignorance. Its only remedy is education. The coming of the telephone placed a wedge in this barrier, the making of good roads is doing its part, and the use of the automobile in the country is doing wonders. The final step in our opinion was taken when the legislature of Ohio was given ocular proof of the needs of cities at Cincinnati last September.

SALEM'S CHARTER EXPERIENCES

BY WINFIELD S. NEVINS

Salem, Mass.

SALEM, one of the oldest and most conservative cities of the country, has had three kinds of municipal government in less than four years. Incorporated as a city in 1836, under a special charter, it retained that form of government until 1912, when it changed to the "commission form of government." The first charter provided for a mayor and six aldermen-at-large and four councillors from each of the six wards. Only one change was made in that provision down to 1912; that was to increase the number of aldermen to seven because of occasional ties with six members. The number of wards has never been changed since the first division in 1836. During the first half century after the adoption of the city charter the governments of Salem were noted for the able men who served the city, many of them men of national reputation. Four of them served in Congress subsequent to serving the city as mayor. Others served with great credit on the judiciary. The very best business and professional men were members of the council. Not until about 1890 was there much deterioration. Then a wave of reaction seemed to sweep over Salem which grew in volume during the next twenty years. Politicians began to seek places in the government to further personal ends. Up to this time nominations had been made by parties or by groups of responsible citizens, who sought the best available men. With the coming of the nomination paper and the Australian ballot, all this changed.

Self-nominated men predominated. Reputable business and professional men would not pass around nomination papers for themselves, nor would they hire men to do it, nor would they ask their friends to secure signatures. Few citizens voluntarily circulated papers for others from motives of pure public welfare. Gradually the two branches of the council came to be composed of "cheaper" men. The mayoralty which had been filled by a Saltonstall, a Phillips, a Cabot, a Cogswell, a Rantoul, an Upham and others, was conferred upon men lacking in education or experience in public life, "good fellows" who "took care" of their friends. Of corruption, as such, there was never much, if any. Certainly not enough to be worth mention. Of favoritism, of nepotism, of appointments of friends and supporters and "friends of friends" there was much. And yet Salem had only two city messengers from 1837 to 1913 and two city clerks in a half century. Its city treasurers were never changed except as the occupant died or resigned to accept a bank cashiership. One city marshal served more than a quarter of a century. A chief engineer of the fire department served twenty-seven years to be retired because of old age, on a pension. Raymond Lee Newcomb, the famous naturalist of the *Jeanette* Arctic expedition, has been health officer almost from the day he returned to Salem from his long weary tramp through Arctic Siberia. Policemen were seldom removed, and school teachers grew gray in the service. There were changes occasionally in minor unpaid boards. During all the years that these city officials were holding their offices they were often subject of attack, usually because somebody else wanted the places. They had to defend themselves and their positions annually because they were elected annually. Salem's weakness during the last two decades has been in its mayors and aldermen, not much in its councils. It has had some freak mayors and some incompetents.

Suddenly a number of zealous young men decided to give Salem a commission form of government. They drew up a charter and got it passed through the legislature. Then they entered upon a campaign for its adoption. They had an organization and some money. They imported advocates of that form of government; they sedulously kept out of the discussion any one who opposed their plan. Occupants of city offices under recently adopted commission forms of government in a half dozen near by cities were called upon to tell the voters of Salem what a success the system had been under their rule of one, or, at most, two years. A few professional advocates of the system were brought into the discussion. The voters voted by a small majority to have a new charter, and then voted to adopt the commission form proposed.

The new government went into operation January 1, 1913. It was composed entirely of men who had been in municipal office for longer or shorter, some of them many years. All the old officers were re-elected.

Not a new face was seen. Mayor Hurley, whose re-election the new charter was guaranteed to prevent, was handsomely re-elected. He remained in office nearly two years when he was recalled. The man selected to fill his place was without experience and failed to bring about any of the desired reforms. Finally, last summer the assessors of taxes revalued the real estate of the city outside the burned area. They did this by direction of the councillors. Values were placed in many instances way above any possible cash value and often far beyond the cost. The police department had gone from bad to worse and was in turmoil and had been during the entire three years. Some improvement had been made in the fire department by getting temporarily a fire captain of Boston to take charge of it. When the great conflagration came in June, 1914, the people asked the legislature to provide for a "rebuilding commission" of five men to have autocratic control over the burned area to regulate its rebuilding and the relocating of streets and everything else pertaining to the reconstruction. This was really the first blow at the new council after seventeen months. On the first election for two new members at the end of 1913, a very objectionable man was elected to the health department, another of the men who, it was said, the new charter would keep out by reason of the primary. Twice the new charter failed to fulfil promises. The primary provision seemed to be the thing that enabled bad men to get elected.

Extravagance prevailed from the first. Beside the salaries paid to councillors who had always previously served without pay, salaries of officials were raised; new clerks were employed, more typewriters and telephones and numerous automobiles were installed. The work of the school board was subject to criticism, whether justly or unjustly. Discourtesy in office, believed to be the result of long tenure, was charged, a charge emphasized in the recent address of the new mayor, H. M. Benson.

When the excessive valuations followed these other offences, the people were so aroused that they swept the charter out of existence and adopted a new one, which provides for a mayor and eleven councillors. The system seems to operate something after the German city council system. The mayor is the real executive head, but in most things must have the sanction of a majority of the council. The council has no executive powers, solely legislative. It makes appropriations and adopts measures of policy. Details are mainly vested in the mayor or heads of departments. One of the most independent, intelligent, clear-headed business men of the city has been elected mayor, and the councillors are nearly all business men. The city seems to have terminated its "buffoon performances" of the past fifteen years and returned to the "good old days" of solid men for municipal control.

GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES AS COMPARED WITH OTHER LANDS

BY PROFESSOR MURRAY GROSS

West Philadelphia High School

IT IS a long time between the days of Nineveh and Babylon and our own New York and Chicago, but from the point of view of a consideration of the forces that make for the development of large cities those ancient ones were nearer to the cities of the eighteenth century than the latter are to the cities of the twentieth.

In the ancient days, urban life developed mainly as an incident in communities of agricultural activity, and represented a concentration of population for the purposes of defence and trade, and only secondarily as the seat of handicraft and other industries. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the growth of cities was given an enormous impetus not only by a rapidly widening circle of commercial intercourse, but also by an unprecedented series of mechanical discoveries and inventions which revolutionized not only agriculture and commerce but also particularly manufacturing industries. Among them none are so marked in their effect upon the distribution of population as those which had to do with the application of mechanical power to industry through the utilization of coal in both manufacturing and transportation. As a result of the influences exerted by this mechanical progress, the individual worker was supplanted by the organization of groups of workers, highly specialized as to the purpose of the group and the function of individual worker within the group, which meant agglomeration of workers in advantageous proximity to the raw materials of manufacture and water power, or later, especially coal, or under some circumstances near the markets for the finished product. The last factor, however, was of minor importance as compared with the other two.

It is no wonder, therefore, that those regions of Europe and America most favorably situated with respect to previously developed industrial background and raw materials, especially coal, showed an enormous expansion of manufacturing industry rather than agriculture as the basis of commerce and incidentally an unprecedented tendency toward concentration of population and urban development never before seen in the history of the world. Broadly speaking, the areas belonging to those regions include the United States, the United Kingdom (for this study, England and Wales), Germany and France, all of which not only possessed the peculiar combination of water power and raw materials upon which was based an early development of manufacturing industries, but later found themselves the fortunate beneficiaries of enormous stores of coal well located with respect to the previous industrial development.

Satisfactory comparison of the urban development in these countries is rendered difficult by the lack of data of a uniform nature for the coun-

tries themselves as well as within the countries at different times in the history of their development. So that the word "urban" varies in its use not only in the different countries at different times, but especially among the countries with respect to one another. However, as a result of very exhaustive studies and tabulations made by Weber in "The Growth of Cities" published in 1899, and the recent census publications of the specific countries, sufficient data for a comparison is at hand enabling us to assign as a meaning of "urban" in the United States up to 1890 "groups of people living in towns and cities with a population of 8,000 or more" and since that year, "2,500 or more"; in England and Wales, "5,000 or more" up to 1890 and "2,000 or more" since; in Germany, "2,000 or more" from 1871 to the present time; and in France, "2,000 or more" from 1846 to the present time. By the utilization of these units, the trend of urban agglomeration may be traced sufficiently accurately to reveal approximately the enormous movement toward concentration of population into compact centers that has taken place in Europe and America during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

Urban Development in the United States.—In the United States, using as a unit "towns and cities of 8,000 or more inhabitants," the growth in urban population shows an increase from 210,873 persons residing in six cities in 1800, or 3.9 per cent of the total population of the United States at that time (5,308,000), to 18,284,000 living in 448 centers in 1890, or almost 30 per cent of the total population of 62,622,000. From this it is to be seen that while the total population of the country increased but twelve fold, the urban centers increased in inhabitants eighty-seven fold. In this period, it is in addition interesting to note that up to 1830, a date that may be taken to broadly designate the beginning of the influences of improved transportation in the form of railways and steam navigation, the total urban population increased only to 864,000, or 6.7 per cent of the country's population of 12,866,000 in that year.

Since 1890, while consecutive comparison with earlier periods is rendered deceptive by a shift in the urban unit by census statistics to a base of "2,500 or more," out of a total population in the country in 1900 of 76,000,000, 31,000,000, or 39 per cent resided in towns and cities; and in 1910, of a total population of 92,000,000, 43,000,000, or 46 per cent were classed as urban. Moreover, according to the United States census computations, more than one fifth of the total population resided in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants, and about one tenth in three cities of more than 1,000,000 each. According to the same computation, if metropolitan districts are taken so as to include in each case beside the central city those suburbs which belong industrially to the city and in which the city's life is dominant, more than 14.6 per cent of the total population of the country belonged to urban centers of more than one million inhabitants each.

As to the regional distribution of urban centers in the United States in 1910, the New England states showed a proportion of 83.3 per cent of

the population urban; the middle Atlantic, 71 per cent; the east north central, 53.7 per cent; the west north central, 33.3 per cent; the south Atlantic, 25.4 per cent; the east south central, 18.7 per cent; the west south central, 22.3; the mountain, 36 per cent; and the Pacific, 56.8 per cent. In a notable way here is reflected the proportion of commercial, manufacturing, or mining population which is variously predominate in the New England, the middle Atlantic and the east north central states as contrasted with the more generally agricultural or otherwise rural populations of the other divisions, excepting the Pacific, where the high percentage of urban concentration may be explained by the presence along the Pacific seaboard of a considerable number of flourishing national sea-ports and the nature of the agricultural and other industrial life in the interior of the division.

Not even an elementary consideration of the urban development of the United States would be complete without a reference to the enormous growth of New York and Chicago, the two great urban embodiments of the commercial and industrial life of the country, made so by a unique combination of geographic and economic advantages nowhere else exhibited in such telling effect. New York City, in 1830, had 242,000 people, but by 1910 it had increased twentyfold to a population of 4,767,000. Chicago appeared in the statistics of the country in 1840 with 4,470 persons as inhabitants; in 1910 it had become a city of 2,185,000, showing the phenomenal growth of fiftyfold in seventy years.

Urban Development in England and Wales.—In England and Wales, owing to the more advanced position of both the textile and the metal industries, the beginning of the nineteenth century shows an urban population of 1,506,000, or 16.9 per cent of a total population of 8,893,000. By 1831, these figures had changed to 3,467,000, or 25 per cent of a total of 13,897,000. So that while the urban population increased two and a half times, the total population grew only one and a half. In the same period in the United States, the urban population increased four and a tenth times while the total population grew two and a half. It is apparent, therefore, that in this period in the two countries there is substantially a parallel rate of urban growth. Between 1831 and 1891, the urban population rose to 15,564,000, or 53.5 per cent of the total population of 29,002,000. In the United States for the same period, the proportion of urban to total population rose to only 30 per cent, revealing to what extent the expanding agricultural interests of the country counterbalanced the growth of manufacturing activities in urban centers.

From 1891 to 1911 in England and Wales, using the "3,000 or more" unit of urban classification, the urban population rose to 28,163,000, or 78 per cent of the total population of 36,076,000, the highest proportion of urban concentration shown by the regions under consideration. Of this, 20 per cent pertained to the metropolitan district of London, and the remainder largely to the varying textile and metal industrial districts of Lancashire, Stafford, Yorkshire, Monmouth and Glamorgan.

Urban Development in Germany, France and Russia.—In Germany, in 1871, when the German empire was established, 14,790,000, or 35 per cent of the total population of the country (41,058,000) resided in towns and cities of "two thousand or more." In 1890, this proportion rose to 23,243,000 of a total of 49,428,000, or about 47 per cent. In 1910, the proportion of urban population amounted to 60 per cent, or 38,942,000 of the total population of the empire, 64,903,000.

France shows an increase of from 24.4 per cent in 1846, when the urban population stood 8,647,000 out of a total population of 35,400,000, to 45 per cent in 1911, when the urban population was 17,508,000 out of a total of 39,601,000.

In strong contrast with all of the preceding regions is the situation in Russia. In 1870, only 10.6 per cent of the estimated population of 86,000,000 lived in towns and cities. In 1897, the year of the last census estimates, only 12.9 per cent of a total of 126,000,000 were residents of towns and cities. Poland, where the textile industries gave the greatest impulse to urban growth, showed only 21.8 per cent of the total population of the district lived in urban centers.

In conclusion, it is evident that England and Wales show the highest urban agglomeration, *i. e.*, 78 per cent; Germany follows with 60 per cent; the United States next, with 46 per cent; and France last with 45 per cent. In each region the population is becoming more and more dependent upon manufacturing and commerce for an existence, and therefore until electricity displaces coal as a source of motive power, urban growth will continue in proximity to its present centers along the principle "to him who hath shall be given."

THE "CIVIC IMPROVEMENT LEAGUE OF CANADA": A DOMINION WIDE MOVEMENT

BY WILLIAM H. ATHERTON, PH.D.¹

Montreal

THE Dominion of Canada has learnt much from its neighboring republic. May it be possible for the latter to learn something in turn from the dominion?

A civic movement is just taking place in Canada, which, while owing, at least through some of its promoters, much to the experience gained from civic workers of the United States, and not least to the National Municipal League, is a step in advance in civic constructiveness, and one highly useful for imitation in the United States, in that it points the way to the desirability of the establishment of a federal department of cities to supplement the public health service, the agriculture and children's

¹ Lecturer, College for the Higher Education of Women (Laval University), Montreal, secretary of Montreal City Improvement League and member of the First Dominion Council of the Civic Improvement League of Canada.

bureaus and other federal organizations already in existence. The movement is that signalized by the inauguration of the "Civic Improvement League of Canada" at Ottawa on January 20, patternized and helped in its struggle for existence by the commission of conservation—a non-political department of the federal government of Canada.

A word as to this commission: It is composed of twelve *ex-officio* members and about nineteen appointed members, unofficial experts dealing with those forces conserving the resources of the dominion, its mines, its forests, its live stock, its agriculture. This non-political commission has been a great success and is gradually taking on new developments.

In 1914, in order to conserve the time, energies and money of cities, towns, municipalities, which had been hitherto left to think out haphazardly their own problems arising from the necessity of the development of urban and suburban growth, this commission added to its activities by the establishment of a bureau of town planning and housing, under the direction of Thomas Adams, the well known city planner of England.

The request for the latter establishment, and its subsequent realization, were the results of action taken by the Canadian delegates at the International city planning congress held at Toronto in November, 1914, under the joint auspices of the commission of conservation and delegates from associations, mostly in the United States. On this occasion there was present a group of Canadian civic workers who had previously met at Toronto in 1913 at the convention of the National Municipal League either as members or in sympathy with its ideals, and had there formed themselves into a committee to study the ways and means to establish a Canadian civic association to concentrate on the study of Canada's special civic problems.

There was no desire to separate from the National Municipal League and kindred American associations, for many had strong affiliations therewith; but one central Canadian school of experts was necessary for the study by Canadians of their own problems. This association might afterwards be brought into useful and happy relations with the large associations established on this continent for specific and more confined purposes.

This committee met at the City planning congress, and urged before the Canadians present as the first move that since town planning and housing were the basic movements in all modern civic improvement schemes, the commission of conservation should set up a bureau of this nature, which should employ experts to collect comparative statistics, sociological surveys, maps, etc., all of which should serve as viaducts leading to some system of uniformity in town planning and housing throughout the dominion, and would conserve endless expenditures of time, money and energy which otherwise would be frittered away by cities working haphazardly and incoherently. The commission saw that this form of conservation was within its scope, and the bureau of town planning and housing was formed, with Mr. Adams as director.

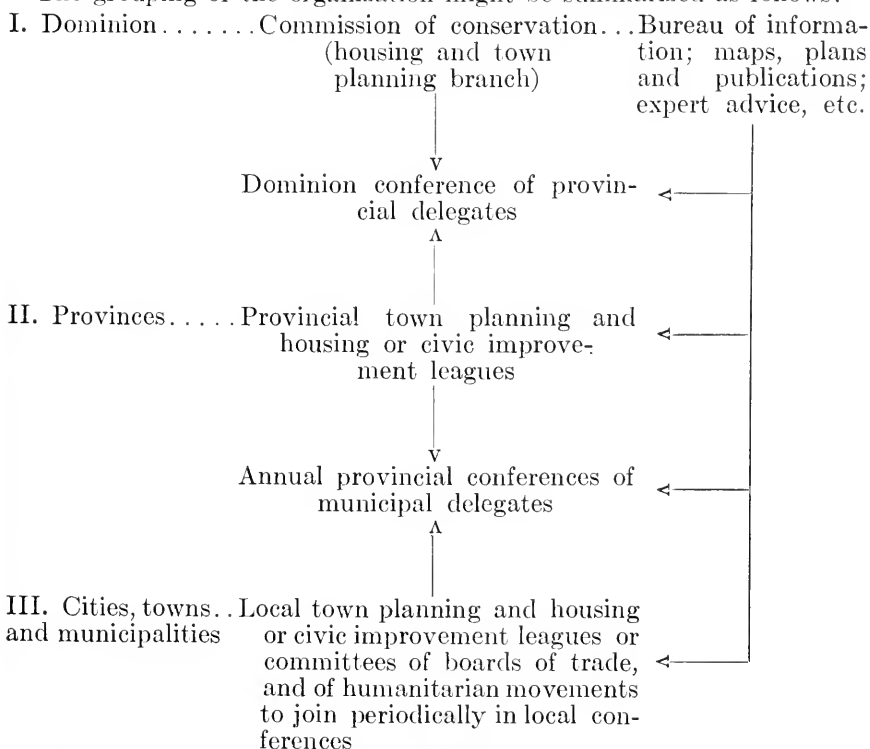
Meanwhile the idea of a civic improvement association of unofficial experts was not abandoned, but only deferred. Mr. Adams arrived,

visited all the principal cities of Canada and the districts being developed, saw their difficulties, and as a first result prepared a town planning act for Canada. But there was soon found to be a dearth of unofficial bodies representing educated and enlightened public opinion to criticize or to promote useful legislation for the common law on this and kindred movements. Those existing were few, and sparsely scattered with little or no inter-relation. Especially was there wanting a central organization truly representative of the dominion.

Canada has not been as well organized as the United States in such matters. The moment had, however, come to establish a civic improvement league, to embrace in one central organization the representatives of responsible associations of a federal, provincial or municipal character.

The use of the resources of the commission of conservation, through its new bureau, was to be the basis of a dominion wide-association, which, starting out with a central dominion council, should encourage the growth of provincial councils as well as local councils or leagues in every municipality, be it a city like Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, or a modest township or rural district. In other words, there should be encouraged a scheme of civic improvement leagues throughout the dominion.

The grouping of the organization might be summarized as follows:—



The direction of the arrows indicates that the expert advice and assistance of the commission of conservation is available for all parties and on all occasions.

A preliminary congress for organization was held in Ottawa in November, 1915, and was attended by formal representatives from all over Canada. At that meeting there was adopted a provisional statement of objects at which the league should aim, as follows:—

To assist in promoting the highest interests of the Canadian city and the welfare of its citizens by the study and advancement of the best principles and methods of civic improvement and development, to encourage and organize those social forces which make for efficient Canadian citizenship, and to secure a general and effective public interest in all municipal affairs, with special regard to such questions as the following:

(1) The form and character of local government and the application of sound economic principles in regard to the administration of municipal business.

(2) The conservation of the industrial and physical resources of the city, with special regard to the housing conditions and health of its citizens and the adequacy and efficiency of its public services.

(3) The preparation of town planning schemes for the purpose of securing proper sanitary conditions, convenience and amenity in connection with the development of land within and surrounding the area of the city.

(4) The replanning of old districts, the removal of slum areas, the widening of public thoroughfares, and other reconstruction schemes.

(5) The preservation and increase of natural and structural beauty, the character and position of public monuments, the laying out of parks and open spaces, the planting and preservation of trees, the regulation of public advertising, and the abatement of smoke and other nuisances.

(6) The preparation of civic surveys and maps, and the carrying out of investigation into housing, transportation and industrial conditions, methods of land valuation and assessments, etc.

(7) The means of securing increased production from the soil within and in the neighborhood of the city by encouraging the cultivation of idle suburban land and a more widespread interest in gardening.

(8) The promotion of school and college courses in civics and civic design, of exhibitions of works of art and of architectural engineering and other designs relating to civic improvements, and of public performances of music; and the provision of facilities for the recreation and physical development of the young.

(9) Sociological works, including those especially making for efficient citizenship such as immigration, labor bureaus, child welfare, etc.

The formal inauguration of the Civic Improvement League of Canada and the establishment of the dominion council took place on Thursday, January 20, 1916, in the railway commission rooms in the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa, with the distinguished presence of the uncle of the King of England, Field Marshall, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, governor general of Canada. Be it said to the credit of the commission of conservation that the expenses incidental to this first congress of this unofficial organization were entirely borne by it.

The meeting at once took up business, taking for granted all congratulatory compliments on the formation and the need of such a league.

The resolutions put before the meeting dealt with the need of prompt action; in adopting a uniform town planning act, the planning of agricultural districts, a uniform system of municipal and vital statistics, the establishment of municipal departments of municipal affairs, a federal bureau of public health, a uniform system for meeting the question of employment and immigration after the war—all manifesting a desire for uniformity—a sign that such a body representative of the provinces of the dominion has been badly needed.

At present the organization of the central dominion body is divided into three bodies—(1) general membership; (2) a dominion council of one hundred representing the provinces according to population; (3) an executive, formed of a member from each of the provinces.

The formation of provincial and local civic improvement leagues has been deferred to a later period; but in preparation every encouragement is to be given to such. Indeed the movement will be valueless without their multiplication and co-ordination.

The above outline will sufficiently indicate the conception, birth and scope of a great civic movement which its promoters look forward to as likely to be economically and speedily productive of great good for the affiliation or co-ordination of Canadian associations moving around one common source of information—provided for all by the commission of conservation.

It is believed that this movement will be hailed as a blessing not only for Canada, but for the whole civic economy of this continent. Indeed those of the American associations present at the two Toronto congresses, when the first steps were taken for the new organization, hailed it, if attainable, as worthy of being recorded in history as a wonderfully progressive step in the modern development of civic economics.

CIVIC PHASES OF THE SMOKE PROBLEM

BY JOHN O'CONNOR, JR.,¹

University of Pittsburgh

THE problems of modern cities are largely industrial problems. Ancient cities were founded around religious, political or trading centers: modern cities were founded at points where raw materials could be secured or easily assembled for the making of goods. If cities have failed to solve their problems it is not so much the fault

¹ Mr. O'Connor was formerly economist and chief fellow (third year) of the Smoke Investigation of the Mellon Institute, and later assistant director of the Mellon Institute of Industrial Research, which position he now holds. He is also secretary of the Smoke and Dust Abatement League of Pittsburgh. This paper was read before the Association for the Prevention of Smoke, Cincinnati, September 8, 1915.

of theories of government, as it is that industry has failed in service. It has been served. Go through the shame of American cities and you will find at the basis of it a perverted idea of the place of industry in the scheme of things. As some one put it recently:

"Our jerry-built cities, our soot, the cracked paint of our houses, the dusty carelessness of our city life, its flaring second-hand amusements, are the settings in which people lose the vitality to deal with those problems which they dare not fail to solve."

Cities have yet to learn that industry was made for man; not man for industry.

The industrial life and with it, of course, the very existence of a great many of our cities is predicated on coal consumption. It is, therefore, not in the least surprising that cities have found great difficulty in solving a problem which arises out of coal consumption—the smoke problem. To attempt to make a problem out of that which is so close to the very existence of a city seems to some sheer folly. Booth Tarkington in "The Turmoil" has Mr. Sheridan, a manufacturer, express this attitude when he says to a committee of plaintive housewives who called to beg his aid against the smoke nuisance:

"Smoke's what brings your husbands' money home on Saturday night. . . . You go home and ask your husbands what smoke puts in their pockets out o' the payroll—and you'll come around next time to get me to turn out more smoke instead o' chokin' it off!"

Nevertheless, American cities have long recognized the existence of the smoke problem and have attempted to cope with it. As early as 1804 the burgess of Pittsburgh called the attention of the borough council to the smoke evil. It was not until 1881 that cities made the smoke nuisance a subject of legislation. Chicago passed the first general ordinance in April of that year and Cincinnati the following November. It may be interesting to know that almost ten years before this ordinance was passed in Cincinnati, actual cases of nuisances caused by smoke were reported and proceeded against under the general provision with respect to nuisances. Legislative enactments have gone on until now at the Mellon Institute there are on file copies of the ordinances of some 75 American cities. The enactment of so many ordinances may indicate a widespread and live interest in the smoke problem, or it may point to a surpassing faith in the power of legislation.

At all events the concept of the smoke problem has changed. That is the important and hopeful sign. That which was a nuisance and the abatement of which was to be secured by the establishment of facts in each individual case has become the smoke nuisance—a community problem. The establishment which now makes objectionable smoke is not looked upon as causing injury or annoyance only to the individual

who happens to live next door to it, but to the whole community. Therefore, when the smoke inspector proceeds against the violator of the ordinance he is doing so not on behalf of either a cranky, pesky, irrational or jealous individual, but on behalf of the community.

This has come to pass because cities are having it impressed upon them and are beginning to realize that the smoke nuisance is a serious obstacle to any kind of city planning, that it destroys building materials, retards the growth of vegetation, cuts off sunlight and daylight, prolongs fogs, is injurious to comfort and health, and is costly both to the smoke maker and to the public.

Let me dwell on the last point for very often persons in favor of smoke abatement are accused, as it were, of placing explosives beneath the foundation of industry. The bituminous coal consumption of this country is something over 400,000,000 tons which is valued at about \$460,000,000. It is conservatively estimated that 20 per cent of this coal consumption goes up the chimney as tribute to "King Smoke." This means a loss of about \$92,000,000 annually.

That is not all! On the basis of the average cost of the smoke nuisance for cities, in which estimates have been made, the annual cost to the people who live in what the United States census terms "urban territory" is about \$550,000,000. Cities have every reason to relieve their citizens of the burden of this tax.

Again, city assessors and the courts have taken cognizance of the fact that the smoke nuisance reduces rents, increases the difficulty in letting houses and decreases the selling price of properties, especially in residential sections.

There is another point on the economic side. It refers to the old cry about driving out business. This cry is often raised when some offenders are hard pressed. It is then asserted that if the smoke ordinance is enforced, manufacturing plants will be compelled to move elsewhere. There is no evidence to support this threat. On the contrary there is abundant proof that the smoky condition of the atmosphere keeps certain very desirable industries from locating in smoky cities and, in the second place, it imposes a heavy tax on industries already located in such cities.

A consideration of these points leads to the conclusion that the abatement of the smoke nuisance, unlike many other social nuisances, against which outcry has been made, would result in direct and immediate gain both to the public at large and to those who are chiefly responsible for it.

Cities of this country are doing much to solve the smoke problem, but the citizens have every reason to demand and to bring pressure to bear that the process be accelerated because of health, welfare, comfort and the things which make for civic betterment.

It is to bring about this acceleration that I wish to make three suggestions, not on behalf of cities, but to cities.

The first one is that a city administration should take an active interest in the smoke problem. It is not outside of its duty nor beneath its dignity to do so. The interest should take the form of constructive suggestion and encouragement, not a contemptuous tolerance of the bureau, pernicious interference on behalf of favorite offenders or the sending out of the edict "go easy." Any municipal activity breaks down at the point where favoritism enters. I am sometimes inclined to think that the smoke inspector does not secure more co-operation from the city administration because he, himself, does not take the proper attitude on the smoke problem. He often thinks that his is somehow a hopeless and thankless job and the best he can do is to let "bad enough" alone. The smoke problem calls for broad men, men who have a sound fundamental training, men of imagination and men of force.

My second point is that a city should know what its problem is. This may sound foolish, but I doubt if there are more than two cities in this country which have the information on which to base a serious campaign against the smoke nuisance. A city should know what its coal consumption is and its relation to the smoke problem. It should have exact knowledge as to the general source of smoke and a good idea of the amount of smoke made by each source. It should know the location of all stacks and have all significant data on the kinds of installation under them. It should place special emphasis on securing facts as to the ability of the different installations to abate smoke. It should spare no expense to secure evidence with which to convince the most hardened offender of the smoke ordinance that the emission of dense smoke is both wasteful and harmful.

My third point is that with such information a city should diagnose its problem and plan broadly and deeply for its solution. For this purpose the ordinance should be studied to find out whether or not it was simply copied from that of another city or was adapted to the problem at hand. It should decide how much emphasis is to be placed on the abatement of smoke and how much on the prevention of future smoke. The organization of the smoke department should be worked out with reference to the extent and nature of the problem. If it is possible, the smoke bureau should be separated from other activities and set off by itself. This will give to it dignity, obtain for it the proper attention and concentrate responsibility.

Above all, plans should be laid to secure the co-operation of all civic and commercial organizations and institutions of learning that a solid front may be presented in attacking the smoke problem. This is important, whether the plan of procedure is to be one of education or prosecution. No municipal activity in this country is developed sufficiently

to reach its goal without the help of organizations which have the welfare of the community at heart. The assistance, the criticism and the approval of civic organizations should be sought after and prized. Institutions of learning in which reside the sciences which have solved so many municipal problems should be recruited for the fight, and the students of engineering schools should be impressed with the necessity of giving attention to problems of combustion. All the forces that are in a community should be called into action to help to solve one of the most difficult problems which confront municipalities.

To summarize: Most of our civic problems are problems of industry—problems concerned with our very existence. The smoke problem is such a one, and for that reason, if for no other, is difficult to solve. Cities are coming to take an increased interest in it. This is due to the fact that points in the indictment of the smoke nuisance have been impressed upon them with new force. Cities have come to know that the smoke nuisance is harmful and wasteful, and that smoke abatement is practicable. Cities with well organized smoke abatement departments which have the support and interest of city administrations, cities which know the problem before them and which have planned broadly and deeply for its solution have every reason to look forward to “Noble and joyous cities, unbelievably white.”

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Charter Revisions.—*The Proposed Los Angeles Charter.* On Tuesday, June 6, Los Angeles will vote on a new charter, the drafting of which was completed by a board of freeholders on December 2, 1915. This is a move, though perhaps a slight one, in the direction of simplified government and it marks a number of radical changes over the present system. The proposed charter abandons the board plan of organization for the departments of finance, public works, public safety, public utilities and harbor, and substitutes a single commissioner to be appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council. If adopted it will combine the present forty administrative departments into twelve. The number of members of the council remains nine, but their terms of office would be lengthened from two to four years.

Another very important change is the consolidation of the functions of the present police courts and township justice courts in a municipal court. This body will divide itself into branches in accordance with the several classes of cases brought before it, such as first offenders, delinquency cases, etc.

The budget will be prepared by a committee of estimate, consisting of the mayor, the comptroller and the president of the council, instead of the finance committee of the council.

Provision is made for holding special elections on the same day as a state or county election, and various obstacles to the combination of city and county offices have been removed. To a recently annexed portion of the city and to certain outlying territory the charter offers the possibility of separate borough control over public works and public utilities operating wholly within the borough, the borough under these conditions to be

governed by a borough board of three members, of whom one member will be director of the borough department of public works. The members of this board will be elected or appointed (this method of selection is apparently optional with the city council) for six years.

The city comptroller, city attorney, city prosecutor, the judges of the municipal court and the board of education, in addition to the mayor and council, will be elective officers.

At the election in June four alternative charter propositions will be submitted: (1) making it possible for the council to create the office of business manager of departments upon an ordinance to be approved by the people; (2) providing a two year term for all elective officers; (3) providing for district representation in the council; (4) providing for the election of councilmen by proportional representation (list system).

The charter proposes a large number of minor changes in the existing system. It is a complex document. The charter revisers evidently felt it necessary or desirable to enumerate in great detail the powers of the city and the powers and organization of the several departments. They have evidently not taken seriously to heart the lessons of the commission government movement, for the division of responsibility between the various parts of the government is still serious in spite of the suggested changes.

Springfield's Choice between Governments. The citizens' charter commission of one hundred, organized in the fall of 1914 for the purpose of drafting a proposed charter for Springfield, Mass., decided to constitute themselves into two bodies, one for the purpose of drafting a city manager charter, and the other of drafting a highly responsible mayor and council plan.

These two bodies, after spending nearly a year in drafting their charters, presented to the commission of one hundred two completed documents.

The city manager charter provides for the biennial election at large of a council of ten and a school committee of eight, both by proportional representation.

The other charter, commonly called the "federal form," provides for the election of a mayor, and of a council of eleven and a school committee of eight, both of the latter by proportional representation. The elections under the charter are held annually, the council being elected one year and the mayor and school committee the next, the elections to be at large. The mayor appoints the heads of five departments, without confirmation, and is a member of the school committee *ex-officio*.

A bill containing both charters has been submitted to the state legislature for enactment subject to a referendum to the people at the elections this fall. The referendum provides for two questions being submitted: first, shall the present charter be repealed; and, second, if repealed, shall the new charter be the city manager or the federal plan. The bill is now in the hands of the legislative committee on cities and at the present writing the commission of one hundred is endeavoring to have the city council petition the legislature to allow the bill to be referred to the voters this fall.

The Powers of Commission-Governed Cities. Is the commission plan simply a skeleton organization or do the general state laws embodying this plan confer new powers upon the cities adopting them? That is a question which is bothering people in New York. The attorney-general has held to be unconstitutional section 37 of the optional city government laws.¹ The issue arose over an attempt in Niagara Falls to change the title of "overseer of the poor" to "commissioner of charities." But the opinion of the attorney general recites:

On substance, this section provides that the city council under any of the plans

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 590.

provided may by ordinance transfer from one officer to another any duties and powers now imposed upon any officer or employe, and when all the duties of an office have been transferred the office shall be deemed abolished. It then proceeds to provide that the council shall have the power to regulate by ordinance the exercise of any power and the performance of any duty by any officer and that upon the adoption of such ordinance every provision of the charter of the city relating thereto shall cease to have any force or effect in such city.

The only limitation provided as to such power is the proviso that such power of regulation by the council shall not extend to provisions regulating the manner of providing franchises, selling real estate or incurring municipal indebtedness or to any provision of law requiring any matter to be submitted to the vote of the electors or taxpayers.

The effect of this section is to delegate to the council so much power of the existing charter as it sees fit, so far as the same relates to the exercises of powers or the performance of duties by and of officers. This would cover practically the whole of the city charter and just how far it would go would depend upon the judgment and discretion of the council and not of the legislature.

The legislature must exercise its judgment and specify what powers it will give and what it will not give so far as local legislation is concerned. When it does want such a power it does not pretend to legislate upon subjects within that power at all, but it must specify the limits of the powers. The optional city government law violates both principles. The legislature does not specify what powers the council may provide for by regulation. It exercises no judgment in that behalf but attempts to say that the council may regulate the exercise of any power of any officer of the city.

Furthermore, so far as the city charters already in force are concerned, the legislature has always specified by its own act what the powers and duties of these officers shall be and what limitations shall be placed upon them, but the optional city government law attempts to delegate to the local council the power to say which part of the judgment of the legislature shall be retained and which part of it rejected. It seems to me perfectly clear that these provisions are unconstitutional.

Niagara Falls has sought to remedy the situation created by this decision by causing a bill to be introduced in the legislature which eliminates from the city's

special charter those sections which are inconsistent with the optional law and enacts the present form of government in the form of a special charter.

St. Paul's Unsatisfactory Charter. The board of freeholders of St. Paul, which under the Minnesota constitution is a permanent body, is apparently dissatisfied with the commission form of government, which was established by a charter amendment proposed by initiative petition in 1912. This amendment, which became effective in 1914, is unique among commission governments in that it provides for little of the flexibility of organization which is usually regarded as essential to the success of the plan.

A majority of the freeholders at a meeting held Feb. 1, adopted a resolution in favor of preparing and submitting to the people a new form of charter along the lines of the so-called "federal" plan. The idea uppermost in the minds of the members of the board of freeholders favoring a new charter is to recommend a system of municipal government consisting of a mayor and council of one body, the members of which shall be elected by wards. The heads of the various departments would be appointed by the mayor and would hold office at his pleasure. The functions of the council would be limited strictly to matters purely legislative in character.

All of the newspapers are opposed to the submission of a new charter at this time, possibly because the one under which the city is at present operating was put in force in June, 1914, and its adoption was due almost entirely to the campaign which the newspapers made for it.

Seattle's Proposed Amendments. Seattle is again on the trail of important charter changes. On March 7 the city voted on three amendments. The most important of these provides for a system of preferential voting and was suggested by former mayor George F. Cotterill. It failed to carry. The same system that is now proposed was rejected by the voters in 1915. Another amendment submitted was designed to place certain city employees, engaged in hazardous occupations, under

the provisions of the state industrial insurance act. This carried. The third amendment was to abolish ward boundaries, divisions that have not been utilized since the change in the number of councilmen from eighteen to nine was adopted in 1910. This amendment was also adopted.

H. S. GILBERTSON.

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Preferential Voting.—*In Grand Junction, Colo.*, the city in which it first went into effect, the preferential ballot has just successfully withstood a determined assault. After experience with the preferential ballot for six years, in which it was used in four regular elections and some special elections, the voters, by a majority in every precinct of the city, voted down an attempt to abolish the system. One or two points from the campaign arguments on each side are worth mentioning. Its friends, in answer to the charge that the preferential ballot was "confusing," said that it confused none but the politicians and was quite simple to the voters. The verdict of the election tends to prove the truth of this crushing reply. Quite as significant as the arguments of its friends was the argument of its opponents, the chief spokesman for whom, in a letter in a local paper a few days before election, stated the following:

"It is true we [in Grand Junction] were the first to step in where angels feared to tread and we adopted a system no other community had the temerity to try, and we have tried it out and while we have not elected any bad men to office it was not the fault of the system but for the reason we have been very fortunate in having only remarkably clean men aspire to positions in the city, but it is possible under the so-called preferential system for a minority to elect questionable men to office."

He then proceeds to "show" how a minority "might" elect questionable candidates to office by two different methods—both flatly impossible under the specific provisions of the charter!

LEWIS J. JOHNSON.

The Preferential Ballot in California.—California entered the list of preferential ballot cities on December 7, 1915, when the voters of Santa Monica elected three commissioners, five members of the board of education and a police judge. The voters and election officials experienced little difficulty in using the new plan, mainly because of an extensive educational campaign conducted by the press of the city and because of the class for election officials, which was conducted by the city attorney. To "single-shotting" was attributed the defeat of T. H. Dudley, the incumbent mayor, who was a candidate for re-election as commissioner of public safety. Dudley decreased his strength by only 14 per cent of the second and third choices. S. L. Berkley, who was elected, increased his strength by 42 per cent and J. C. Steele, the second man, made a gain of 62 per cent. The new officials take office under a set of charter amendments which radically change the form of the city's government and put into effect the short ballot principle. The council is composed of a commissioner of public safety, who is ex-officio mayor, a commissioner of finance and a commissioner of public works. Each commissioner is elected for four years and receives a salary of \$3,000 a year. A board of education of five members and a police judge are also selected by the voters. One of the first moves of the newly elected commission was to appoint Francis J. Heney, as city attorney. The only other appointive office provided for in the charter is that of city engineer.

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Public Utility Notes.—*Utility Costs in Philadelphia.* The consumers of the city of Philadelphia pay annually \$23,000,000 for transit, \$10,000,000 for gas, \$7,000,000 for electricity, \$7,000,000 for telephones, \$2,300,000 for street lighting, a total of \$49,300,000; public property is used for a private gain of more than \$2,000,000 per year; 65 cent gas is a possibility to the Philadelphia consumer by a fair deal; most of the city's public utilities go scot free of supervision of rates and service by city officials. These are but a few of

the interesting facts brought out in the careful and well supported report for the year 1914 by Judson C. Dickerman, chief of the bureau of gas, of Philadelphia.

Of particular value are the electric rate charts giving the comparison of rates in large cities, the results of high pressure gas lamps experiments; the estimated cost of installing and operating a municipal electric plant for the city of Philadelphia, and the capital expenditures, operating costs and profits of the Philadelphia gas works under the private operation of the United gas improvement company.

The annual reports of the Philadelphia bureau of gas until Mr. Dickerman was made chief of the bureau were stereotyped, valueless and stupid. Chief Dickerman has made one of the most valuable public reports that has yet been made on lighting and utility matters by any official of an American city.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

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Public Service Commission Situation in New York.—Following the publication in October, 1915, issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW of an article on "The Crisis in Public Service Regulation in New York," developments have come thick and fast. The Thompson legislative investigating committee had seemed to be discouraged about undertaking any further investigation of the personnel of the commission after Governor Whitman's whitewash of the Tammany commissioners last May. The summer was spent in a study of the public service law, with a view to its revision. However, in October the committee started in again to inquire into the qualifications and acts of the commissioners. The first blood was drawn when the committee inquired into Chairman McCall's ownership of stock in the Kings County electric light and power company. It was supposed that McCall, having been a judge and a man of affairs, must have been too astute to retain the ownership of this stock in plain violation of law when he accepted the chairmanship of the commission. At the first inquiry, however, it developed that he had merely given the stock to his wife.

He claimed that the transfer had been made by an informal memorandum which, however, could not be found, and to which by his own admission no stock transfer stamps had been attached as required by law. Upon this charge, Governor Whitman finally removed him from office about December 1, and much to everybody's surprise appointed in his place Oscar S. Straus, who had been the Progressive candidate for governor in 1912 and whose reputation for ability and high-mindedness in public affairs stood very near the head of the list in New York City. Yet it should be said that Mr. Straus had never had any experience in public service commission work, and, being well-advanced in years, could not in fairness be expected to make a success of his new work unless he was supported by associates who would be able to relieve him of the detail drudgery of regulation work. There was every reason to expect that his appointment would restore public confidence in the integrity of the commission, and that in the general executive work properly required of the chairman he would be exceptionally successful, if given as associates on the commission four men of ability, character, capacity for work and knowledge of the problems with which the commission has to deal.

The Thompson committee also investigated the record of Commissioner Robert Colgate Wood and found that he had been mixed up in negotiations with the signal companies in relation to certain rapid transit construction contracts, in such a way as to make his continuance on the commission impossible. I would have said "in such a way as to impair his usefulness on the commission," but, so far as I know, he had never been accused even by his neighbors of having any *usefulness* in the position, except possibly to his railroad friends. It became known that he was closely associated with the Maher family, the active men in the operation of the Third Avenue Railway system. Certainly, Frederick W. Whitridge, receiver and then President of this system, connoisseur of political literature, and unbridled detractor of the efficiency of the

original Hughes commission, must have been proud of Wood! Before the Thompson committee had completed its work, Wood resigned. He was later indicted for soliciting a bribe in connection with the signal contracts and is now awaiting trial. Governor Whitman promptly appointed in his place Henry W. Hodge, a celebrated construction engineer and a personal friend. Mr. Hodge undoubtedly possesses excellent qualifications for work on the commission in connection with the tremendous construction problems arising out of the subway contracts. It does not appear that he ever had any experience in rate-fixing or other regulatory work, and the public was entirely uninformed as to his attitude of mind toward public service corporations. At first it was claimed by Senator Thompson that his appointment had been secured, or at least approved by Lemuel Ely Quigg, politician and "accelerator" of public opinion, and for some years past a recognized member of the legal staff of the Interborough rapid transit company. Subsequently, this charge was withdrawn, and the nominations of both Straus and Hodge were confirmed by the senate in January. Mr. Straus's term will expire February 1, 1918, and Mr. Hodge's in 1919.

The committee proceeded to investigate again the records of Commissioners Geo. V. S. Williams and J. Sargent Cram. Nothing very definite was developed against these men other than the corporation sympathies of the one and the passion for ease of the other. Mr. Williams finally concluded to resign, and went off the commission "voluntarily" on February 1, 1916. As Mr. Cram's term was to expire on the same date, the committee did not press its investigation into his official acts.

Shortly after the first of February, Governor Whitman named Travis H. Whitney for the five-year term to succeed Mr. Cram and Charles S. Hervey for the one-year term to succeed Mr. Williams. These nominations were bitterly opposed by Senator Thompson but they were finally confirmed on March 16th. Mr. Whitney has served as secretary to the commission, through good report and

through evil report, from the time of its organization in 1907 down to the present time. He has supported and in turn has enjoyed the favor of three successive chairmen, a Republican, a Tammany Democrat and a Progressive. Mr. Hervey has had long experience as a deputy city comptroller.

Meanwhile, the investigation into the subway contracts and the administration of the public service law will be continued by the Thompson committee until July 1st. There is every indication that there will be another chapter to this story.

DELOS F. WILCOX.¹

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Municipal Ownership in Kalamazoo.—

On September 7, 1915, propositions for the acquisition of a municipal gas plant, for the entrance of the municipally owned electric plant into commercial lighting, and for the establishment of a public utility commission in charge of utilities now owned or to be acquired by the city were defeated by the voters of Kalamazoo, Michigan. It is believed by the local advocates of municipal ownership of utilities that in spite of this set back, the issue is by no means a dead one in Kalamazoo.

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The Birmingham Situation.—The situation in Birmingham, Alabama, is that of a city with income sufficient to support hardly more than the barest necessities of government. Of the remedial activities begun in 1914, the most necessary one came to nothing on December 27, 1915, with the defeat of a proposed constitutional amendment raising the present tax rate limit.²

¹ New York City.

² The Birmingham tax amendment, which would have given that city the right to vote on the question of increasing her tax rate to \$1.50 a hundred, was defeated by a vote of 27,124 to 18,664, according to official returns. The official vote shows that the amendment carried in only 28 counties of the state. In Jefferson the vote against the amendment was practically two to one. Montgomery and Mobile counties gave large majorities for the amendment. Most of the rural counties went against the amendment. In Covington county the vote was 1,049 to 166 against it.

Birmingham, founded just after the Civil War, is to-day the leading industrial center of the south with a population of about 170,000. For a number of years the city board of commissioners has had financial difficulties to contend with. Operating costs have exceeded revenues, and no remedy has appeared, because, on the one hand, demands for an efficient health, police, fire, educational and all other forms of public service are yearly increasing, and on the other, the revenue possibilities are exhausted.

Having fully realized the serious nature of the problem, the commissioners asked the assistance of a citizens' committee of one hundred, and after its appointment co-operated with it in the work undertaken. Three sub-committees were appointed, one to consider the subject of temporary relief, another to consider means of permanent relief, and the third to investigate the present city activities. All three committees reported in January, 1915.

The report concerning the present city government covers 74 printed pages and describes the situation in each of the departments. In almost every case the need for additional funds is the most striking disclosure. For several departments comparisons with other cities are made, showing that Birmingham spends much less than might well be expected. No city of her size in the country is operated with so small a per capita allowance.

The report of the committee on temporary relief deals with methods of disposing of the floating debt, and that of the committee on permanent relief deals with proposed legislation and the proposed constitutional amendment, which were brought to the attention of the legislature then in session.

Meanwhile, the city commission was making every effort to reduce the cost of government and taking drastic steps toward keeping expenditures within the insufficient revenues. It was estimated that \$340,000 saving was necessary on a basis of last year's figures, a saving that amounts to about 14 per cent of the total cost of running the government. Some of

the steps which have been taken are a reduction of the police force from 170 to 138 men, a reduction of the fire department from 180 to 132 men, an allowance of \$8,000 to the library instead of \$12,000, and so forth. The chief of the welfare department donates her services until the city can again afford to pay her. Most interesting and unusual is the establishment of a fee for attendance at schools, 25 cents a month for grade schools and 50 for high schools, but those who explicitly state that they are unable to pay are exempted from this charge. It is now discovered that the income is only sufficient to permit of a seven-month school term.

In response to the demands of the active citizens of Birmingham, the legislature passed three bills. The first of these increased the number of city commissioners from three to five. Another was a so-called "budget" act, and the third was the bill bringing to the vote of the people the proposed constitutional amendment.

The budget act, now in force, has for its purpose the removal of any possibility of permitting current expenditures in the future to exceed revenues. It requires that a "budget" be drawn up prior to or within thirty days after the commencement of the fiscal year. This document shall set forth estimated "receipts and expenditures" for the year. During the year the budget may be adjusted so as to conform to the actual "receipts or revenues for the year." It is then provided that the governing body shall not "expend or contract to expend in any year any amount in excess of the revenue collected or estimated in good faith to be due and payable during that year into the treasury of the city." The act does not apply to capital expenditures and allows exceptions in case of certain emergencies. As a penalty for violation there is provided removal from office.

The proposed constitutional amendment was the most interesting recommendation of all. It was passed by the legislature in substantially its original form. Under this measure the city was not to have complete freedom in fixing its tax rate. In

fact, the present 1 per cent limit could not be exceeded by the governing body unless the electors voted favorably upon a budget presented for their approval. In no case was the rate to exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The particular reasons for this interesting form of popular budget control may be better understood in the light of another recommendation to the legislature which was not acted upon at the past session. This had for its aim better methods of equalization of taxes in the state and county. According to many reports, great injustice now exists. Certainly better state wide methods would make possible a substantial increase in the assessed valuation of Birmingham property without danger of the city being the loser thereby. The present valuation represents little, if any, more than 50 per cent of actual values. The point of view of the sub-committee on permanent financial relief is made clear in their report. It was expected that in case tax reforms resulted in a decided increase in revenues in Birmingham, there would be no necessity for the voters of the city to authorize, and they could refuse to authorize, a tax levy in excess of 1 per cent. In other words, the aim of the sub-committee was clearly to restrict the power of the city commissioners. Vesting certain powers in the people seems to be the result of the impossibility of securing a constitutional provision that would adjust itself as the assessed value of property approaches the real value. In case of tax reform, the constitutional limit would be so high as perhaps to be ineffective, but the limit which could be imposed by the people would still be of service.

In decided contrast to this evidently well planned combination of restrictions is the fact that in campaigning for its passage, the amendment was referred to as a "home rule" measure. This prospective amendment was rejected by a large majority in the general state wide election held for its especial benefit, and strange as it may seem, the Birmingham count showed that there the disapproval of the measure was greater than it was elsewhere.

The first step which had been taken by Birmingham toward reform, that of wholesale reduction of expenditures, was opposed by many who perhaps failed to grasp the fundamental necessity of a sound financial basis for all governmental work. But the cuts which were made were to be temporary and it was then unanimously voted by the committee of one hundred that an increased tax rate was the only way out of the difficulties. Certainly the result of defeating the constitutional amendment is to leave unaltered the conditions which lie at the heart of the whole trouble.

The feeling on the part of many that tax reform will result in an adequate revenue seems to imply a lack of understanding of the present difficulties. It is certainly futile to hope for local equalization of assessments that can materially increase the city's income, though such equalization is to-day one of the immediate needs. With this matter out of the way, the air may be cleared so that the more deep seated difficulties can be reached.

To understand more fully the extent to which the present tax rate is deficient, it is only necessary to consider the effect of the proposed amendment. Had this so-called "home rule" measure been passed, the city would have had a means of increasing its income that would have sufficed for the present. But even with property assessed at its true value, and with the tax rate set at the proposed maximum, the tax revenues of the city would not be excessive or more than might normally be expected in Birmingham. The per capita revenue would be about \$24, which is the average for cities of from 100,000 to 300,000 inhabitants (including Birmingham) according to the latest census figures. It seems probable, therefore, that the constitutional limit would have operated as a decided check upon revenues in the future, especially as full valuation of property can hardly be hoped for. For the present, however, the city is operating on about half the revenue which would accrue with the proposed maximum rate and full valuation of property.

It is this situation which now has to be met. Too often the losses due to failure to

supply adequate service are not easy to realize, though none the less affecting the welfare of the community. In Birmingham this is not the case; the results of the year's experiences have already impressed officials and citizens and further action of some sort may be expected in the not distant future.

HUGH JACKSON REBER.¹



The Enforced Economy of Hibbing, Minn.—Agreement has been reached in the tax controversy at Hibbing, Minn., which attracted wide attention last fall. The village, owing to the presence of iron mines within its limits, has an assessed valuation of \$84,000,000. The people have had very liberal ideas. Their public buildings are beautiful, their schools are splendid and their great white way is dazzling. The village levy of \$750,000 a year for a population of 10,000 proved not enough; a floating debt of \$1,900,000 accumulated, and a levy for the coming year was initiated that would yield \$1,900,000, to cover the floating debt. Eleven mining companies, including the U. S. steel corporation, refused to pay their taxes for last year and also joined in an action to prevent tearing up and repaving a street already improved. In that action, a number of engineers testified that the old pavement was good enough for some years; one testified that the improvement was warranted. The court found that there was no plain breach of legislative discretion in the decision of the village council, whatever anyone might think of its good judgment, and so declined to interpose.

As to the general charges of extravagance, it is admitted that providing for a mining town is expensive. During the winter of 1915 the village carried a great many men on the payroll because work was slack in the mines. Many improvements have been scrapped because the whole townsite is underlaid with ore. The village pays for water works and the like in cash instead of issuing bonds. But when, on the request of the mining

¹ New York Training School for Public Service.

companies, a law was proposed in the legislature, limiting the current expense of any municipality to \$25 per capita, Hibbing and some of its neighbors protested so violently against their persecution by the great mining companies that the bill was defeated. It would have affected the actual expenses of Hibbing only. Most small cities have an annual expenditure of \$4 or \$5 per capita.

The compromise was finally reached because the issue of village warrants was too great a burden for Hibbing merchants; the banks would not cash them, the wholesale houses would not receive them, and the business men urged the village authorities to get to some agreement, which was accomplished in November after a siege of six months.

The companies paid their back taxes, with accrued penalties. The village authorities promised to bring their current expense within an allowance of \$24,500 a month. Permanent improvements are not included in that, as for example the water plant, recently completed at a cost of \$500,000. The school budget, which includes well equipped shops and kitchens, physical examinations, psycho analyses, nutriment and correction for the ailments of children of twenty-three nationalities, is another matter. The mining companies and the village authorities are in accord in giving the schools the best there is. The township levies are another matter, also, including the respectable sum of \$2,000,000 a year for roads. The compromise relates solely to village taxes.

The other day the Hibbing band announced with regret that it must give up. The village had not seen its way clear to set apart for the band more than \$3,700 where \$8,000 had been asked. The players were willing to go on if the village would add \$1,500 for the leader's salary, but that was impossible. So the band must disband. That shows fairly well how hard Hibbing is hit by the era of economy.

JOHN S. PARDEE.¹

¹ Duluth, Minn.

Borrowing money on a twelve months' note with interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, is the most recent accomplishment of the commission-manager government in St. Augustine, Florida. When the commission and manager made up the tax roll and budget in January for 1916, provision had to be made not only for the annual sinking fund charges for the \$65,000 water works bonds outstanding, but for current or floating debt of \$40,000, the major portion of which was inherited from past administrations—a small part resulting from the change in the tax paying period from October to February. To meet the entire floating debt and provided for all the services which were contemplated in the 1916 budget would have meant an excessive tax rate and it was therefore decided to reduce the current debt \$18,000 and borrow \$22,000 for twelve months.

The legal rate for loans in Florida is 8 per cent and the city has been paying this amount. As soon as it was determined to extend \$22,000 of the floating indebtedness for another year the manager communicated with a number of banking houses, with the result, first, of an offer of this amount at 7 per cent from a Florida bank, then an offer of 6 per cent from another; next an offer of 5½ per cent from a southeastern banking institution and finally an offer of \$22,000 for twelve months on a note of the city at the rate of 4 per cent per annum from a New York bank, thus cutting the interest charge in half.

This transaction not only shows what can be accomplished by business management but is also evidence, first, that the credit of the city of St. Augustine is good, and, second, that business conditions are greatly improved, that the money market is excellent at this time for the borrower.

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Refrigeration in the Home.—The necessity of proper refrigeration in the home is not generally appreciated. The growth of bacteria, the cause of food decomposition, is retarded by a temperature below 45° F., a temperature of from 45° to 50° F.

is slightly more favorable for bacterial growth, and a temperature above 50° F. promotes their rapid growth. In a pamphlet on refrigeration in the home, Dr. John R. Williams points out that even the most favored cities in the United States have periods of climate lasting from five to seven months when the temperature averages above 50° F. During these warm months, artificial means must be resorted to for food preservation. An investigation in Rochester proved that out of 5,450 families, 2,450 do without ice during the year, depending upon the cellar, kitchen or pantry for the preservation of food. That such is inadequate goes without saying, when it is realized that cellar temperatures rarely go below 55° F., and that kitchen and pantry temperatures are usually above 55° F. In those homes using ice, an investigation, by trained investigators, was carried on to ascertain the kind of ice boxes used. The data from 300 examinations were accepted as trustworthy. Of these only 123 had temperatures below 50° F., the other 177 registering above that temperature, and being, therefore, worthless for food preservation. The chief cause of inadequate temperature in the ice box is improper insulation. The necessity for greater care in the selection of ice boxes is evident when it is realized that the expenditure by working people for ice during the four or five warm months is \$5 to \$10 or more. Those in better circumstances spend correspondingly more. At least 60 per cent of this money is wasted and lost in the inefficient and uneconomical refrigerators in use. The waste in ice meltage in Rochester alone (population 230,000) amounts to 60,000 tons yearly, about \$350,000. At least \$100,000 more is wasted yearly in the present competitive system of ice delivery.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

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Food Regulations.—*New York City.* In July, 1915, the department of health of the city of New York issued a pamphlet on "Food Regulations." These regulations are quite comprehensive in their

scope, covering the following: retail stores, food factories and wholesale establishments, frozen product factories, kitchen, dining and serving rooms of hotels, restaurants, cafés, grill rooms, boarding houses, lunch rooms, buffets and saloons, egg breaking establishments, sale of eggs, sausage factories and smoking and preserving meat establishments. Under retail stores, regulations are prescribed for all retail stores, butcher stores, fish stores, ice-cream and candy stores. Under factory regulations, rules for screening, refrigeration, food protection, etc., are given. Selected sections of the sanitary code covering cold storage, food and drink are set forth.

C. L. K.

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Markets.—*Springfield, Ohio.* The city commission of Springfield, Ohio, recently paved the way for better market facilities by amending the old market ordinance so as to reserve to the city the right to take over the market spaces at any time, provided adequate adjustment is made in rental charges, and also the right to rearrange either the stands or the rental rates. It was the sense of the commission that early this year the city will build coverings for the outside stands, equip them with modern facilities as to light and heat, and raise the rentals proportionately with the improvements.

C. L. K.

✱

Wider Use of the School Plant.—The year 1915 proved a year of substantial progress in one of the most significant of recent social and educational developments, namely the wider use of the school plant. From all quarters come reports of advance in that direction.

First of all should be mentioned the fact that Edward J. Ward has been called from the University of Wisconsin to the United States bureau of education to direct the work of community center organization throughout the nation. Mr. Ward, in a sense the father of the recent movement for using the school-house as a

social center, was for five years director of the work in the University of Wisconsin extension division. He was responsible for the law of 1911 which opened the school-houses of that state as forums of public discussion by directing school boards to provide the necessary facilities. He was also sponsor for the civic secretary bill of 1915 which made provision for a paid secretary to carry on the community school center work. This is a most important measure for, as the experience of Wisconsin and of other states has clearly shown, the community center development suffered most seriously from the lack of a definitely responsible organ for promoting the work. What Wisconsin has lost in the departure of Mr. Ward to the federal post will unquestionably be more than offset by the gain to the movement throughout the United States, although the activities and example of Mr. Ward even while at Wisconsin were nation wide in their influence. One of the specific uses of the school-houses which he was particularly enthusiastic about encouraging was that as a polling place, a development which involves no additional expenditure for either the election or the school authorities and the advantages of which should lead to its widespread adoption at an early date.

Among the other states to take legislative action with regard to this matter is Ohio, which recently enacted the principles of the Wisconsin law by providing for the use of school-houses as social centers in the widest sense and making provision for raising the necessary funds for this wider use.

From Boston, where by a law of 1912 there is a special department under the school committee with a "director for the extended use of public schools" comes an interesting report of activities at the close of 1915. Under the law mentioned above two cents on each \$1,000 worth of rated property are set aside for the work of the department, yielding a sum of about \$30,000 for the past year. The activities financed are listed as follows:

1. Home and school associations, both large monthly meetings and board meet-

ings. Light, heat, and janitor service being paid by the department.

2. Alumni meetings. Same services paid by the department.

3. Lecture course given in five languages on citizenship topics.

4. Lecture course in English: The development of North and South America and the relation of the two continents.

5. Certain teachers' extension courses and playground teachers' meetings.

6. The operation of seven school centers serving seven communities in the city. These centers were open from two to three nights a week and from two to three afternoons.

While Boston is thus showing what can be done to make better use of the school plant in the large city, Chicago is beginning to consider ways and means for accomplishing the same result. A special committee of the city council was appointed there last year to consider and report on the availability of every public school building for social center purposes, and the conditions in each community. While this committee was sitting the city club issued a report on the use of schools for social centers making specific recommendations to the school board. Schools had indeed been used for such purposes for several years in a number of parts of the city, but the report of the city club stated them to be unsatisfactorily conducted and recommended a number of fundamental changes. The combined efforts and investigation of the city club, the school board and the council, will doubtless result in a development of this work along the most effective lines.

The ever more widespread application of the school social center idea is evidenced by reports of school-house meetings from all parts of the country, and wherever the idea is adequately set forth it appears to meet with almost immediate and universal acceptance. Miss Margaret Wilson in a recent lecture tour of the middle west advocated the extension of the social center idea and seems to have met with a ready sympathy and response.

Our universities, too, are devoting more and more attention to furthering this

movement through the extension departments. As one example of this activity may be cited a recent bulletin of the University of Indiana on the community school-house. This bulletin, issued by the extension division, is offered as a suggestive aid to those who are interested in the social center movement in Indiana. It comprises a set of lecture notes on the community school-house with lantern slides which are loaned free of charge to any school library or club in the state. Besides the lecture notes the bulletin comprises suggestions for study of various phases of the social center movement together with a select bibliography.

The University of Texas is encouraging rural school-house meetings by sending out through its extension department printed questions and answers relating to matters of fundamental concern to rural dwellers to be discussed at semi-monthly public meetings in the school-house. With the co-operation of the rural teachers the school-houses have thus become a forum for intelligent discussion of the most vital matters for the rural dwellers.

HERMAN G. JAMES.

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Race Segregation in St. Louis.—The first popular vote by use of the initiative under the new St. Louis city charter, and the first popular vote in the United States on the question of negro segregation resulted in adopting the segregation ordinance by a three to one vote on February 29. Seventy-two thousand voters, one half of the total registered, cast their ballots. Of the eighteen thousand votes cast against segregation about nine thousand were those of negroes. The only white wards which voted against it were two in the down town district inhabited by citizens of foreign birth. The election marked the end of a six-year year fight led by small property owners and real estate dealers, to secure the segregation of the races. Every attempt to get the city's legislative body to pass such an ordinance has failed. The advocates of segregation were among the foremost supporters of the initiative and referendum amendment to the old charter and amend-

ments to the direct legislation features of the new. It has been the consensus of opinion all along that negro segregation would be one of the first propositions submitted under direct legislation.

The ordinances were not vigorously opposed because it was apparent from the start that it would be almost impossible to make much headway against almost universal race prejudice and the interests of small property owners. However, a strong citizens committee of one hundred was formed, composed of leading white men who believed segregation a violation of American principles. The *Post Dispatch* was vigorous in its opposition, but the other daily papers either let the subject as much alone as they could, or were inclined to favor it in their news columns. The leading republican organ made no editorial mention of the issue at all, and the local republican party failed to oppose it actively. The socialist party and the entire foreign press were unanimously against the ordinance. Although the churches were appealed to very few ministers took any stand. Much prejudice against the negro had doubtless been aroused by the long run of the "Birth of a Nation" which was shown only a few months ago.

One definite result of value was the testing of the initiative clause of the charter in the supreme court of the state, which upheld its validity. The segregation ordinances will be taken into the courts at the first opportunity and, together with the Louisville ordinance and those in litigation elsewhere, will be carried to the United States supreme court.

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Cities in the United States with City Planning Commissions.¹—*Massachusetts*—Adams, Amherst, Arlington (town), Attleboro, Beverly, Boston, Brockton, Brookline (town), Cambridge, Chelsea, Chicopee, Clinton (town), Everett, Fitchburg, Framingham (town), Gardner, Gloucester, Holyoke, Hudson (town), Lawrence, Lowell, Malden, Medford, Melrose, Newburyport, Newton, Northampton, Plymouth (town),

¹ Prepared by Flavel Shurtleff, secretary of the National conference for city planning.

Pittsfield, Quincy, Salem, Somerville, Springfield, Taunton, Wakefield (town), Waltham, Watertown (town), Wellesley, (town), Westfield (town), Weymouth (town), Winthrop (town), Winchester (town), Worcester (town), Woburn (town), Walpole, (town).

Rhode Island—Providence.

Connecticut—Bridgeport, Hartford, New Britain, New Haven, New London, West Hartford.

New York—Binghamton, New York City, Rome, Syracuse, Troy, White Plains, County Commission.

New Jersey—Camden, East Orange, Newark, Trenton.

Pennsylvania — Allentown, Chester, Easton, Erie, Franklin, Harrisburg, Johnstown, Meadville, Newcastle, Oil City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Pittston, Pottsville, Reading, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, York.

Maryland—Baltimore, Cumberland.

Ohio—Cleveland.

Illinois—Chicago.

Michigan—Detroit.

Minnesota—St. Paul.

Missouri—St. Louis.

Kansas—Kansas City.

Nebraska—Lincoln.

Kentucky—Louisville, Paducah.

Louisiana—Shreveport.

California—Alameda, Berkeley, Oakland, San Francisco, San Rafael.

Libraries Under Commission Government.—It has been something of a disappointment to librarians that the National Municipal League has not taken up more definitely the question of the status of libraries in cities which have recently adopted the commission form of government. In a number of cases at least libraries have fared worse under the new form of government than under the old. Their fate was bad enough under the old and it is distinctly discouraging that the cities themselves and municipal experts in general have not recognized the importance of libraries sufficiently to insist that they be more adequately provided for. On the coast at least, the schools seem to obtain most generous appropriations and an appeal to the taxpayer, on their behalf, meets with a ready response, but the libraries are struggling along with meager appropriations which compel them to limit their activities. They are, however, an educational agency that deserves to rank with the schools.

I wonder if the League has given the attention to this question that it ought to receive, and is aware that in many cases the commission form of government has proved detrimental to our work.

EVERETT R. PERRY.¹

II. POLITICS²

Chicago's Civil Service.—During the past ten months the people of Chicago have been engaged in a bitter struggle to prevent Mayor Thompson and his followers from capturing the city civil service and using the 25,000 positions therein to destroy popular government. The mayor has chosen a vulnerable spot in the law for his operations: his power to appoint and to remove the civil service administrators, a power that is vested in him by the statute. The subserviency of the civil service commission once assured, wholesale temporary authority may be granted and various devices resorted to for placing political henchmen tem-

porarily on the city payroll. A brief review of the specific facts is instructive:

In April, 1915, the mayor appointed to the civil service commission a man known chiefly as a faithful minor follower of Senator Lorimer. With him, the mayor associated, as colleagues, a lieutenant of detectives and an investigator with experience as a thief-catcher in the state attorney's office; and when the first of these colleagues died early in November the mayor named in his stead a real estate

¹ Librarian, Los Angeles public library.

² Unless otherwise indicated the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

dealer, generally known as a supporter of the mayor's party manager. In a candid interview in the press of November 11, 1915, the new commissioner said: "I am going up against something I know nothing about. My understanding with the mayor is that I am to do nothing unjustified."

One of the commission's first acts was to lay off the efficiency examiners.¹ Lack of work and funds were the reason given, but as soon as the experts, who had been collected and trained in the efficiency division after years of patient and careful work, were gone, the commission filled their places with the mayor's henchmen and personal friends, ignoring existing reinstatement and eligible lists from which under the law, certification should have been made. Suits are pending in the courts which will probably result in the payment by the city of two salaries for the same position—one to the henchman and one to the lawful holder. The provisions of law authorizing "temporary appointments not to exceed sixty days pending regular appointments," but "only to meet extraordinary exigencies" and "to prevent the stoppage of public business" have been construed by the new commission in a way to create public alarm.

Before the Chicago civil service reform association, the city council and certain newspapers were debarred from access to the commission's records and an official circular issued by the mayor's government that employes supplying information concerning the service would be treated as disloyal, it was ascertained that in the short period of four months no less than 9,162 temporary appointments had been made. Many of them were to high salaried offices; some of them were renewals, and all were contrary to the spirit of the merit system. In one instance room for the temporary appointment of a party worker was made personally in a peculiarly high-handed manner by the mayor. Against the wishes of the head of the department an officer in the classified service was discharged "on probation,"

after his probationary period had expired. This act the court has held to be illegal, and the officer will go back. But in Chicago, as elsewhere, many of the most competent civil servants will not litigate their rights in the face of the united opposition of the mayor and his civil service commission, but seek employment where their services are likely to be appreciated. The illegal practice of the commission in suspending eligible lists, pending investigation of some gossip or charge that the examinations which produced them were bad, makes more room for temporary appointees.

Occasionally a variation of operation appears. On a police captain's list the 45th man is certified and appointed. President Whitman of the reform association is sued for \$50,000 in slander and libel. *The Civil Service News* is sued for \$150,000. A recalcitrant alderman's brother is discharged from the service for lack of work. Charges are preferred against a city officer who is a director in the reform association. A junior stenographer is laid off and her position taken by a henchman under the specious title of "special examiner." So far the work of the examination division and the trial board have not been directly interfered with, because lay-offs for lack of work or funds coupled with temporary appointments in the face of reinstatement and eligible lists are amply sufficient.

Nothing so far has arrested the mayor or the commission in their course; neither the accumulating litigation, nor the call of the association for the removal of the commissioners, the protests of the press, the hostility of the city council, nor the almost unanimous condemnation of these outrages by the organs of public opinion. The mayor, speaking of himself in the third person and referring to his violation of his pre-election pledges, says that "Big Bill Thompson is big enough to acknowledge that he made a mistake when he signed that pledge." He is further quoted as saying of the reform association: "Big Bill hasn't time to monkey with that outfit. It showed in its last letter that it didn't seem to be making any effort to tell

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 662.

the truth. All they are trying to do is to criticise the civil service commission by misrepresentation."

If campaign managers are correct in their standardization of a party worker's duty, that he should deliver nine votes or more, and the mayor can gain possession of the 25,000 positions in the city service or of any large proportion of them, as well as of the negro vote, which he is courting on a most elaborate scale, he can defy the people of Chicago and run the risks of prosecution. And this is exactly what "Big Bill" is doing. Prosecution he is not afraid of; at the worst, only some of his tools on the city's civil service commission could be indicted and prosecuted. The risk in this direction is slight, moreover. The state's attorney has been repeatedly and publicly asked to take action; evidence has been laid before him by the more independent aldermen and members of civic organizations; the January grand jury referred to the scandalous situation in its presentment and expressed satisfaction over the fact that evidence of violation of the civil service laws is being studied by the state's attorney; but so far no deed or word has come from the office of the public prosecutor.

Meantime the impetuous and erratic mayor has carelessly permitted himself to become entangled in another controversy—a controversy with the Municipal voters' league. That strong and influential organization issued its regular bulletin on the outgoing aldermen. In dealing with council activities, and aldermanic records, it had to refer to the mayor-council disputes, including that which concerns the merit system and its subversion by lawless removals and sixty-day appointments. The league did not attack the whole Thompson administration nor undertake, even by implication, to pass judgment on its stewardship up to date. It did, of course, "take sides" where this could not be avoided. To quote these relevant specimen sentences from its bulletin:

The new civil service "Wrecking crew" [made] an attempt to discredit the aldermanic crime committee of 1914.

The crime committee's recommendations had been unanimously ratified by the council, by the legislature in enacting state statutes, by the people in voting bond issues for better reformatory agencies, and by the state's attorney in repeated public statements. Nevertheless, Civil Service Commissioners Coffin and Geary disregarded the rotten conditions uncovered by the council's crime committee, claimed to be the sole agency authorized by law to investigate them and tried to discredit the work of the crime committee by showing some of its investigators belonged to the criminal classes.

The Coffin-Geary attitude is indicated by the following printed statement issued by them:

"Neither the council nor any of its committees is possessed of the power to investigate the police department, the fire department, the health department, the department of public works, the board of education, nor the civil service commission, or any other department or bureau. The power is vested solely with us and we will proceed to exercise it as occasion warrants. . . . The civil service commission itself according to law will do all the investigating that is to be done in the city hall in the near future, going into each department and scrutinizing the conditions prevailing therein." This impudent denial of the council's right to get information on matters concerning which it must legislate, is worthy of the men who tried to wreck the efficiency division and tear the hands off the clock of municipal progress.

The mayor lost no time in replying in characteristic style to the league's indictment of his commission and its general attitude toward the council. He denounced the league's statements as "lies"; he coarsely attacked the directors of the league, threatened libel suits, assured the public that his appointees were not only honorable and law-abiding, but ideal men for their positions, and that the league was deliberately dishonest and unfair in its methods. These tirades were followed by a cheap and crude attempt to "steal" the name of the league, or incorporate another body under a similar name, and confuse the public mind by reports and statements from that "fake" league. Of course, the Municipal voters' league treated this stratagem with the contempt it deserved, calling the

alleged founders of the rival league a "band of counterfeiters."

The press and the educated public have not been fooled by the mayor's "stroke." The attempt is a ludicrous fiasco. But the mayor and his tools, most of whom are discredited professional politicians, flatter themselves that they can defy or ignore the intelligent electorate. They go on making wild, silly and absurd statements in the hope that legions of careless or ignorant voters will believe at least some of them.

VICTOR YARROS.¹



Other Attacks on the Civil Service.—The new administrations in Philadelphia and Cleveland have promptly taken up the question of the reorganization of the civil service, with a view to letting down some of the higher bars. In both cities new civil service commissions have been appointed and they have endeavored so to change the rules as to enable the mayors and the heads of departments to have a freer hand in the matter of appointments.

The attack in Cleveland seems to have been the more vigorous and successful. In Philadelphia, Mayor Smith has definitely retained a number of the Blankenburg appointees, notably the chiefs of the bureaus of water and highways, two extremely important bureaus, and has so far refrained from expelling a number of others who made excellent records in his predecessor's administration. While there has been some reaction from the standards of the Riter-Bolger-VanDusen commission, it has not been so great nor so extended as was expected. It was unfortunate that Mayor Blankenburg established a precedent of appointing an entirely new civil service commission at the beginning of his term instead of filling in the commission with new appointees as the terms of the old members expired. The natural sequence was that the present mayor following the Blankenburg precedent removed the Riter commission and appointed his own.

¹ Chicago.

Des Moines Commission Government Again Attacked.—Newspapers publish stories from time to time to the effect that commission government in a particular city has broken down. The latest of these relates to Des Moines, which seems to be a favorite object of attack. It was sent out as a United press story. This particular story was to the effect that the "so-called Des Moines plan of city government, one of the first forms of commission government, which attracted much favorable attention the country over when it was adopted seven years ago, is branded a failure by Councilman W. F. Mitchell and a considerable percentage of the citizens. Mitchell was put into office to see if he couldn't reorganize affairs and make the plan successful. His resignation has been tendered, effective this spring. Mitchell says the city manager plan should be adopted by Des Moines." The despatch alleged that the bonded and floating indebtedness of Des Moines has increased nearly \$1,000,000 since the plan was put in force seven years ago. "The plan was heralded as one which would eliminate partisan politics from all municipal elections, place the responsibility for the success or failure of the city government upon the heads of the individual commissioners and generally make for economy and efficiency. Mitchell says politics has not been eliminated and that financially the plan has accomplished no good. Mitchell favors electing councilmen by districts rather than at large, paying them for one meeting a week. He believes all municipal executive control should be vested in the city manager, together with power to enforce all laws and ordinances and to control all city work. Mitchell believes this would kill the political phase which he believes has made the old Des Moines plan useless."

Such a story aroused a lot of comment, but it varied from the facts in certain important particulars. According to Mayor Hanna, who is serving his third term as mayor and thus breaking the two-term precedent: "Mr. Mitchell was elected on a one-term platform and he simply stated that he is going to stick to his

platform." Moreover, Mr. Mitchell has not branded the commission plan a failure; nor has the bonded and floated indebtedness been increased nearly a million dollars. This latter statement is ascribed to Commissioner Mitchell, but is given apparently upon the authority of the correspondent. It is true there has been a considerable increase in the bonded debt, but it is also true, as Mayor Hanna points out, "that for every dollar of additional bonded debt there are at least two dollars of permanent improvements. In other words, the city has paid all current expenses out of its current revenues, and has also paid 50 per cent on the cost of all permanent improvements. For example, four great street-wide concrete bridges and viaducts have been erected in the heart of the city at a cost of \$525,000, one-half of which is already paid for and the other half is being paid for in annual instalments and not left for future generations to bear. The market house was paid for in cash. The city hall costing \$428,000 is one-third paid for; the old park and cemetery debts have been discharged; park grounds in the civic center have been bought and paid for at a cost of \$125,000; seven suburban roads have been built and paid for. Furthermore, all new bonds have been put upon a serial basis. Old bonds have been partly paid off and partly refunded on a serial basis and a bond sinking fund has been established for the old 20-year bonds still outstanding."

Mayor Hanna declares that "partisan politics have been entirely eliminated from city elections and the conduct of city business. To be sure every municipal question of general interest has its political aspect and must and should continue to have its political aspect. Large municipal improvements and municipal politics must and should be decided in accordance with the desire of the majority. Certain public officers, too, will always be found to play petty politics upon occasions. That must always be expected. Commission government cannot change human nature. It can only make it easier for conscientious,

honest and capable men to succeed and make it more difficult for dishonest and incapable men to succeed."

Another misstatement was in stating that Mr. Mitchell favored electing councilmen by districts rather than at large. He has at no time ever said such a thing. Mr. Mitchell has not even recommended the city manager plan. "Like many others he believes the commission plan is a great advance in city government. He does not believe, however, that it is impossible of improvement. He has made the valuable suggestion of an officer to be appointed under the council who should have very large powers as a sort of director of public works. This would relieve councilmen of much administrative detail and at the same time would take the job hunter off the back of the elective officer. It would also give councilmen time to give more attention to legislative detail."

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The Sandusky Situation.—The somewhat embarrassing situation that existed for about the first month that the commission-manager form of government was in force in Sandusky was not due to the provisions of the new charter, but altogether to the five persons constituting the city commission. For the most part at least the commissioners are men who have more than fair ability, who are honest and in good standing in the community. The prospect was, therefore, with the election of these gentlemen, that Sandusky had every assurance of an efficient and business-like administration.

It developed, however, shortly after the new form of government became effective that the commission could not get together on organization and it appears largely for the reason that they were hopelessly divided on the election of their chairman, who under our charter becomes the mayor. For almost two weeks the commission failed to elect its president, and the dead-lock which existed during that time seemed to have caused dissension among the members of the commission to such a degree that for some time afterwards each member of the commission on general principles opposed everything that any other member might suggest, with the result that instead of administering the affairs of the city at its meetings these were occasions only of affording the members of the commission an opportunity to vent their personal feelings.

The commission did elect after considerable agitation a city manager, and doubtless made a wise selection in Kenneth Ward, as well as in the selection of the city solicitor and the present treasurer. The failure of the commission so far to produce satisfactory results is further due to the fact that its members are not yet fully acquainted with the spirit and letter of the charter. The past few weeks, however, have demonstrated that the commission is becoming acquainted with its duties and that its members are able to discuss city affairs dispassionately.

Probably the chief reason why the new form of government has not more creditably demonstrated itself is the same as would be attendant upon any radical change in either governmental or business affairs. A period of adjustment is always experienced under such changes. It is hoped that within the next few months the commission-manager form of government in Sandusky will come up to the fondest expectations of those who furthered the adoption of its new charter.¹

This view of the Sandusky situation is held by many of the people of the city.



Nashville's Municipal Election, held for the selection of two city commissioners to take the place of those ousted by the court, resulted in the election of Paul W. Treanor, for finance commissioner, and George J. Tomkins, for fire commissioner. Both ran as anti-administration candidates. The principal fight was between Treanor and a candidate named Armstrong. The latter had the backing of the Howse faction and the firm of Pitts & McConnico, attorneys for the deposed city commissioners. Backing Treanor were Stokes & Cherry, attorneys prosecuting the "ouster" suit against Howse. Mr. Stokes declared that if Armstrong should be elected he would go before the chancellor and withdraw from the lawsuit. An "ouster" bill, seeking to remove Chief of Police Alex Barthell and City Detective Mose Dixon was presented by Attorney Stokes, chief counsel for the taxpayers in the city hall scandal.

¹ From a letter from a well known member of the Sandusky bar. EDITOR.

The outcome of the ouster case in the supreme court was, a correspondent says, gratifying. "We accomplished more than we ever thought could be accomplished, in that the supreme court after ousting Mayor Howse from his office, practically disqualified him politically by the construction given by them to the provisions of our ouster law. They held that any acts of misfeasance or malfeasance, or acts indicating official unworthiness occurring even during a former term are grounds of ouster. Howse threatens now to run again, but under the broad rule announced by the supreme court a petition could be filed, based upon the same acts relied upon in the case just concluded, and he could be removed from office upon these same grounds."



Memphis Ouster Cases.—The Tennessee supreme court also decided the Memphis ouster cases involving Mayor E. H. Crump and Commissioner R. A. Utley, the charge against them being the failure to enforce the prohibition laws. They were ousted November 3, by chancery decree, on pleas of guilty entered "to expedite an appeal" to the supreme court. The cases of Crump and Utley differed from the Nashville cases, the two defendants having previous to the ouster proceedings been re-elected for new terms beginning January 1, last. The supreme court sustained their ouster from office, but held that the proceedings did not apply to their new terms. Attorneys have construed sections of the former opinion specifically to uphold the contention that officials may be ousted upon convictions of malfeasance during a former term of office. These attorneys declare that under the opinion proceedings may be instituted against Crump and Utley as soon as they are sworn in for their new terms. This construction has been placed on the case by Gen. G. T. Fitzhugh of Memphis, special counsel of the state, who announced that he would at once file new ouster proceedings against Crump and Utley.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS.¹

Preferential Voting.—The preferential system of voting has recently become a serious bone of judicial contention. The Minnesota supreme court has held invalid the preferential vote feature of the Duluth charter.² The New Jersey supreme court has reached a contrary conclusion in a similar case.³ The court of common pleas of Lucas county, Ohio, on December 27, 1915, upheld the election of Charles M. Milroy as mayor of Toledo on a preferential ballot. Of these decisions the only one which is final, even within the jurisdiction in which it was rendered, is that in the Duluth case. The question of the validity of this method of election, therefore, is still an open one, and the answer which is to be given to it is a matter of great moment to the friends of municipal progress.

The cases involving the preferential system are very few in number. The favorable decision by the Oregon supreme court in the case of *State v. Portland*⁴ was based on a specific provision of the constitution of that state authorizing preferential voting and is therefore of no value as far as the general legal problem is concerned. In *Farrel v. Hicken*⁵ the Minnesota supreme court decided that the provision of the Duluth charter requiring a voter to express as many first choices as there are positions to be filled was not an unconstitutional limitation of the freedom of suffrage. The same result was reached in New Jersey in the case of *Orpen v. Watson*. So far the authorities, such as they are, agree. A second point, however, was raised in the New Jersey case—that the provision for the expression of preferences was a violation of an implied constitutional restriction against casting a vote for more than one candidate for the same

office. This is rather an absurd ground of attack, but the court took it seriously enough to make a somewhat labored explanation of its decision that preferential voting was not such a violation of the constitution. This case never reached the court of errors and appeals on its merits, and cannot be regarded as a very weighty authority in favor of the preferential system.

In the case of *Brown v. Smallwood* there was presented to the Minnesota court a point which, curiously enough, was not presented when the Duluth charter was previously before it. In this latter case it was argued that the counting of second and third choices deprived each voter of that equal share in elections guaranteed by the constitution when it gave to him the right to vote for all elective officers. The court upheld this contention. Its language is worthy of special note.

It was never meant that the ballot of one elector, cast for one candidate, could be of greater or less effect than the ballot of another elector cast for another candidate. It was to be of the same effect. It was never thought that with four candidates one elector could vote for the candidate of his choice, and another elector could vote for three candidates against him. The preferential system greatly diminishes the right of an elector to give an effective vote for the candidate of his choice. If he votes for him once, his power to help him is exhausted. If he votes for other candidates he may harm his choice but cannot help him.

The opinion also quotes with approval from *State v. Thompson*,⁶ "Our system of government is based upon the doctrine that the majority rules. This does not mean a majority of marks but a majority of persons." It then continues: "In the case at bar it may be noted that the number of persons who voted were 12,313, and that the number of cross marks considered on the plurality election were 18,860. It was not a voting of man against man."

¹ Edited by Thomas H. Reed, University of California.

² *Brown v. Smallwood*, 153 N. W. 953.

³ *Orpen v. Watson*, 93 Atlantic 853.

⁴ 133 Pacific 62.

⁵ 147 N. W. 815.

⁶ 131 N. W. 231 at 239 (North Dakota).

Considerable reliance is placed by the court on the line of decisions denying the constitutionality of the "limited" and "cumulative" systems of voting. It must be admitted that the weight of authority is against these systems except where the constitution specifically authorizes them. There are, however, objections both as to form and purpose which can be alleged against them which are not applicable to the preferential system.

It is true as the court suggests that, as a matter of history, our constitution makers of ten years or more ago never had in mind the preferential system of voting. It is equally certain as Judge Hallam declares in his dissenting opinion that "the framers had in mind only the matter of defining what persons should be entitled to vote. . . . Methods of voting never entered their minds, and they never supposed they were prohibiting any method of election which did not deny equality of right among voters." The Pennsylvania supreme court in *Commonwealth v. Reeder*,¹ one of the few cases in which the limited vote has been upheld, laid down a very good rule for such cases when it said, "No sound reason has been urged in the argument why we should enlarge the scope of the words 'shall be entitled to vote at all elections' by practically adding 'also for every candidate of a group of candidates for the same office.' On any sound principle of constitutional interpretation the only consideration in determining the validity of a new method of election should be its conformity to the standard of equality." The efforts of the Minnesota court to prove that the preferential ballot makes for inequality are based on an entire misconception of the nature of the system. No one can successfully contend that under it each voter does not have an equal opportunity to express his choice for public office. In fact it is the essence of fairness. Under it each citizen has a far more effective opportunity of expressing his will than under the old plurality system. The sort of "effective-

ness" which the court seems to have in mind could only be achieved if every voter's choice were to be a winning candidate. The court's conception of the law was correct enough but its political science somewhat weak. It is to be hoped that this singular and wrong-headed decision will not be generally followed.



Zone Ordinances—Recent Decisions on the Police Power.—One of the important phases of the city planning movement is the so-called "zone-ordinance" by which specified portions of the city are restricted to separate residences, while in others flats or tenements and in still others varying grades of business are permitted. Such restrictions of the use of private property can be justified only under the police power the limits of which have never been precisely determined. Three recent decisions of the federal supreme court throw some light on how far zone ordinances may go within the limits of the "due process of law" and "equal protection of the laws" provisions of the fourteenth amendment. They represent the extreme limits to which the definition of the police power has been extended in this direction.

The first of these cases is that of *Reinmon v. Little Rock*,² which involved the constitutionality of an ordinance prohibiting livery stables within a specified area. The court held it to be clearly within the police power. "So long," it said, "as the regulation in question is not shown to be clearly unreasonable and arbitrary, and operates uniformly upon all persons similarly situated in the particular district, the district itself not appearing to have been arbitrarily selected," it is constitutional. In *Hada-check v. Sebastian*³ the question was as to the validity of an ordinance of the City of Los Angeles prohibiting the operation of a brick kiln within a specified area of about three square miles. The court sustained the decision of the California

¹ 237 U. S. 171.

² 239 U. S. 394.

supreme court¹ that "the prohibition was not a mere arbitrary invasion of private right, not supported by any tenable belief that the continuance of the business was so detrimental to the interests of others as to require suppression." In delivering the opinion of the court Mr. Justice McKenna made use of certain expressions which have aroused the hopes of the advocates of the zone idea.

A vested interest cannot be assigned against it (the police power) because of conditions once obtaining (*Chicago & A. R. Co. v. Tranbarger* 238 U. S. 67). So to hold would preclude development and fix a city forever in its primitive conditions. There must be progress, and if in its march private interests are in the way, they must yield to the good of the community. The logical result of the petitioner's contention would seem to be that a city could not be formed or enlarged against the resistance of an occupant of the ground, and that if it grows at all it can only grow as the environment of the occupations that are usually banished to the purlieus.

The decision in the case of *Northwestern Laundry Co. v. Des Moines*² upheld the constitutionality of a very severe smoke ordinance. ". . . the harshness of such legislation," said the court, "or its effect on business interests, short of merely arbitrary enactment, are not valid constitutional objections."

The other side of the picture is presented in *Stubbs v. Scott*.³ Scott applied for a permit to build a block of stores one of which was to be used as a salesroom for automobiles. The permit was refused on the ground that the district was residential. The Maryland court of appeals rested its decision on the broad ground that Scott could not be deprived of the right to improve his lot by the erection of stores simply because the character of the proposed building did not correspond to the character of other buildings in the neighborhood. It distinguished such a restriction from regulation of the use of automobiles, the storage of gasoline, etc., which are within the scope of the police

power.⁴ Numerous authorities were cited for the proposition that mere æsthetic considerations are not sufficient to justify a regulatory ordinance. Admitting that the erection of a store in certain districts might injuriously affect other property, the court was of the opinion that there was no way of preventing it.

This case probably correctly represents the present state of the law. *Hadacheck v. Sebastian* expresses the utmost limit of the police power to date. A brick-yard has, with its smoke, dust, etc., a clear physical effect on surrounding property. Considerations of taste and of stabilizing property values have yet to be recognized as within the scope of the police power. Even in the bill-board cases, restrictive ordinances have had to be defended on the ground of danger to health, good order and morals resulting from such structures.⁵ This does not mean that such recognition will never be given. What at any time constitutes a nuisance is a matter of contemporary public opinion. The time may come when a store in a residence district will be recognized as a nuisance.

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The Initiative and Referendum.—In *Shryock v. Zanesville*⁶ the Ohio supreme court has decided that the referendum in cities is to be given a fair chance. The plaintiff in opposing the plans for a new water supply sought to establish that the legislature had no authority to allow municipalities to adopt emergency ordinances not subject to the referendum. The court held it to be its duty "to avoid giving to the provisions of the constitution on that subject a strained construction which by reason of its very burdensomeness and unreasonableness would tend to depopularize it." It therefore determined that the legislature was acting within its powers in

⁴ See also *People v. Stroebel*, 103 N. E. 735, in which the New York Court of Appeals declared that an ordinance forbidding the erection of buildings for the sale of automobiles, etc., would be unconstitutional.

⁵ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 312.

⁶ 110 N. E. 937.

¹ 132 Pacific 584.

² 239 U. S. 486.

³ 95 Atlantic 1060.

giving municipalities power to pass such ordinances.



Illinois Civil Service in the Courts.—A recent decision of the supreme court in Illinois holds against the right of the state civil service commission to inaugurate efficiency tests which include calling employes together and compelling them to undergo a written examination. A number of such tests have been held by the state commission and one employe

ordered to take such a test refused and took her case to the courts. This ruling is in line with one several years ago when the chief of police gave efficiency tests to policemen in Chicago. The ruling at that time was that the chief as head of the department might require policemen under civil service to show that they were still physically capable of performing the duties incumbent upon them but it denied the right of the civil service commission to inaugurate such tests.

R. E. BLACKWOOD.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Notes on the Meeting of the City Managers' Association.—After a brief address of welcome by Henry M. Waite, city manager of Dayton, and a response by President Ashburner, the association settled promptly to the business and educational part of the meeting. Most of the morning was spent in the study of Dayton's municipal system.

The president at the afternoon session introduced M. H. Hardin, of Amarillo, Texas, who spoke on the subject of new ideals in civic administration. He said in part that "in order to make an ideal civic administration it is necessary to adopt the commission-manager plan of government, in that it eliminates boss rule and political influences, concentrates and centralizes responsibility, and puts in operation business methods that are just as practicable as those in use by commercial institutions."

Following out this idea, Fowler S. Smith, purchasing agent of Dayton, Ohio, reported a saving of \$33,000 in his department, at a cost of little more than \$3,000. He stated that the purchasing agent would always have one trouble—that of taking care of the merchants of his own city. "However," he said, "I have always made it a point to favor Dayton merchants in every way I can as long as they are favoring the city. But take, for example, any one item. The merchants selling that item are comparatively few as related to the taxpayers of the city. There may be five or six people in the city

in a position to make a price on the item. If you give them a higher price you are favoring them and punishing the balance of the taxpayers of the city." This paper was rich in suggestions for economies in city business.

On Tuesday morning Karl Mitchell, city manager of Sherman, Texas, read a paper on municipal cost data. "The prime duty of an executive is to organize and plan. Details should be left to subordinates. A maxim for the successful administrator is 'organize, deputize, and supervise.' Ample and accurate information is the first step towards success and the better the executive the more anxious he is for such information as will aid him in the formulation of judgments and serve as a guide in the future."

In the discussion of this paper, Kenyon Riddle, formerly city manager of Abilene, Kansas, said: "If we could stamp out the ancient antipathy against taxes and substitute the newer and more intelligent theory of not necessarily low taxes but any tax that is essential in order to maintain a clean, safe government, then reports would be received and considered for their proper and intended purpose. People would demand efficiency, not low taxes."

The citizen and the new government was the title of an optimistic message from President Ashburner. "Sincerity is the only influence in public affairs that makes lasting friends and effectually disarms foes. In my opinion the government of the city is dependent upon each structural

unit of that government from the president of the city commission down to the most humble employe. The man who sweeps the street crossing will deserve as much credit for his interest and faithfulness as the man who has drafted a city ordinance in a flawless manner."

The Tuesday round table discussion at two o'clock furnished the most interesting and enlightening session of the entire meeting. No meeting was so convincing of the sacrifice of time and self and energy that is going into the new government. No meeting could have better denoted the real accomplishments of the commission-manager form of government.

Wednesday morning G. C. Cummin of Jackson, Michigan, began the work of the day with a study of budget making. His paper was helpful in specific details even to classifications and subjects. After a heated discussion of budget making Winton L. Miller, city manager of St. Augustine, Florida, took up the publicity work necessary under the new plan. He said in part: "I hope I have brought out somewhat forcibly the point that publicity must be from some source other than the government or administration proper. That is, the source of information regarding the government and its activities must come from and be borne by those outside the administration. First, it should be given editorially or reportorially by the press; Second, it should be through the organization of citizens maintained for the purpose of securing good government at all times; Third, it should be from the personnel of the advisory boards and those citizens in more direct contact with some department of the city administration. Statements from any of these sources are more acceptable to the public than statements coming direct from the officials."

Henry M. Waite, of Dayton, Ohio, presented a paper on powers and duties of the city manager. His paper was in the form of aphorisms: Men of large affairs demand broad authority. Broad lines of authority develop and attract capable executives. Broad authority carries responsibility. Responsibility attracts executives and imposes on them caution.

Executives with broad authority using caution accomplish results. Confusion in authority leads to confusion in results. Communities that cannot give broad authority to the executives are not ready for the ideal and should accept a more modified, centralized authority, and not call it a city manager form. To get the maximum power and efficiency from the city manager he must be given the maximum authority.

Steps were taken to keep the managers of the various cities working under the plan in constant touch with the work of each individual manager.

The president for 1916 is Henry M. Waite of Dayton; vice-president, J. G. Barnwell, Rockhill, South Carolina; secretary and treasurer, O. E. Carr, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

OSSIAN E. CARR, *Secretary*.



A University that is Serving its City.—A peculiar obligation rests upon the University of Cincinnati. Because it is owned and conducted by the city and supported out of the people's taxes the citizens look to it for more than the traditional services. The officers and faculty recognize their responsibility and with one service and another are reaching out beyond the confines of the campus striving to become increasingly a part of the life of the community. The university is possessed of a group of experts whose primary function is to teach matriculated students specialized subjects; but this is not all of their function. They place themselves at the command of the city government or any group of citizens who call upon them as well. There are a number of splendid illustrations of how this extra-academic service is developing in various fields. A conspicuous one is the municipal reference bureau located in the city hall so as to be of greatest use to city officers, but controlled and operated by the university. S. Gale Lowrie, professor of political science at the university, is active librarian of the bureau. Under his leadership the bureau has grown in size and usefulness until it is the best equipped institution of its kind in the United States

and one of the most effective. Its services have followed three distinct channels. First the excellent assortment of literature upon all phases of government is being used more and more by succeeding city administrations in their efforts to gain fresh light upon technical governmental problems. Perhaps the most important factor in this usefulness is the willingness of the librarian to place his own services at the disposal of those who want ordinances drafted or masses of technical material analyzed.

The second function the bureau performs is that of laboratory to the department of political science of the university. In these days of growing emphasis upon a better balance between theory and practice in the teaching world, a city owned university when it feels its obligation to train students with a civic point of view and to make them civic units of real usefulness, would have to have something like the bureau for teaching purposes. Under the existing arrangement the bureau is able to serve this purpose and be useful to the city at the same time. Having his headquarters in the city hall, Professor Lowrie not only uses the bureau for teaching but places his students in other departments of the city government as well, and supervises their work.

These two services, valuable as they are, do not satisfy the university in its eagerness to meet the demands of the community that it return a maximum degree of benefit to the citizens. Consequently a third usefulness has been developed for the bureau in aiding the citizens directly. Clubs, welfare associations and individuals who are seeking intelligent knowledge of city problems, are learning to call upon the bureau for help.

There are other ways by which the university is reaching out and helping the community. This same department of political science is giving courses in elementary government to the membership of the Woman's city club. The courses have been so successful that an immediate extension is planned. The college of medicine has developed in its children's clinic under the leadership of Dr. K. F.

Rachford, a member of the faculty, one of the most effective engines for the reduction of infant mortality any community possesses.

The engineering college in co-operation with the purchasing department of the city has a bureau of city tests which protects the city against low grade purchases and frauds and actually increases the value of the city dollar.

These are samples of how a municipally owned university is becoming more and more sensitive to the peculiar obligation it holds to an entire city.

W. J. NORTON.

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City Planning Law at the University of Michigan.—Courses in city planning have been given at the University of Michigan for some years, but lectures on city planning law are announced now for the first time. These lectures will be delivered in March by Frank Backus Williams of the New York bar who has been appointed non-resident lecturer in the department of landscape design.

It is a recognized fact that failure to bring about concrete results in public enterprises is often due to a lack of knowledge of existing legal limitations. The purpose of the university in offering this course of lectures is to emphasize the importance of the legal side of city planning and to give the students general instruction in this phase of the work.

The course as outlined consists of four lectures. The first, under the title of general principles, takes up state control, public ownership of land, acquisition of ownership by the city, and eminent domain, public control of private use, and police power. Emphasis is laid upon the distinction between eminent domain and police power especially as illustrated by the law with relation to aesthetics in city planning.

The second and third lectures deal with the planning of public and private features. The plan of the city as a whole and the methods of making such planning effective, methods of acquiring land for public use, and excess condemnation are first dealt with, followed by specific legal prob-

lems relating to streets, water fronts, public utilities. In considering the question of financing, the public features, taxation, assessments, and increment taxation are discussed. In the third lecture, building regulation in its relation to private development, the history of such regulation, the intricate subject of districting and suggestions for regulation essential to the preservation and increase of land values are taken up successively.

The fourth lecture is on administration. The distinction between the jurisdiction of the national government, state governments, etc., is emphasized, and the powers and composition of local planning commissions and art commissions, and the territorial limits of planning governments are among the topics discussed with a view to making clear the practical importance of knowledge of city planning law.¹

AUBREY TEALDI.²

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A Housing Competition and Public Exhibition to Create an American Standard of Living Among Immigrant Workmen in Industrial Towns.—The National Americanization committee, through a special committee of architects, engineers, housing experts and employers, is conducting a housing competition, to close June 1. Prizes amounting to \$2,100 are offered. They are divided into two groups. The first covers housing plans for a single family house, for a combined family and lodging house, and for a boarding house or community dwelling. The first prize for this class is \$1,000, the second \$500, the third, fourth and fifth \$100 each. In the second group a first prize of \$200, and a second of \$100 are offered for a satisfactory substitute for the derailed freight cars now used to house construction gangs on railways.

In the first group the housing plans are intended for industrial towns not exceeding 35,000 in population, and for workmen earning from \$15 to \$20 a week. The

committee has in mind especially the new industrial communities constantly being produced in this country by new industries, and especially the "mushroom" towns of the last few years. Most industrial communities in which immigrants are a considerable percentage of the population are now characterized by separate quarters for foreign workmen with all kinds of makeshift dwellings and distinctly un-American standards of living.

The aim of the contest is to produce entirely practicable housing plans and standards, and by public exhibitions and in other ways to bring these plans to the attention of employers and others able to make use of them.

All inquiries should be addressed to the committee, 20 West 34th Street, New York City.

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Testimonial Banquet to Mayor Baker.—

Some months ago the Cleveland city club decided that something constructive should be done to remedy the lack of gratitude and appreciation for faithfulness and honesty in public office. Last spring a luncheon was tendered to Hon. Theodore E. Burton in appreciation for his long service in public life. The congratulatory speeches were made by men who were political foes of Mr. Burton, but who realized his honesty, sincerity of purpose, and ability.

On January 15, another such affair was given; and the multitude who were present say that its like has rarely been seen in any American city. The occasion was a banquet given by the club to ex-mayor Newton D. Baker in recognition of his long career in the service of the city. The great banquet room of the Hollenden Hotel was early filled to overflowing, and more than 150 persons had to be cared for in adjacent rooms. After the simple meal, the tables were removed and the entire throng crowded into the assembly room to hear laudatory speeches by the most prominent men of the city—none of them, however, identified with the political party of Mr. Baker. After these men had spoken briefly—the president of the Cleveland trust company, the head of the

¹ Lantern slides, illustrating foreign and American legal methods and their results, including such of the data and conclusions of the heights of buildings commission and commission on building districts and restrictions of New York City, and others, as are of general interest, will be used.—EDITOR.

² University of Michigan.

political science department of Western Reserve University, the president of the chamber of commerce, one or two prominent lawyers, a popular rabbi—Mr. Baker responded in what many term the ablest utterance of his public career. In a masterful way he reviewed the changes that have occurred in the last fourteen years—the passing of dark-lantern political methods, the awakening of a civic conscience, the increasing part of the people in their government.¹

The interest that has been aroused and the inspiration that has been obtained through these occasions has caused the club to make them a permanent part of the club's policy. There will be a systematic attempt made to show that a democracy has some sense of appreciation for a public job well done, and that partisan lines will not deter men from meeting to say "Well done, faithful servant" to one whose sincerity, honesty, and ability has been proved, whatever may be his political affiliations.

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A Model Municipal Court Act.²—The draft of the model municipal court act has been completed by the special committee of which Chief Justice Olson of the municipal court of Chicago is chairman.³ The actual drafting has been done by the American Judicature Society, the membership of which embraces the League's committee. The model act is published in two volumes as bulletins IV A and IV B, A. J. S. The first volume is devoted to the selection and retirement of judges. It contains a keen analysis of existing methods and proposes constructive reforms of a most suggestive and valuable sort.

The act proper appears in the second volume. While in form it is adapted to the largest cities, which embody the most difficult problems, it is adaptable with slight modification to the needs of cities of 100,000 or more. The bulletins are on file in the public libraries of all cities of

this size and larger, and copies may be had by application to the American Judicature Society, 1732 First National Bank building, Chicago. An article fully describing the act will appear in the July or October issue of the REVIEW.

The drafting of this act represents a large share of the research and constructive work of the society over a period exceeding two years. The act was submitted to the advisory council of the society as a first draft two years ago. Criticisms from judges, representative lawyers and political scientists in many cities were secured and the present publications represent a revision embodying the most mature experience and thought on the subject.

*

The Welfare Department of Dayton which has done remarkable work during the past year under the intelligent and public-spirited leadership of D. Frank Garland, who has been a leader in this work, is too poor to print reports. Economy is a good thing, but it can be carried too far. Certainly the people of Dayton, and elsewhere for that matter, are entitled to have a permanent record of the work done under this head.

*

The Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service began in February the publication of a monthly bulletin dealing with the society's program, to wit: improvement of public administration, harnessing civil service reform to an educational program, surveys of educational institutions, more effective civic organizations, extension of the part time principle in education, removing local residence requirements for public service.

*

The City Bulletin of Columbus, Ohio.—Under authority of the new charter of Columbus that city will hereafter issue an official weekly city bulletin containing a list of ordinances and other official documents as well as carrying the advertisements required to be made by law.

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Rowland Haynes, who was for five years field secretary of the Playground and Recreation Association of America,

¹ See page 226.

² See article by Herbert Harley on "The Model Municipal Court," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. III, p. 57.

³ Judge Olson is also chairman of the National Municipal League's committee on municipal courts.

has been appointed secretary of recreation under the New York City board of estimate and apportionment. His new duties will involve the co-ordination of the work of the city departments affecting recreation, to make them all accomplish as much as possible in the way of meeting recreation needs in a city like New York, and to work out a plan of development for a period of years affecting not only the facilities for recreation, which could be handled by the city plan committee, but also activities and administration. Heretofore the board of estimate and apportionment has been considerably confused by a considerable number of claims by promoters of different types of public recreation who felt their plan was to solve all recreation needs of the city. The result has been that appropriations have not been made on any concerted plan, or made with a view to a consistent policy of development. In short, Mr. Haynes is expected to serve as the eyes of the board to see just what is being done and what are the needs which must be met.

*

George E. Hooker, civic secretary of the Chicago City Club, has been appointed chairman of the Illinois pension laws commission. His colleagues are Professor Henry L. Rietz, Urbana; John P. Dillon, Chicago; and Marcus Jacobowsky, Chicago. The duty of this commission is to "investigate the operation of all pension laws heretofore enacted in this state; to gather together all available information as to the present and probable future cost of maintaining the funds created by said laws, and to collect all available information in regard to the operation of similar laws in other states and counties." Fifteen thousand dollars has been appropriated to it for its work.

*

Rev. Charles N. Lathrop, who took so active a part in the graft prosecutions in

San Francisco during the Schmitz-Ruef régime, has been made dean of the Episcopal Cathedral in Milwaukee. Father Lathrop took the steps which led to the organization of the Citizens' league of justice, formed just after the attempted assassination in open court of Francis J. Heney. The league was organized in his study and during its activity he was its guiding spirit.

*

Dr. Edward W. Bemis, for five years the public utility expert representing the city of Chicago in the contest for lower gas, telephone and electric light rates and for better street car facilities, was dismissed by Mayor Thompson of Chicago. The mayor gave as his reason that Dr. Bemis was not an engineer and he was of the opinion that the position should be filled by one who had such experience, overlooking the splendid work which Dr. Bemis had done not only in Chicago, but elsewhere in behalf of the public interests. Evidently Dallas, Texas, does not feel quite the same way, because the city under the leadership of Mayor Lindsley, has engaged Dr. Bemis to solve so far as possible its local utility problems.

*

Ossian E. Carr, the first city manager of Cadillac, Michigan, was chosen city manager of Niagara Falls and entered on his duties January 1, 1916. Mr. Carr is also secretary of the City Managers' Association.

*

Hon. Oscar S. Straus has been appointed chairman of the New York Public Service Commission of the first district, succeeding Hon. E. E. McCall, who was removed by Governor Whitman.¹

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 517.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

SMOKE ABATEMENT AND ELECTRIFICATION OF RAILWAY TERMINALS IN CHICAGO. Report of the Chicago Association of Commerce Committee of Investigation. Published by the Committee, Chicago, 1915. 9" x 12", quarto, 1117 pages.

The reviewer would be disposed to express both admiration and wonder in the presence of any person who might claim to have read all of this literally gigantic book.

The inquiry which gave reason for this monumental work was undertaken in March, 1911, in consequence of a long agitation toward smoke abatement, begun in 1874 by a citizens' association, and eventually taken up by the Chicago association of commerce. It is significant, in view of the findings of this report, that the solution of the smoke problem was deemed to be dependent upon the electrification of the many railroad terminals of Chicago.

In his letter of transmittal, Jesse Holdom, the committee's chairman, says: "Having had at its command ample resources and the advice and assistance of such expert counsel as it chose to employ, the committee feels justified in hoping that its report will be of some value in the solution of a difficult civic problem not only in Chicago but elsewhere." He details the co-operation of the railroads, and insists that "the importance of the subject matter . . . required it to proceed cautiously and to form conclusions only after thorough investigation and careful consideration."

That the report is thorough is made apparent by a mere glance at the table of contents. The introduction is an historic brief of Chicago on the manufacturing side. Then follows a discussion on the

literature of smoke abatement, on methods of regulation, on various means of abating smoke; on the effects of smoke on health, on vegetation, and on property. Merely to summarize the headings in the contents would require not less than two pages of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, for here is a veritable cyclopedia of smoke abatement and terminal electrification, including charts, diagrams, illustrations, and bibliography.

It is, incidentally, most interesting to note that complaint against smoke damage began in 1661, and is evidenced in a volume then addressed to Charles II, entitled "Fumifugium; or the inconvenience of the aer and smoak of London dissipated; together with some remedies humbly proposed." The remedies then, as now, were easily proposed, but seemingly no more easily applied!

The conclusions at the end of each subsection of the Chicago report are likely to be considered as of great importance, resting, as they do, on by far the most complete and exhaustive study yet made of this or any other subject related to community troubles. Save where those conclusions are general, and not specific for Chicago, this brief review cannot undertake to summarize any of them. Certain definite statements are, however, transcribed, mainly as indicating the breadth of this great smoke survey.

"The fact appears firmly established that there is a well defined relation between smoke and fog, and that the presence of smoke induces fog.

"Increased quantities of smoke diminish the hours of sunshine.

"Among the sources of pollution of city air by smoke, the world over, domestic chimneys are very conspicuous.

"A common defect in smoke-abatement ordinances has appeared in the fact that

they have not been based upon a full understanding of the difficulties of the problem. . . . Legal prohibition against smoke production does not in itself serve to secure satisfactory results. When . . . accompanied by a campaign for intelligent furnace construction, by measures designed to educate owners, engineers and firemen, and by effective inspection, it has proved of high value."

Among the seven means suggested "to reduce the amount of smoke in the atmosphere of cities" are the "removal of fuel-consuming industries to points remote from the city; the construction of . . . community chimneys; . . . the establishment of central heating and power plants . . . the abolition of many small coal fires through the extension of the use of gas and electricity."

It is asserted "that fires of bituminous coal may be maintained without becoming sources of visible smoke," and detailed suggestions for this accomplishment are given.

An extended study of the effects of smoke upon health establishes that "There is a general agreement among sanitary authorities that polluted air is harmful to health," and while the ravages of tuberculosis are not directly increased by smoke, "in cases of pneumonia the effect becomes seriously detrimental. Also, the general physical tone is lowered at the result of long-continued breathing of polluted air."

It is concluded "that smoke may exert injurious effects on vegetation, . . . trees and plants . . . gradually losing vigor . . . until they finally perish."

The conclusions "concerning smoke as a source of loss and damage to property" are so involved and indeterminate that it is impracticable to attempt to state them briefly.

The really surprising part of this great showing is in relation to the part the vast railroad traffic of Chicago bears to its general air-pollution problem. The study is in elaborate detail, and its conclusion is that "Steam locomotives consume 11.94 per cent of the total fuel consumed . . . (and) are responsible for 22.06 per cent of the total visible smoke discharged within the city limits of Chicago."

The summary, made graphic in a series of colored diagrams, shows that for the whole area studied, including a second zone surrounding the central coal-consuming district, and altogether consuming 21,208,886 tons of coal and coke during the year 1912, the visible smoke production was thus proportioned:

	Per cent
Steam locomotives.....	21.83
Steam vessels.....	0.61
High-pressure stationary steam plants.....	44.79
Low-pressure stationary plants..	2.87
Gas and coke plants.....	0.10
Furnaces for manufacturing processes.....	29.80
	<hr/> 100.00

It is thus noted that the greatest railway terminal facilities in the world are responsible for less than one-fourth the smoke, and that the stationary plants, widely distributed over the area affected, produce nearly half of it.

More than seven hundred pages of this great volume include the study of railroad electrification, which it evidently was expected would be found practically to eliminate or at least materially to reduce the smoke nuisance. The paragraph above shows that this could not occur. The further conclusions are that "There is available at this time no form of locomotive carrying its own power . . . which could be substituted for the steam locomotive, and there is no prospect of the immediate development of any such locomotive." The only alternative is "the complete electrification of these terminals."

The cost of complete electrification has been worked out for two systems in detail, and the final conclusion reads: "The total capital requirements, which will be imposed by complete electrification of the Chicago railroad terminals, will therefore amount to \$274,440,630."

The study as to the immediate practicability and wisdom of the expenditure of such a vast sum for electrification (less than one-fourth the annual cost of "booze")

in America, by the way), seems to end in a negative result.

Very important are the final recommendations resulting from this four-year study. These include the creation by the city of "a permanent pure air commission," to include persons of high technical qualifications, with adequate financial support, and empowered not only to investigate air pollution, but to "enforce obedience to its decisions." This commission is to control paving, cleaning, building, wrecking, boiler and other furnace installation, to the end of preventing, so far as possible, air pollution. It is also to revise the kitchen stove, or its fuels, so as to remove the large source of air pollution thus existing, and to proceed with the further study of the locomotive and stationary steam plants, with a view toward smoke elimination.

Truly "a large order!" Will Chicago fill it? She has done wonderful things; she can do this; and thus again give a message of progress to America almost as important as that she delivered in the White City of 1893 which turned us toward city planning.

This great book is in all a great service to America. It should be in every consulting library in the country. Copies may be obtained at the cost, \$6 each, of Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

Harrisburg, Pa.



TOWN PLANNING IN ANCIENT TIMES. By F. J. Haverfield. New York and London: Oxford University Press. \$2.

Professor Haverfield's book is a notable contribution to the science of town planning. The author regards town planning as one of the newer ideals in politics which contrast with the more conventional problems of politicians, and he endeavours to show that the Hellenistic and Roman ages had some resemblance to the present day "in their care for the well-being of the individual."

Professor Haverfield associates the principle of town planning among the Greeks and the Romans with the use

of the straight line and the right angle. Wherever he detects the existence of rectangular house-blocks (*insulae*) with two main streets crossing at right angles near the centre he assumes that there has been a definite plan for laying out the town. Wherever straight lines and right angles are departed from he seems to take it that deliberate design has been absent. It follows that he regards the periods in which towns have been laid out on geometrical patterns as the more civilized.

His arguments may be sound with regard to the ancient times of which he writes, but there is no doubt that in the middle ages many of the finest examples of beautiful towns are those which were allowed to grow up in an irregular form without any deliberate attempt to make the streets straight and at right angles. When the rectangular design of the city is the result of a military dictatorship as seems to have been the case in many ancient cities, it does not necessarily reflect a high level of intelligence on the part of citizens as a whole, and where the elements that go to make up the design of an irregular town are analysed it may be found that they represent the product of a higher civilization than the rectangular plan carried out under such military domination.

A beautiful city may be laid out on straight lines with right-angled blocks, but it is not formal treatment of the lines and angles themselves that would make it beautiful, and one cannot help from thinking that many of the ancient examples of city development were beautiful in spite of and not because of their checker-board pattern. In modern times one could conceive of a more beautiful New York or Philadelphia, even if there had been less rigid adherence to straight lines, if there had been more regard paid to the physical features of the sites they occupy, to the treatment of the buildings, to the sky line and to the natural surroundings. Professor Haverfield does much to prove his point, but I feel he is not quite convincing in trying to prove that the principle of the straight

line and the right angle are the "marks which sunder even the simplest civilization from barbarism."

In reading this book it is almost saddening to be reminded of the fact that some of our most progressive modern nations still suffer from the low ideals of the earlier Greeks. Before the fifth century the Greeks are said to have been "stately enough in their public buildings and principal thoroughfares, but they revealed a half-barbaric spirit in their mean streets and unlovely dwellings." After the fifth century their ideals became more democratic, and they sought to improve the dwellings of the people as well as to give dignity to their public places and public buildings. What is called "city planning" in more than one country, to-day, is no more than ostentation in public streets and public buildings, with painful neglect of the homes of the people. Modern Europe and America still stand in need of some of the philosophy of the Macedonian era, which recognized the claims of the individual citizen in town planning schemes and paid consideration to the homes of common men.

As is well known the vice of over-building was common in the ancient Greek and Roman world, but the cities had an advantage which is not possessed by every modern city, in that they had a good municipal supply of water and sewers laid in the streets. Although Athens gets the credit of being the birthplace of town planning in Greece, that appears more to have been because Hippodamus worked in it, rather than because Athens itself was well laid out. As the author shows, Athens was a sort of oriental mixture of public buildings, mean streets and badly grouped houses. For evidences of conscious town planning, we have to look to Piræus, Thurii and Rhodes, the planning of which is ascribed by ancient writers to Hippodamus. Professor Haverfield traces the origin of Greek town planning to the East. In Babylonia and Assyria he finds traces of conscious planning leading up to the Greek beginnings in the fifth century, B.C.

Interesting facts to modern town planners are brought out in the reference to Pergamum in the chapter on the Macedonian age (330 to 130 B.C.). In the by-laws of that period provision is made for dealing with ruinous buildings, for compelling owners to repair them, and for cleaning streets. "Brickfields were expressly forbidden within the city. The widths of the roads outside the town were fixed, and owners of adjacent land were held liable for their repair. . . . There were provisions, too, for the repair of common walls which divided the houses of two owners."

Among other ancient Italian towns described are Pompeii, Modena, Turin, Florence, Herculaneum, Lucca, and Naples. Two chapters deal with Roman provincial towns, and there is an interesting appendix on town planning in China. The book is well illustrated with plans and the text is plain and devoid of technicalities. It should be in the hands of everyone who desires to become acquainted with the history of town planning.

The origins of Italian town planning go even further back than the town planning of the Greeks, the earliest discoverable traces of the Italian system being the Terremare of the Bronze Age (1400 to 1800 B.C.). These settlements were trapezoidal rather than rectangular in planning, a feature which is also very pronounced in the plan of Pompeii.

In the chapter on "the sequel," Professor Haverfield says that town planning in the Roman world not only increased the comfort of common man but made towns stronger and more coherent units. It should be one of the principal aims of every town-planning scheme to attain these results. "The great benefit to modern workers of such a survey as I have attempted," says the author, "is that it shows the slow and painful steps by which mankind became able to plan towns as units, yet inhabited by individual men and women, and that it emphasizes the need for definite rules and principles."

THOMAS ADAMS.

Ottawa, Canada.

CITIES IN EVOLUTION. By Patrick Geddes. London: Williams & Norgate. 7s. 6d.

This book is frankly of an introductory character, its chief aim being to popularize the study of civics in the widest sense of that term. Hence it is neither a history of city growth nor an exposition of present-day municipal problems; it is rather an attempt to set forth just what the city's aims ought to be and how those interests which seem to be divergent may be reconciled by harmonious co-operation.

The author is not a slave to orthodox ideas, nor a stickler in the matter of orderly presentation. Thoughts and suggestions flow from his pen like sparks from an anvil, alighting where they will. No one will ever call his book stilted or academic, for it bears on every page the impress of the author's own forceful individuality. On the other hand, the general nebulousness of the discussions, the continual threshing about in a haze of abstractions, and the author's weird geological analogies, are apt to nettle the man whom nature has endowed with only an ordinary imagination. Mr. Geddes, moreover, takes Western Europe as the bounds of his horizon. With the needs, problems and methods of American cities he is not concerned, nor would most American readers understand the local and personal allusions in which his pages abound.

There is one chapter, however, which should have the attention of our own students, namely, that which deals with town planning and civic exhibitions. This is a topic upon which Mr. Geddes is qualified to speak with undeniable authority, and it is here that one may conveniently find many things that otherwise would have to be sought in out-of-the-way places. There is a good account of the way in which these exhibitions are organized and carried through, together with some sensible suggestions as to how they may best compel the interest of visitors.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.
Harvard University.

DISPOSAL OF THE SEWAGE AND PROTECTION OF THE WATER SUPPLY OF CHICAGO, ILL. A Report to the Chicago Real Estate Board by Geo. A. Soper, John D. Watson and Arthur J. Martin, Chicago: Real Estate Board.

Many millions of dollars have been spent by the sanitary district of Chicago to divert sewage from Lake Michigan and, by reversing the flow of the Chicago river, to turn the sewage southward through the Des Plaines and Illinois rivers to the Mississippi river, diluted by such a volume of lake water as will prevent a nuisance. The result has been sewage disposal by fresh water dilution on the largest scale ever yet attempted. Owing to unforeseen complications the intended degree of dilution has never been attained. For some years past the further or additional diversion of water from the lake has been contested by the federal government in lawsuits not yet brought to a conclusion.

International questions as to diversion and to lake pollution have also arisen. Shipping interests have protested against the diversion, alleging injury to their business through lowering the lake levels—a question involved in the federal suit and which has given rise to much controversy and conflicting engineering testimony.

To throw light on the situation both the International joint commission and the trustees of the sanitary district, acting separately, have had engineering estimates made to determine the cost of sewage-treatment works to lessen the burden on the drainage canal and the waterways into which it discharges. Failure of the sanitary district to reach a decision in the premises has been due in part to the uncertainties of the litigation mentioned, to the magnitude of the problem, to the desire to carry on sewage-treatment experiments which would throw light on the problem, and last but not least, it appears, to politics, not always of the very best sort.

With a desire to show the need for prompt and comprehensive action and to indicate at least broadly what that action

ought to be, the harbor and river improvement committee of the Chicago real estate board took up the subject two years or more ago. Expert investigation was advised. A member of the committee provided the necessary money to carry out such an investigation and the three engineers named at the head of this notice were engaged. Of these men, Mr. Soper was from New York, Mr. Martin from London and Mr. Watson from Birmingham, England. Each and all have a high reputation among sanitary engineers.

The resulting report consists of a compact, but comprehensive and at the same time readable, review of the history and present status of sewage disposal and water-supply (as regards pollution) at Chicago, together with a discussion of the need, as the engineers strongly believe, for providing both sewage- and water-treatment works, and some general suggestions as to their character. No cost estimates are given.

The report is unquestionably a masterly one and the recommendations merit most careful local consideration. It is doubtful, however, whether the report will have any material influence, at least for the present. The broad main conclusions were well known before this study was begun. Nothing seems likely to be done until a decision is reached in the litigation which has been under way so long. Moreover, the report, with no reflection on anyone, has comparatively little weight, because it emanates from what may be termed an irresponsible body. Neither the engineers nor the harbor and river improvement commission nor the real estate board have any official responsibility for sewage disposal or water-supply at Chicago, and particularly have they no responsibility for the vast financial outlay which the scheme recommended would entail. The report contains not even a guess as to what it would cost to carry out the schemes advised and not a word of consideration of the relative importance of these schemes and the other health and welfare needs of Chicago.

There are some indisputable advantages in irresponsible reports like this one,

in which a single problem is considered detached from all the other problems of a city, quite regardless of how big the bill for the recommended scheme would be and how meeting the bill would cut into or sidetrack other important city improvements. Such reports may yield bold ideal plans that could not be secured in any other way and that may subsequently be trimmed so as to bring them into proportion with other demands upon a narrow debt or taxation margin. Such reports may sometimes arouse dormant public interest. They may command attention because of their very irresponsibility or disinterestedness. Certainly engineers in New York, London and Birmingham are not likely to be accused of bringing axes to be sharpened on Chicago grindstones.

M. N. BAKER.

Montclair, N. J.



AMERICAN SEWERAGE PRACTICE—Volume III., Disposal of Sewage. By Leonard Metcalf and Harrison P. Eddy. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

A distinctive feature of this comprehensive and authoritative work on sewage disposal is its aim "to be helpful not only to engineers, but also to sewer commissioners, lawyers and undergraduate students. A wider circle of readers might appropriately have been claimed.

The first 250 pages are devoted to the history of sewage treatment, the composition of sewage and how it may be altered, and the general character of the various methods of sewage disposal. This leaves 550 pages for detailed descriptions of structures and methods.

Those who have imbibed the notion that some contraption mystically labelled "septic tank" or the "septic process" sums up the whole of sewage treatment, will be surprised to find, first of all, a chapter of fifty pages on dilution (no apparatus), then separate chapters on grit chambers, screens, sedimentation, tanks for sludge digestion (three kinds of septic tanks to choose from) chemical precipitation, contact beds, sprinkling filters, intermittent

sand filters, irrigation, losing apparatus, and disinfection. The sewage-disposal engineer must take his choice of one or of a combination of from two to a half dozen of these devices to meet his complicated and ever-varying problems.

The book contains a wealth of data gleaned from American and foreign literature, from the extensive engineering practice of the authors, and from American, British, French and German correspondents. It is well illustrated. It has that crowning glory, a serviceable index. With the previous volumes—"Design" and "Construction" (see NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October, 1915)—this one on "Disposal" makes up a worthy and unsurpassed treatise on American sewerage practice.

M. N. BAKER.¹



SWAMP LAND DRAINAGE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MINNESOTA. By Ben Palmer, M.A., LL.B., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. 138 pp.

This is not a treatise on technical methods of draining, but a brief for the drainage idea and an account of the area of land reclaimed with lengthy and learned discussion of the legal aspects of the question in the several states, and of the means by which results are accomplished by public and private co-operation. It has innumerable data and references to authorities.

The case for drainage in its broad lines can hardly be better presented than by quoting from the first two paragraphs of the book:

"It has been estimated that there are in the United States to-day approximately 80,000,000 acres of swamp and overflowed lands, an area of unproductive land greater than the Philippine Islands and nearly three times as large as Great Britain and Ireland. When we consider that these wet lands are so vast in extent, that they are unproductive and an economic waste, and that they are in many states so productive of malarial diseases as to constitute a serious and ever present menace to the

lives and health of the people, the importance of the problem of land drainage in the United States is apparent. If—using the suggestion of Chief Hydrographer Leighton of the U. S. geological survey—this land were suddenly acquired as an outlying possession, there is no doubt that there would be a great movement for its exploitation. . . . If there lay off our coast such a wonderously fertile country inhabited by a pestilent and marauding people who every year invaded our shores and killed and carried away thousands of our citizens, and each time shook their fists beneath our noses and cheerfully promised to come again, how the country would go to arms, the treasury be thrown open, and how quickly that people would be subjugated!" And yet that is just the situation which our swamp lands, with their great possibilities for development as additional territory for our people and with their cost to the United States in lives annually lost by malarial fevers, present to us.

The benefits to be derived from land drainage are many. The removal of surplus waters results in (1) a greater certainty of a full crop on agricultural lands because of a reduction of the damaging effect of frost on vegetation; (2) an increase in the yield per acre, with a corresponding permanent increase in the market value of the land; (3) improvement of public highways; (4) benefits to transportation companies because of the increase in freight tonnage due to the raising of more agricultural products; (5) benefits to towns near drained districts because of increased business; (6) benefits to railroad companies due to decrease in cost of maintaining trackage, as result of lessening of damages caused by floods and by softening of roadbeds; (7) improvement in public health due to the elimination of fever and disease breeding swamps and marshes.

The drainage question in this country is but another instance of our neglect and waste of natural resources. Swamp reclamation is usually completely under the control of private individuals, and the work shows the inevitable lack of forethought and organization for the common

¹Vice-president, New Jersey state department of health, Montclair, N. J.

good and blind waste on the part of legislatures. Thus of 2,700,000 acres of swamp land in Georgia almost none has been reclaimed; in Mississippi very little of 5,760,200 acres has been reclaimed. The great St. Francis swamp in Arkansas was once covered with a fine growth of hardwood. It was sold by the state to lumber companies for 50 cents an acre which took out the lumber. Similarly in Missouri, swamp lands sold by the state for a few cents an acre are now, after reclamation, worth from \$60 to \$100 an acre.

When swamps near centres of population are such an obvious nuisance that they must be reclaimed, the result is usually brought about by dumping refuse until the surface is high and dry and solid. By this simple process the thick black muck, the deposit of ages, which under proper treatment becomes most valuable agricultural land, is forever buried out of sight and reach, and can only be restored to fertility by stripping some other piece of land of its clothing of productive soil. This kind of thing is going on in all directions in the 75 square miles or so of tidewater swamp in New York City and within 15 miles of city hall.

The whole book is a convincing argument for the direct or indirect public control of drainage of extensive swamps. The author presents a strong case for control by the federal government as the only power able to handle the conflicting private interests where swamp areas extend over the borders of adjoining states; thus, the policy of the federal government of granting to new states all the swamp lands within their borders is mistaken, and should be changed.

HAROLD A. CAPARN.

New York.



A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By William Bennett Munro. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

At the opening of a great Scottish library Lord Rosebery disconcerted his audience by remarking that the occasion depressed

him. Such miles of shelves, such multitudes of books! Somewhat in the same way the student of municipal government is disturbed by the appalling mass of literature which confronts him. Hitherto his way has been uncharted; he has done his exploration more or less haphazard. For it is now a decade and a half since the bibliography of Professor Brooks appeared. In that interval has come the awakening of American opinion to the deficiencies of city government and to the indefinite possibilities of constructive advance; our cities have been, in a measure, transformed; and this growth of public interest, this gradual, but extensive achievement has found expression in numberless publications. To offer guidance through such a labyrinth required a very specialized acquaintance with the subject and at the same time courage to face hard work and inevitable criticism. As one of the chief authorities in the field, Professor Munro was admirably equipped for the task; he had also the co-operation of the Harvard bureau of research in municipal government which he himself had developed. The volume may fairly be regarded as indispensable.

Its scope has been conceived broadly. Of course, as the title indicates, attention is fixed upon American municipalities. But where European experience and practice seem to bear more or less directly upon American problems, references are given. Thus, under the subject of finance 5 per cent of the references are to European literature; under the subject of municipal ownership, more than 40 per cent. Professor Munro has not, in the old fashion, emphasized the political side. He has very properly taken the view that interest nowadays has shifted largely from political machinery and municipal organization to the community service which government should perform. For the former, therefore, two chapters, or eighty-odd pages, suffice. The great bulk of the volume considers functions: finance, city planning, public utilities, sanitation, public safety, education, social betterment. "The city is becoming our premier philanthropist," as Professor Munro phrases it.

With so broad an outlook it would obviously be impossible for a volume of manageable size to notice all the available literature. Some rule of discrimination had to be followed. A casual reading will demonstrate that recent publications have been preferred; three-quarters of the titles date after 1905; and in view of the rapid change of conditions and ideas such a basis of preference is distinctly commendable. In considering relative value, where the limitations of space necessitated still further discrimination, the editor has held in view the elements of accessibility and authority. But, whatever has been excluded from the volume, something like five thousand titles do actually appear, many of them accompanied by critical notes which attempt to indicate their character and value. The mechanical arrangements are generally excellent; for one thing the index has been carefully made. But the absence of page or marginal headings makes it difficult for the reader to find his way among the various chapters, sections, and sub-sections.

In so large an undertaking the dangers of error are manifold. The greatest diligence could hardly avoid falling into occasional lapses; and where thoroughness and accuracy predominate it would be invidious to point out minor mistakes or omissions. Professor Munro, having spent nearly three years in preparing the work, afterwards took the precaution of submitting the various sections to expert revision. The most exacting reader will have to search far to discover any reasonable ground of complaint.

E. M. SAIT.

Columbia University.



PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF COST ACCOUNTING. By Frederick H. Baugh. Published by the Author, Box 682. Baltimore, Md. \$3.

Mr. Baugh's work on the principles and practice of cost accounting forms a book of nearly 200 pages showing evidences of careful workmanship as to its mechanical features. It has a detailed table of contents and an index. Paragraphs are num-

bered and captioned. There are numerous illustrations of forms.

The work is divided into nine chapters in addition to the introduction. The first chapter treats of the general subject of financial accounting, and the second of the principles of cost accounting. In the second chapter the author divides all cost accounting into four general classes or types which he calls, respectively, specific job cost, departmental cost, process cost—simple type, and process cost—complex type. These four systems are taken up separately and become the subjects of the following five chapters. Following this are two chapters illustrating departmental and process cost.

In all these respects the book is orderly and well planned. As an exposition of the principles and practice of cost accounts, however, it is far from satisfactory. In the introductory parts and wherever the author attempts generalization, it abounds in platitudes and inconsequential statements that are not edifying. In such portions the author seems to be taxing his resources both of ideas and of language. In the detailed treatment of his subject the author's method of presentation is poor. He fails to lay out his plan or system so that the student may know what he is working toward, the purpose of the journal entries, and the relationships of the accounts and forms to which reference is made. Instead of this he relies entirely upon topical remarks and detailed directions as to records. His assertions are dogmatic in the extreme being given entirely without argument or qualification. They deal exclusively with particulars, and their arrangement is such as not to permit consecutive thinking or comprehensive understanding. There is also a great deal of useless repetition.

As to the subject matter of this book or rather as to the subject matter back of this book, *i.e.*, the author's ideas of cost accounting, it is practically impossible to judge because of the difficulty in reconstructing the author's concept from the material he has given. Possibly, if one were to analyze the book, taking it up sentence by sentence, and making an

entire redistribution, one might get at the fundamental structure of Mr. Baugh's accounting system. We are inclined to believe, however, that some of the essential parts of this structure are missing.

Mr. Baugh presents no thesis of any sort. He does not discuss doctrines or principles nor give any assistance in overcoming the practical difficulties involved in the installation and maintenance of a cost system. He has given us merely a book of directions for the recording of cost data according to certain particular plans of his own. As to these directions they are so detailed and so badly arranged that the only conclusive way of judging them would be to try them out and note the results. To the reviewer Mr. Baugh's instructions seem to be incomplete and, in some instances, misleading or not in accord with prevailing practices.

E. M. FREELAND.

New York City.

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EXPERIENCES IN EFFICIENCY. By Benjamin A. Franklin, New York: The Engineering Magazine Company, 1915.

Most of the chapters in this volume appeared originally in *The Engineering Magazine*. For the purpose of this volume they have been revised, adapted and logically arranged. The first six chapters are concerned with quality of workmanship, and how the incentive for it is secured through various methods of wage payment. The next chapter discusses increase of production by simple reorganization. The following chapters consider reduction of factory expense and the building of a cost system. The last chapter discusses the necessity of efficiency will, the "belief that efficiency, beyond that already attained, is certainly possible, attainable, and vitally valuable."

This volume does not advocate any particular system of organization, and does not attempt to describe in detail methods of securing efficiency results. Its purpose seems to be to present an interesting account, illuminated by many specific examples, of what has and may be done to that end, for the purpose of stimulating

in the reader's mind the "efficiency will" he takes with him to the reading of these essays.

H. S. PERSON.

Amos Tuck School.

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YOUTH, SCHOOL AND VOCATION. By Meyer Bloomfield. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

It may confidently be stated that every person in the United States, parent, child, teacher, student, employer and employee could read this book with great profit. It treats an important and a very practical subject in a manner that leaves the reader in no doubt as to its importance and practicalness. The author assumes, apparently, the need for vocational guidance is not fully appreciated and states the case in a simple but impressive manner. He does not join in the usual denunciation of our industrial and educational system, but is content to point out conditions as they are, leaving the reader to judge of the necessity for reform. The problem is to help the child make a right selection of his life-work. The parents are usually uninformed; the schools are busy solving their own internal difficulties; employers take what labor they can get without special investigation,—and a tremendous social wastage is the result. It is surprising to learn that a comparatively small number of children leave school because of financial circumstances (and is it not a reflection on our public school system?). Fourteen is the age when they begin dropping out and they go into the first thing that offers itself. Shifting about from one occupation to another they finally sift down to the bottom of the heap and remain there, victims of a defective social system.

The great remedy for all this, we are told, lies in the vocational bureau which should form the connecting link between the parent and the school on the one side, and the school and the employers of labor on the other. Boston saw the beginning of the plan and has to-day a highly efficient bureau which is helping thousands

of children to find employment suited to their particular needs. The school authorities co-operate with the vocational experts who collect data regarding the demand for labor. Throughout their school course the pupils are given opportunities to take up manual training and domestic art; stimulating lectures are given and in every way the child is encouraged to think seriously concerning his future. Upon leaving the grammar school each pupil carries with him to the high school (if he goes so far) a card containing personal information acquired by the teachers under whom he has sat. High school instructors supplement this by their own observations and the completed card is turned over to the bureau. The experts now attempt to establish the boy or girl who wishes employment in a suitable occupation. This done, it is the duty of the bureau to keep in touch both with its proteges and the employers and find out how well it has diagnosed the case. Statistics prove that the number of persons thus placed leaving their occupations is comparatively small. Society has benefited by having now a satisfied employer and a contented workman. The social gain is great.

Mr. Bloomfield offers suggestions as to the manner in which vocational bureaus may be established. The field is an open and a fruitful one and if this chapter is not used as the basis for the organization of a number of bureaus it will be because the city and school authorities are loath to take up with the new, not because the author has failed to prove his case. Other countries, notably Germany and England, are far in advance of the United States in this matter and have now perfected their systems to such a degree that we must of necessity lag a long way behind.

"Youth, School and Vocation" is a decided addition to our stock of "worth-while" books. Although in a work of this nature it is the substance rather than the form which counts, Mr. Bloomfield has not failed to present his subject in excellent literary style. As a last word of praise, be it said that he has carefully avoided the mistake so often made, that of belabor-

ing a subject until the reader is more exhausted than the subject.

J. C. MCGREGOR.

*Washington and Jefferson College,
Washington, Pa.*



LEARNING TO EARN. By John A. Lapp and Carl H. Mote. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$1.50.

The subject of vocational education in the United States is fortunately beginning to receive a little of the great amount of attention to which by reason of its fundamental importance it is entitled. The present volume whose sub-title *A plea and a plan for vocational education* well describes its nature is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject. It is a strong indictment of our educational system as at present organized and shows how the evils resulting therefrom can be remedied by a rational scheme of vocational education on a broad basis. The individual chapters dealing with the educational needs of industry, agriculture, business, and home making are full of suggestive matter. One sees, of course, clearly reflected, the fundamentals of the German system of vocational education, throughout the entire work. It might be said that the book would gain in interest and appeal by condensation, for there is considerable repetition, but in spite of that it cannot fail to interest the student of social problems in the largest sense.

HERMAN G. JAMES.

University of Texas.



OLD AGE POVERTY IN GREENWICH VILLAGE. By Mabel Louise Nassau. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.

This book is the outcome of an intensive study made by Miss Nassau during the winter of 1913-14 of one hundred aged persons living in New York City. Six classification groups were found necessary, varying according to the source of maintenance, namely those wholly self-supporting, those partly self-supporting and partly sup-

ported by their families, those supported entirely by their families, those partly self-supporting and partly dependent upon charity, those supported partly by their families and partly by charity, and those wholly dependent upon charity.

In its attempt to individualize the economic status of the aged poor the book is filled with the pathos of economic fear—fear of encroaching disease with no means at hand, fear of being cut off from the sources of maintenance, or fear of a final home in some institution. This latter fear being so strong that it is stated that “the overwhelming majority (of the women) dreaded the very idea of an institution and fought bitterly against it.” To determine whether this fear was well-grounded Miss Nassau made a thorough investigation of several well-known institutions in New York, until she could “stand no longer the sight of such depressed, hopeless, sad, vacant, wretched faces,” and concludes “institutions are not a satisfactory mode of provision for the aged, and could never be made so” (p. 94).

What is the solution of the problem? Miss Nassau considers it to be neither churches nor charitable agencies. “The churches seldom have funds enough to help very many,” and charitable agencies, “with all their laudable efforts, are not able to cope with the situation of providing adequately for aged people outside of institutions.” After citing pertinent quotations from various authorities as to different forms of social provision it is stated that “so far no one system of provision for old age seems entirely satisfactory. All pension systems and all insurance systems seem to fail in some respects,” though “surely some provision for the aged ought to be made and will be made in time.”

This is the way the problem is left, for the book, apart from a few suggestions, offers no solution. But it is well worth reading and is indicative of the method that must be followed for any final determination of the best means of meeting the needs of old age poverty.

EDWIN S. LANE.

Philadelphia.

CIVICS FOR NEW AMERICANS. By Mabel Hill and Philip Davis. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 80 cents.

The title of this book explains sufficiently the nature of the context. It is intended for use in classes where newcomers to our country are enrolled and endeavors to instill into their minds some appreciation of the truth that “America is another word for opportunity.” But the point is made clear that, unless they familiarize themselves with our language, customs, and laws, their chances of success will be appreciably decreased. Immigrants are urged to enroll in day or evening schools and to send their children regularly to the public schools. The use of the gymnasium, public baths, and playgrounds is explained; various features of the city government are described and advice is given regarding the rules which should govern the conduct of all persons. Such matters as the pure food laws, workmen’s compensation acts and factory inspection are treated of in simple and understandable language. The meaning of citizenship in the United States is made clear and the process of naturalization described. A brief account is given of our national government and of the various political parties. Prospective citizens are urged to keep before them always the fact that by being made citizens of the United States they have had a great boon conferred upon them, one that can only be repaid by true and unselfish devotion to the best interests of the nation.

The appendix contains specific instructions as to the process of naturalization, questions on national and municipal government and suggestions as to the manner in which immigrants can meet for the purpose of study.

Miss Hill and Mr. Davis have put out a very helpful little book. Their advice to newcomers to these shores is suggestive and timely and they have not fallen into the error of giving so much information that the immigrant reader is likely to become confused and discouraged.

J. C. MCGREGOR.

*Washington and Jefferson College,
Washington, Pa.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS—Forty-second Annual Session, Baltimore, Md., May 1915. Chicago: Hildman Printing Company, 1915.

The present volume differs from previous volumes chiefly in the superior qualities of the papers and their broader scope. One might almost characterize it as a collection of handbooks on the family and the community, children, health, social hygiene, state care of the insane, feeble-minded and epileptic, corrections, public and private charities, social legislation and education for social work.

In reading the volume, one is impressed by the seriousness which characterizes it. Because of the influence of the European war and our own financial stringency there has been an effort to curtail all but the essentials in social work and these have been re-examined as to their efficiency. The result is a constructive and critical study that makes for permanence. This is the best volume that has been issued.

J. P. LICHTENBERGER.

University of Pennsylvania



DEMOCRACY IN THE MAKING. Edited by George W. Coleman. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. \$1.50. 340 pp.

The Ford Hall meetings have become an established factor in Boston's civic life and George W. Coleman, their guiding genius, has done well to bring together in this volume a group of addresses and articles illustrative of their spirit and aim. To his mind "the crying need in this country is to get folks together." Ford Hall is designed to accomplish this thing and its success has led Mr. Coleman to want other communities to go and do likewise, for he is a born propagandist. He is not content to have the light to himself. He wants everyone else to share it with him. Part I sets forth the facts; part II gives the impressions of those who have spoken from the platform; part III, contributed by Miss Mary C. Crawford, happily describes some of the habits of

the meetings, and part IV contains a series of representative addresses.

The book is an interesting and stimulating record of a suggestive movement.

C. R. W.



THE NEW CITIZENSHIP: A CIVIC RITUAL DEVISED FOR PLACES OF PUBLIC MEETING IN AMERICA. By Percy Mackaye. New York: Macmillan Company. 50 cents.

In this masque Mr. Mackaye makes his contribution to "an appropriate ritual of American citizenship." He has two distinct purposes, one to symbolize to eye and ear "the main historical significances of the living tradition of American liberty," and to introduce into this background the new significances and suggestions of present-day Americanization. It is a worthy companion to his civic masque, "St. Louis," which proved so suggestive in connection with the truly great St. Louis pageant.¹



THE LIBERTY OF CITIZENSHIP. By Samuel W. McCall. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$1.15. 134 pp.

The annual volumes containing the Dodge lectures on the "responsibilities of citizenship" are as a rule a substantial contribution to the discussion of an old but ever new and important question: the duties of a citizen in a democracy. Governor McCall has many qualifications for a successful treatment of this subject and he fulfils expectations. What he has to say relates principally to the encroachments of the law upon the liberty of the individual and the necessity of "maintaining the largest attainable measure of freedom," and is a philosophic defence of individualism as opposed to socialism.



ETHICS IN SERVICE. By William Howard Taft. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$1.

In this little volume of 101 pages, former President Taft discusses with an abundance of apt illustrations the move-

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, pp. 401, 647.

ment for better ethics in business, professional and governmental service. It is in the latter that he is particularly qualified to speak with authority, and he shows a sympathy with many modern efforts at improvement which affords an interesting contrast with his well known and frequently expressed opposition to certain modern political tendencies, especially those known as direct legislation.

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UNDERCURRENTS IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

By Arthur Twining Hadley, Ph.D., LL.D. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$1.35.

This volume contains the Ford lectures delivered at Oxford by President Hadley on property and democracy and the Barbour-Page lectures at the University of Virginia on political methods. It might very properly be entitled "Extra Constitutional Government in the United States" and be given a place beside Tiede-

man's admirable contribution on "The Unwritten Constitution."

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OFFICIAL INDEX TO STATE LEGISLATION.

New York: Law Reporting Company. 1915.

The publishers of this index, which is a private venture, are fortunate in securing the co-operation of the National association of state libraries and the American association of law libraries in making uniform the various classifications regarding legislation. The index contains a concise record of all bills introduced in the various legislatures of the states and the final action thereon. There is an index as to subjects and the general arrangement is convenient. It is valuable not only to those having private interests in legislation, but to the student of legislative matters from the public view-point.

The plan of the publication is on the weekly cumulative system.

A. DE R.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

THE AMERICAN CITY. By Henry C. Wright. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 50 cents.

AMERICAN MUNICIPAL PROGRESS. By Charles Zueblin. New and Revised Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

AMERICAN YEAR BOOK, 1915. Edited by Francis G. Wickware. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

BUSINESS EMPLOYMENTS. By Frederick J. Allen. Boston: Ginn & Company. \$1.

BULLETIN OF THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS INFORMATION SERVICE—A CO-OPERATIVE CLEARING HOUSE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS INFORMATION. First Annual Cumulation. Compiled by Orrena Louise Evans and Mabel E. Egbert. White Plains, N. Y.: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1915.

CITY PLANNING. Edited by John Nolen. New York: D. Appleton & Company. National Municipal League Series. \$2.

THE COLORADO INDUSTRIAL PLAN. By John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Including a copy of the plan of representation and agreement adopted at the coal and iron mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. 1916.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT. By Frank Farrington. New York: Ronald Press Company, 20 Vesey St. \$1.50.

COMPARATIVE FREE GOVERNMENT. By Jesse Macy and John W. Gannaway. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.25.

COST OF LIVING. By Fabian Franklin. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page & Company. \$1.

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE GREAT WAR. By Arthur Bullard. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

ENGLISH PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION. By B. G. Bannington. London: P. S. King & Son. 7/6 net.

EXTRACTS FROM LIQUOR LAWS OF PROHIBITION STATES. Compiled under the direction of Levis Machen, Director of the Legislative Reference Bureau of Virginia, Richmond, Va.

FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TAXATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. 1916.

HOUSING PROBLEMS IN AMERICA. Proceedings of the Fourth National Conference on Housing, Minneapolis, October 6-8, 1915.

LAW AND ORDER IN INDUSTRY. By Julius Henry Cohen. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

MEMORIES OF A PUBLISHER, 1865-1915. By George Haven Putnam, Litt.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE STATE. By Henry Jones Ford. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. \$1.

THE OPERATION OF THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL IN OREGON. By James D. Barnett, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

THE PORTLAND SURVEY. By Ellwood P. Cubberley. School Efficiency Series. Edited by Paul C. Hanus. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company.

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION. By William Bennett Munro. New York: The Macmillan Company.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON VALUATION, PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 10-13, 1915. The Utilities Magazine, January, 1916. Philadelphia: The Utilities Bureau. \$2.

STUDIES IN THE COST OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION SERVICE. By F. W. Doolittle. American Electric Railway Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York.

VOTING IN THE FIELD. By Josiah H. Benton, LL.D. Boston: Published by the Author.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Recent Public Service Commission Reports.—Several public service commissions have recently issued their reports. These volumes indicate a serious study upon the part of the commissions of the intricate problems of utility regulation, and lead to the conclusion that rapid progress is being made by the commissions in the development of definite principles and precedents in the control of utility corporations.

The New Hampshire public service commission has adopted the practice of issuing two companion volumes, one designated as the report of the public service commission of New Hampshire, which contains the statistical data and reports of the various companies; the other designated as the New Hampshire public service commission reports, containing the opinions and decisions of the commission. Volume IV of the last mentioned series

has appeared¹ and its value is greatly enhanced by the fact that it contains an index-digest of all the opinions thus far rendered, and contained in volumes I to IV inclusive. This digest is complete and carefully arranged, and makes it easy to ascertain the principles of control developed and applied by the commission.

The 1914 report of the public service commission of Maryland² contains the statistical report of the commission, as well as its opinions and decisions. The opinions of this commission in many cases are so brief and concise that it is difficult if not impossible to gather the principles of control applied. The volume is difficult to use, owing to the lack of a serviceable index.

¹ New Hampshire Public Service Commission reports, vol. iv.

² Report of the Public Service Commission of Maryland—1914, vol. v.

Published reports are issued by the Kansas commission only biennially. The second report¹ of this body indicates a period of activity. The commission has developed and is making large use of the "informal" method of handling complaints. Under this method, upon the receipt of a communication, complaining of an injustice, discrimination, poor service or improper practices upon the part of a utility, the commission immediately enters into correspondence with the utility complained against, and in many cases succeeds in bringing about adjustments and satisfactory conditions without the necessity of a formal hearing and decision. Apparently most of the commission's attention has been directed towards freight, passenger and express rates and service, rather than to local utility problems. The most important capitalization case ever decided by the commission, the application of the Kansas City, Mexico and Orient railway company, is reported in this volume. This case involves questions regarding the proper policy to be adopted and carried out in cases of insolvency and reorganization.

The Massachusetts railroad commission was in 1913 given larger powers and jurisdiction and made into the Massachusetts public service commission. The second annual report of this body² contains a valuable discussion of the general problems of regulation, as well as the opinions and orders issued regarding capitalization, rates, and service. The problem of regulating utility securities has for many years been an important one in Massachusetts, as this commonwealth began regulating capitalization long before most of the other states had undertaken this task. This report indicates the importance which still attaches to this problem, in Massachusetts. The most noteworthy decision contained in the volume is that rendered in the Boston and Middlesex rate case. In this decision the commission definitely rejects the cost of reproduc-

tion theory as a basis for rate making, and asserts that securities which have been issued under direct authorization of the state and which represent a bona fide investment, must be protected in rate making cases.

The 1914 report of the public utilities commission of Ohio³ contains both the statistical data regarding the utilities of the state and the orders and decisions of the commission. The report indicates that much of the activity and time of the commission has been directed to making physical valuations of utility property, under the provision of the law which obligates the commission to make physical valuations of the property of public service corporations upon request of the council of the municipality where the whole or major portion of the property is located. As the law now stands the council is not required to disclose to the commission, or to anyone else, the purposes for which such valuation is desired. But when the purpose has not been indicated the commission has proceeded upon the theory that such valuation is to be made for rate making purposes. Under the above mentioned provision of the law the commission is now in process of completing the valuations in several Ohio cities.

The Missouri commission has issued its first and second annual reports containing its statements as to the work accomplished.⁴ It has also just issued volume I of its opinions and decisions.⁵ These decisions have the merit not possessed by those of all of the commissions, that the principles involved and the grounds upon which the decisions rest are fully and amply stated. Their value is also increased by the excellent brief which precedes each decision. The commission in this volume establishes certain important principles with regard to utility capitalization, as for example, it holds that the approval by the commission of the issu-

¹ Annual report of the Public Utilities Commission of Ohio, 1914.

² First and second annual reports, Missouri Public Service Commission.

³ Public Service Commission reports, Missouri, vol. i.

¹ Second biennial report of the Public Utilities Commission of Kansas, 1915.

² Second annual report of the Public Service Commission, Massachusetts, 1914.

ance of stocks and bonds is not to be taken as a guarantee by the commission of such securities, and that in cases of reorganization of insolvent corporations, the capitalization must be cut down to correspond to the value of the property involved.

The 1914 report of the Georgia railroad commission¹ follows the precedent previously established, of including only those few of the opinions and decisions which the commission considers of the largest public importance. It is to be regretted that the appropriations of several of the commissions are so meager that the complete publication of all the opinions and decisions is rendered impossible. One of the most important decisions reported is in the case of the Macon railway and light company. This case raises the question as to whether and how far a local utility may be required to build extensions of its lines. The commission establishes the principle that it is the duty of a gas or electric company to serve all who reside within an established service zone, or who are similarly situated with reference to its system, and that this obligation may be enforced by compelling an enlargement of its plant or extension of its facilities.

The first annual report of the Pennsylvania public service commission² gives a description of the work of the commission, statistical data and information, and a brief statement of the questions involved in each decision, although the opinions are not given in full. The act under which this commission operates provides that no contract or agreement entered into between any utility and any municipality shall be valid unless first approved by the commission. The report indicates that 153 such contracts have been submitted to the commission for its approval. Many of these contractual franchises were modified by the commission before approval was granted. The refusal upon the part of the commission to give its approval to one such municipal franchise

resulted in a movement by the officers of some of the smaller municipalities to have this part of the act modified. During the months ending July 30, 1914, eighty-five issues of stocks and bonds received the attention of the commission. This commission's control over capitalization differs in nature from that of the other commissions which regulate the issuance of securities; as it is not required to grant its direct approval to the issue, but instead gives a "certificate of valuation" to the corporation, which may serve as a guide to the investors.

The usefulness of the first annual report of the Colorado public utilities commission³ is somewhat limited by the fact that the number of pages to be contained in the annual reports is restricted by statute. This provision makes necessary the publication of certain of the proceedings in digest form. The commission has published a compilation of its conclusions on various matters involving interpretations and constructions of the law, in order that the conclusions expressed may be regarded as precedents governing matters of similar import. The public utilities law, as originally passed, provided that a certificate must be issued by the commission before any utility could issue stocks, bonds, notes, or other evidences of indebtedness. But these sections of the law were referred to the people in the general election held in November 1914, and were defeated. The commission points out that by the defeat of these sections, its earning power has been greatly diminished.

The legislature of West Virginia in establishing the Public service commission entrusted to it the administration of three separate acts: the public service commission act, the workmen's compensation act, and the hydro-electric power act. The first annual report of the commission⁴ indicates that the unrelated work required under the workmen's compensation act has been assigned to a special

¹ Forty-second report of the Railroad Commission of Georgia.

² First annual report of the Public Service Commission of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

³ Public Utilities Commission of Colorado, First annual report.

⁴ State of West Virginia, Public Service Commission First annual report.

bureau in the exclusive charge of one of the commissioners. The report contains the bylaws of the commission, its rules of practice and procedure, the rules and the regulations adopted governing the tests of electricity, gas, and water meters, and the general orders and decisions of the commission. The statute under which the commission operates provides that the commission shall not reduce any rates, within ten years after the completion of a plant, below a point which would produce less than an 8 per cent return. But it is significant that in the most important rate case passed upon by the commission, which involved the rate charged by eight of the leading natural gas companies of the state, the commission regarded a 12 per cent return in this industry as being a reasonable one.

The biennial report of the public service commission of Vermont¹ contains the report of the commission to the legislature, as well as the opinions and decisions rendered. The volume contains the statement issued by the conference of railroad commissioners of Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts upon the proposition of the Boston and Maine railroad to increase its rates for transportation. The commission reports that it has no additional legislation to recommend regarding the control of utilities in Vermont. Perhaps the most important rate case reported is *Re Addison & Panton telephone and telegraph company, et als*. In this case the commission develops the principle that securities, the issuance of which has previously been authorized by the commission, must be protected by the commission in making of rates to be borne by the consumers.

The Washington commission has published its fourth annual² report. Much of this commission's attention is occupied by a problem which does not exist for the eastern commissions—the proper regula-

tion of irrigation companies, a task which the commission finds difficult because of the laxness of legislation upon this subject. The problem of the Washington commission is also a peculiar one in that electric service, in this state, with minor exceptions, is supplied by a few large companies, by means of high power lines, extending in some instances hundreds of miles from the source of power to the point of consumption. To value such systems and equitably apportion such value to the various communities served, the commission has found a difficult task.

The second report of the Arizona commission³ throws little light upon the rate making principles actually applied by the commission, although it contains several rate decisions. The functions of this commission are numerous and diverse, as it not only has jurisdiction over the utilities of the state, but also the insurance, investment, and surety companies. Probably the most important capitalization case decided is in the application of the Southern Pacific company for authority to issue \$55,000,000 in bonds. In this case the commission clearly takes the position that it can grant its authority to the issuance of securities, even though such securities represent expenditures on property situated in other states. This position raises a far reaching question of jurisdiction, concerning which there is as yet no authoritative judicial determination.

Since the issue of the pamphlet report noted in last year's review, the Illinois public utilities commission has published its complete report for the year 1914 in two substantial volumes. The first gives, in addition to the report proper, its orders and decisions, rules and changes in freight classifications. Volume II on transportation statistics includes steam, electric, and street railroads, and sleeping car, express and steamboat companies.

RALPH E. HEILMAN.⁴

¹ Fourteenth biennial report of the Vermont Public Service Commission.

² Fourth annual report of the Public Service Commission of Washington.

³ Second annual report of the Arizona Corporation Commission.

⁴ University of Illinois.

Housing Reports.¹ In adding this supplement to the lists of reports on hous-

Akron, O.—Report of Housing Committee in year book of Chamber of Commerce. 1914-15.

Boston—Women's Municipal League of Boston. Annual report of Department of Housing.

Bridgeport, Conn.—A Brief Survey of Housing Conditions in Bridgeport, Connecticut, by Udetta D. Brown for the Bridgeport Housing Association. 1914.

Brookline, Mass.—The Wooden Apartment House Question in Brookline, 1915.

Buffalo.—Tenement House Number, Buffalo Sanitary Bulletin. Published by the Department of Health. 1914.

Burlington, Vt.—A Survey of the City of Burlington.—Its Housing Conditions, 1915, by Udetta D. Brown. Made under the direction of the Committee on Social Survey.

California.—First annual report of the Commission of Immigration and Housing, 1915. Sections deal with the tenement house problem in San Francisco and the lodging house problem in San Francisco. There is also a chapter on housing; San Francisco, tenements, family dwellings, lodging houses; Sacramento; Fresno; Bakersfield, Visalia, etc.; Los Angeles and San Diego; general conclusions.

Chicago.—Chicago Housing Conditions: Part VIII, Among the Slovaks of the twentieth ward, by Helen L. Wilson and Eunice Wakelee Smith; Part IX, The Lithuanians of the fourth ward, by Elizabeth Hughes; Edited by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, Department of Social Investigation. (Russell Sage Foundation) 1914.

Cleveland, O.—An Investigation of Housing Conditions of Cleveland's Workingmen. The Best, the Average, the Worst, 1914. By the Division of Health, Bureau of Sanitation.

El Paso, Texas.—Housing Health Survey, by Jos. H. Grossman. For El Paso Chamber of Commerce.

Johnstown, Pa.—Infant Mortality. Results of a Field Study. 1915. Housing Section—By Federal Children's Bureau.

Kansas City, Mo.—Annual reports of Board of Public Welfare.

Massachusetts.—First annual report of the Homestead Commission. Public Document No. 103, 1914. Second annual report of the Homestead Commission. Public Document No. 103, 1915.

—Annual reports of the Massachusetts Civic League. Reports of the Committee on Housing.

—The Problem of Immigration in Massachusetts. Report of the Commission on Immigration. House Document No. 2300, 1914. Chapter III. The Housing of the Immigrant.

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New Jersey.—Reports of the New Jersey State Board of Tenement House Supervision.

ing conditions which have already appeared in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL

New York.—Housing Reform in New York City, 1914. By the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society.

—Report of the Heights of Buildings Commission to the Committee on the Committee on Height, Size and Arrangement of Buildings of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of the City of New York. 1913.

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—A Social Survey of the Washington Street District in New York City. 1914. Under the direction of the Trinity Church Men's Committee.

—Annual reports of the Dwellings of Trinity Church Corporation by Emily W. Dinwiddie.

New York State.—Report of Commission in the Matter of the Investigations of Housing of the People in Cities of the Second Class. Senate Document No. 25. 1915.

Passaic, N.J.—A Survey of Housing Conditions in Passaic, N.J., with recommendations by the National Housing Association, 1915. By Udetta D. Brown. For the Housing Committee of the Board of Trade.

Philadelphia.—A study of the Housing and Social Conditions in Selected Districts of Philadelphia, 1915, by Frank A. Craig, M.D. For the Henry Phipps Institute.

—Fourth annual report of the Philadelphia Housing Commission. 1914.

—Reports of the Octavia Hill Association.

Plainfield, N. J.—Housing Conditions in Plainfield and North Plainfield, 1914, by Udetta D. Brown. For the Anti-Tuberculosis League and the Charity Organization Society.

Orange, N. J.—A Report on Housing Conditions in the Oranges, 1915, by Edith Rockwell Hall, field secretary of the Civic Committee of the Woman's Club.

Richmond, Va.—Report on Housing and Living Conditions in the Neglected Sections of Richmond, Va., 1913, by Gustavus A. Weber, secretary of the Society for the Betterment of Housing and Living Conditions in Richmond.

Springfield, Ill.—Housing, by John Ihlder, in the Springfield Survey, Russell Sage Foundation.

United States.—Government Aid to Home Owning and Housing of the Working People in Foreign Countries. 1915. U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Question of the Housing of Workmen in Europe and America, 1913, by Robert Francis Irvine, M.A. To the governor of New South Wales, Australia.

—Satellite Cities, a study of industrial suburbs, by Graham Romeyn Taylor. National Municipal League Series. Published by D. Appleton & Co. 1915.

Washington, D. C.—Report of Housing Committee of District of Columbia Section, National Civic Federation, Woman's Dept. 1914.

REVIEW,¹ the most significant point to note is the variety of sources from which these reports come, evidence of our growing realization that housing is a factor of first importance in many social and economic problems. Similar evidence is given in recent books on social and economic subjects, but only one of these is listed—Graham R. Taylor's "Satellite Cities," a study of industrial suburbs, in which nearly every chapter contains a description of housing conditions.²

In order to bring out the significant point let us classify briefly some of these reports. First place belongs by right of discovery to social and civic organizations which first awakened to the facts that we were creating slums in our cities and that these slums were a social and civic menace. So nearly exclusively did such reports once occupy the field, that housing has been, in the minds of many people, only a slum problem. Though these organizations not only still produce reports, but produce an increasing number of them, the emphasis is changing. We are not yet rid of our slums—far from it—but we are recognizing the close relationship between housing in the worst districts and that in the best. Our vision has broadened, we now see not only a submerged class, but the whole community.

Indicative of this change are such reports as those of Miss Brown on Bridgeport, Conn., and Burlington, Vt., and that of John Ihlder on Springfield, Ill. Within this group, but in a division by themselves, are the series of intensive studies of small districts or of particular groups, like those made by the Chicago school of civics and philanthropy, of which the latest numbers, 8 and 9, are here listed. These are not to be considered individually but collectively and it is to be hoped that the series will not stop until every phase of Chicago's housing has been studied, the best and the average as well as the worst, the dwellings of the well-to-do American born whites as well as those of Slovaks, Lithuanians and

Negroes.³ For then only will they present a picture of Chicago's housing ideals and tendencies which will enable us to clearly visualize the task that lies before Chicago's housing workers.

Second place goes to government publications, for the United States bureau of labor, long before it became a department, issued reports on the housing problem. And now it is joined in this work by the children's bureau. These publications reflect what is engaging the public interest of their time. In 1894 the commissioner of labor issued a special report on the slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia. Since then the bureau has published reports on the housing of working people (1895), the housing of working people in the United States by employers (1904), and building and loan associations in the United States (1904). Now appears a volume on government aid to home owning and housing of working people in foreign countries.⁴ Meanwhile the children's bureau is giving more and more attention in its investigations to the dwellings in which children live—and die. It, too, is beginning, logically, among the poorest and the alien; but it, too, is broadening the scope of its inquiries so that it will present pictures of community ideals and tendencies.

Among the state governments Massachusetts is a leader in this field. Its homestead commission, starting with a peculiar care for workingmen as a class, has already given evidence that it recognizes in housing more than a class problem. Its report on government aid antedated that of the United States department of labor. Its annual conferences of city and town planning boards, for the creation of which it was responsible, show its growth. At the same time the commission on immigration has included a chapter on housing in its report on the problem of immigration in Massachusetts. But here Massachusetts must yield pre-

¹ See vol. i, no. 4, p. 693; vol. iii, no. 1, p. 168 and vol. iii, no. 4, p. 790.

² See vol. v, p. 89.

³ For the titles of preceding numbers see lists previously published in the REVIEW.

⁴ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 505.

cedence to California, which in 1913 organized a commission of immigration and housing, which issues annual reports.

These intensive studies of the needs of particular groups fit into the more comprehensive studies. Reports from southern cities naturally deal largely with the negro, though an earlier tendency to consider his housing as constituting a problem unrelated to that of the rest of the community is dying out. Northern reports also deal with the negro specifically; and now we have one by the National League on urban conditions among negroes on housing conditions among negroes in Harlem, New York City.

Another evidence of the broadening interest in housing is given by the commercial organizations which have made investigations. The Cleveland chamber of commerce has long given attention to the subject. More recently others have joined it and now come the Minneapolis civic and commerce association, the Passaic, N. J., board of trade, the Akron, O., chamber of commerce. Our business men are beginning to see that a well-housed working population promises certain definite advantages to business. Their interest is not purely selfish, at least it is enlightenedly selfish; but logically they approach the question from their accustomed point of view. The significant thing is that as they approach they begin to recognize other points of view. It took the discovery of slums to arouse Minneapolis. Now there is not only a demand for legislation which will set wholesome standards for all dwellings, but there is a strong sentiment for protected residence districts and even a dream of garden suburbs and a growing condemnation of the apartment house—of which Minneapolis is getting more than its share.

Strange as it seems, it is only within the past year that our anti-tuberculosis societies have really awakened to the importance of good housing standards in their crusade. Among them is the Plainfield, N. J., anti-tuberculosis league which joined with the local charity organization society in financing a housing investigation. Quite as significant is the action

of the Henry Phipps Institute which has published a valuable report on a study of the housing and social conditions in selected districts of Philadelphia.¹ Some of our public health officials have been longer concerned, as is shown by the report on the housing of Cleveland's workingmen, yet among them the importance of housing as a factor in public health has not been generally recognized. The reports of these private agencies may have a stimulating effect.

There is one other group of reports that must be specifically mentioned, those issued annually by agencies, official and unofficial, which are devoting all or a definite part of their energies to housing betterment. This group, of course, includes the reports of the Massachusetts homestead commission, the Kansas City board of public welfare, and the California commission of immigration and housing. It also includes such reports as those of the New York tenement house department and the New Jersey board of tenement house supervision, and in addition those of organizations like the Philadelphia housing commission, the Massachusetts civic league, Trinity Church corporation and the Philadelphia Octavia Hill association.

JOHN IHLDER.



Centralized Purchasing in New York City.—For over a year New York City has been engaged in the interesting experiment of purchasing through consolidated proposals and contracts, supplies, materials and equipment for the departments directly under the mayor. This has been done without charter amendment by the co-operation of the heads of fourteen large departments and of fourteen smaller offices. The end in view has been to demonstrate the practicability and advantages of central purchase in a city of the size of New York and to put into effect, so far as was possible without change in law, the modifications of administrative practice required by centralization before calling upon the legislature for authority

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 151.

to go farther. A further purpose has been to add experience to theory in determining just what legislation it was desirable to ask for. The report of the mayor's central purchasing committee issued under date of October 1, 1915, covering the first year's work, shows that the plan has had excellent results in the opinion of those most closely connected with it.

This committee, appointed by Mayor Mitchel in November, 1914, with Henry Bruère, city chamberlain, as chairman, and F. R. Leach as secretary, soon associated with itself departmental representatives most familiar with purchasing and the needs of their respective departments. Under the direction of members of this associate committee best fitted to guide the purchase of each class of goods, seventeen subcommittees have co-operated on the preparation of the joint proposals, with the result that each proposal has represented the best purchasing experience in the city government.

The plan of operation has included the following steps:

1. The submission of estimates by the departments has been schedulized, precedence being given to supplies of current indispensable use, such as food supplies, forage, fuel, lubricants and gasoline;

2. With these estimates before them the subcommittees decide by conference the terms of contract proposals, and consolidated contract proposals are set up and printed in accordance with the conclusions reached;

3. The proposal being prepared, it is advertised according to law over the signatures of the heads of the several departments concerned;

4. On the day and hour of opening, the heads of departments assemble to open bids, their presence being required by present charter provisions;

5. Upon figures furnished by the departments showing the status of appropriations, advices of award are prepared in the central office and after signature by the heads of departments are forwarded to the finance department for approval of sureties, notices of award being at the same time sent to the successful bidders;

6. The sureties being approved, the signatures of the dealers and of the head of each department concerned are secured on the contracts;

7. After final approval as to form by the law department and certification as to

funds available by the finance department, the contracts are forwarded to the contractors and certified copies to each department concerned.

By October, 1915, when the report of the central purchasing committee was published, practically all of the contact purchasing for the year of the twenty-eight departments and offices under the direct supervision of the mayor had been consolidated into single contracts for like requirements. Ten, twelve and fourteen departments, respectively, joined in the proposals for cleaning materials, forage and fuel. The total value of the supplies purchased through the committee during the year (\$3,636,707.46) approximated 42 per cent of the total appropriations and special revenue bonds (issued to September 30, 1915) allotted to the mayor's departments for supplies, materials and equipment during 1915. The balance of the purchases were left to the several departments and offices—that is, those of less than \$1,000 in value for a single department, which the department did not consider it essential to purchase under a formal contract or which were precluded from this method of purchase by emergency, and also contract purchases during the early part of the year covering articles which the committee was not yet prepared to take over, and a small amount of contract purchases of articles required by but one department.

The report outlines a constructive plan for handling centrally every class of purchase by consolidating the departmental purchasing staffs, a few at a time, beginning with the four institutional departments, thus supplanting the clerical force now loaned by the commissioner of accounts. This step is now about to be taken.

The central purchasing committee has found that co-operative buying has had the following beneficial results:

1. Competition has been increased through departmental co-operation and consolidation of mailing lists, as well as by general satisfaction among dealers with the new plan, due to their having but one instead of several purchasing offices to keep in touch with, and due also to the

fact that specifications have been amended, and in other ways proposals made more attractive through the joint efforts of the departments. In the case of coal, the average competition was increased from seven bidders in the departments to thirty-five through the central purchasing committee; on canned goods and groceries, the increase was from eight to twenty; on cleaning materials and compounds from nine to thirty-five, and on clothing, dry goods and notions from ten to thirty-five;

2. Prices secured have been satisfactory to the departments and in many instances have been better than those previously secured, the reason being that consolidation of quantities and improved specifications and delivery conditions have enabled dealers to figure very closely. For example, coffee was standardized by reducing seven kinds to two and the entire quantity required for the year for all departments was advertised in one proposal for delivery in bulk, green, to Blackwell's Island, there to be roasted by the department of public charities and distributed by existing means to the points of use; the result was a reduction in the average price per pound of coffee from .168 to .139, including the cost of roasting and making allowance for shrinkage during the roasting process;

3. The 55 proposals advertised through the committee being the equivalent of 173 individual departmental proposals, and the 499 contracts and open-market order agreements executed through the committee being the equivalent of 1,149 individual departmental contracts and open-market order agreements, the expense to the city of printing, advertising and distributing proposals and of preparing and executing contracts has been greatly reduced. A material part of this saving has been in a reduction of work of the departments concerned in the approval and printing of proposals and contracts, namely—the law department, the finance department, the bureau of standards—supply division—and the board of city record;

4. Close contact with departments and dealers has enabled the committee to recommend many beneficial changes in existing specifications and has afforded a favorable opportunity to test the merits of many tentative specifications not yet adopted;

5. The establishment of a central sample room has added to the convenience of bidders and in other ways, as in adjustment of difficulties with inspection and of delays in the payment of claims, dealers have been brought to realize that city business is desirable;

6. The foundation has been firmly established for a permanent central pur-

chasing agency for the city to include all classes of purchases.

The committee's report recognizes "that all the advantages of central purchasing cannot be obtained without the actual establishment of one agency legally authorized to make all purchases." "But the test made," it adds, "has demonstrated the plain sense and financial advantage of substituting one purchasing agency for a hundred," the offices of the five borough presidents, the county offices, the courts and the numerous commissions and boards maintained by appropriations by New York city, besides the mayor's departments and offices, being included in the large number stated.

The board of estimate and apportionment and the board of aldermen have approved the recommendation included in the report that a supervising board be created to broaden the mayor's central purchasing committee to include in its scope the offices of the borough presidents, and have appropriated funds for a director of purchases, an assistant director and a small clerical force.

Meanwhile a bill to create a department of purchase has been prepared, based upon the joint experience of the central purchasing committee and of the finance department. It is unsafe to predict what success this will have in the legislature. However, it is the opinion of the writer, who has been closely associated with the work of the central purchasing committee from its inception, that regardless of the possible defeat of the bill, New York city will, through co-operative purchasing, continue to profit by a large part at least of the advantages of central purchase.

ARTHUR G. THOMAS.¹



New York City Committee on Taxation.
—On April 10, 1914, Mayor Mitchel appointed a voluntary committee on taxation of twenty-five members "To make a comprehensive and exhaustive study of the several methods of taxation in use here and in other cities of this country and

¹Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City.

abroad, and of such methods and devices as have been . . . suggested as calculated to effect an improvement in the ways and means of creating revenue. . . ." Professor E. R. A. Seligman was elected chairman of the executive committee and L. A. Tanzer was appointed executive secretary. Although the committee was not able in the year and a half of its active existence to bring to a conclusion all of the investigations undertaken, it has issued four reports of more than usual value.

A considerable share of the attention of the committee was directed to the subject of exempting improvements. Under the direction of the committee, Dr. Robert Murray Haig of Columbia University prepared two reports. One of these was devoted to a study of the exemption of improvements from taxation as now practiced in Canada and the United States, in which are presented the results of an investigation carried on during the summer of 1914. This is the most comprehensive, painstaking and impartial study which has yet been made of the so-called "single tax" experiments in Canadian and American cities. The other report prepared by Dr. Haig is entitled "Some probable effects of the exemption of improvements from taxation in the city of New York." By means of an analysis of the 1914 assessment rolls of representative sections of the city an attempt was made to determine which sections of Greater New York, which types of property and which economic classes would be affected by a reduction of the tax on buildings.

A report on excess condemnation, prepared by Herbert S. Swan two or three years ago for the National Municipal League, was revised by Mr. Swan and published by the committee, and is reviewed in this issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

The final report, published in February, reviews the work of the committee and makes a number of recommendations which may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) Against the adoption of the principle of untaxing buildings, gradually

or otherwise; (2) in favor of a state income tax as a partial means of securing additional revenue; (3) but, if a state income tax is not feasible, in favor of an abilities tax composed of a habitation tax, an occupation tax and a salaries tax for the city, either of these taxes to supersede the personal property tax; (4) against the adoption of a low-rate tax on intangible or tangible personal property; (5) in favor of the principle of a tax on the increments of land value; (6) against a super-tax on land values; (7) in favor of minor changes in the existing tax laws to simplify administration and moderately increase the revenue; (8) recommends the appointment of a committee to report upon special assessments as a means of raising additional revenue.

While these recommendations are subscribed to by a substantial majority of the committee, there is great diversity of opinion in respect to most of them. Appended to the report is a statement of the views of the majority in favor of each recommendation, followed by dissenting views of members. The appendix also contains drafts of bills prepared and a questionnaire on the untaxing of buildings with answers filed by organizations interested as well as their briefs and the testimony of witnesses.

The reports of the committee may be obtained on application to the Municipal Reference Library, 512 Municipal Building.

C. C. WILLIAMSON.

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Excess Condemnation.—It will be admitted that to an exceedingly large number of well informed persons the term excess condemnation conveys no idea. It is doubtless equally true that even to the initiated the idea conveyed is somewhat nebulous. Reduced to its lowest terms excess condemnation is the policy by which a city condemns more land than is actually needed for a public improvement and subsequently sells or leases such surplus, sometimes to make a profit due to the increased value of the land, sometimes to control the use to which the land may be put. It is only within the last

decade, however, that serious attention has been given in this country to the possible use of this policy, and until now excess condemnation has been a problem in constitutional law rather than a part of the working program of the American municipality. Thus only the most fragmentary discussions of the subject have found their way into our periodical literature and no serious attempt has hitherto been made to present a thoroughgoing analysis of it. Nearly a dozen states, however, now have either constitutional provisions or statutes providing for excess condemnation and by that token the subject becomes one of deep and general interest. In recognition of that fact the committee on taxation of the city of New York publishes, along with its own recommendations, the report prepared a few years ago by Mr. Swan.¹

Disappointment is in store for those who look in this report for a well-rounded, coherent, systematic study of excess condemnation. Mr. Swan might appropriately have entitled his monograph, after the fashion of certain modern college text-books, "Readings on excess condemnation." It is a series of five chapters or papers the subjects and scope of which seem to have been determined rather by the sources of information available than by any regard for logical structure or sequence.

The first of these papers is called "The argument for excess condemnation." There are, it seems, three problems which excess condemnation may be expected to solve. By statistics, maps, and photographs Mr. Swan strikingly depicts the evil due to so-called remnants of land, malformed and unsalable fragments frequently left after a highway has been opened or widened. Excess condemnation would permit the city to condemn, replot and sell these fragments. In the second place, parks or other public improvements are frequently made hideous by the disfiguring

uses to which the abutting owners put their land. Excess condemnation would allow the city to condemn this abutting property and sell it again under restrictions which would protect the beauty of the improvement. Finally, the problem of financing public improvements could be more easily met if the city were to condemn a surplus of land, hold it for an increase in value, and apply the unearned increment thus intercepted to the construction cost. An appendix is added showing the accretion in value of the land abutting on a Brooklyn street opened ten years ago. By excess condemnation it is presumed that a goodly part of this increased land value would have been paid into the city treasury. One cannot help regretting that this argument for excess condemnation was not supplemented by an argument against it, or at least a thorough-going examination of the difficulties incident to its operation. Mr. Swan is an able advocate but an impartial reader will hardly look with favor upon an entirely *ex parte* examination of the problem.

In the second chapter, "financing London street improvements by recoupment," one learns that the city of London has employed excess condemnation in the opening and widening of streets since 1855. During the period down to 1913 about 40 per cent of the gross cost of making the improvements involved has been recovered by the city through the sale of the surplus land or the rents derived from it. This statistical study, supplemented by an elaborate appendix, is clearly and convincingly made. There is some attempt made to deduce from the mass of data presented principles of general application. There is no attempt, however, to apply those principles to the problems of the American municipality.

A third in this series of essays is entitled "clearance of unsanitary areas in English cities." Strictly speaking the problem of excess condemnation is not involved here, for while one finds a clear application of the principle of recoupment the private property actually condemned cannot be said to exceed that necessary to the improvement. The necessity under

¹*Excess Condemnation. A Report of the Committee on Taxation of the City of New York with a Report Prepared by Herbert S. Swan for the National Municipal League. New York, 1915, 121 pp.*

the law of providing homes for dishoused persons is perhaps the main reason why these rehousing projects have been less successful from a financial standpoint than the undertakings last described. The social benefits have, however, been very great although opinions differ as to whether this is the best way of attacking the housing problem.

Chapter IV gives the legislative and constitutional history of excess condemnation in the United States from the New York statute of 1812 to the New York statute of 1915. In an appendix the text of nearly all the constitutional provisions and laws regarding excess condemnation in the various states is given in full. One or two of the cases in point are mentioned. A thoroughgoing analysis of the legal problem involved is not attempted.

A final chapter consists of the recommendations upon the matter of excess condemnation made by the National Municipal League in 1912. Its use is recommended for the solution of the problem of land remnants and the question of its constitutionality before the state and federal courts is viewed with considerable optimism.

Mr. Swan's study is comparatively, though not entirely, free from inaccuracies (see the statement on page 20 regarding the case of *Eubank v. City of Richmond*, 226 U. S. 137). The particular topics dealt with are handled with clearness. The selection of those topics is, however, open to severe criticism. One leaves a perusal of this report with a feeling that the conclusions formulated were the starting point of the study and that such subjects were selected for treatment as contributed to their establishment and emphasis. It is difficult on any other assumption to account for the failure to discuss many points of great importance. The unhappy experience of Belgium with excess condemnation, and the administrative and legal problems involved in its general application are dealt with perfunctorily or not at all. To rely upon this study for enlightenment will give the reader much interesting and valuable information regarding excess condemna-

tion, but will leave him with a curiously one-sided view of the merits of the system and an exceedingly meagre insight into its fundamental problems.

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN.¹

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Report in Relation to the Queens County Water Company. By *Delos F. Wilcox, deputy commissioner, Department of Water, Gas, and Electricity, New York, 1915.*—Dr. Wilcox's report deals in a fundamental way with the problem presented by the Queens County water company. This corporation serves one of the outlying districts of Greater New York (Far Rockaway) and also adjoining territory outside of the city. Its rates are higher than those charged by the municipal water system elsewhere in the city, much to the dissatisfaction of local residents. The general policy of the city is to extend its own water system so as to serve the entire city on the completion of the Catskill water system. For the present, however, the municipality is not in a position to acquire the company's plant or to assume its functions.

The plan proposed by Dr. Wilcox goes beyond the immediate question of readjusting rates; it seeks to arrive at a permanent solution of the problem of the relation of the city and the water company. The policy advocated is far sighted. He proposed a contract under which the city has the right within a period of ten years to acquire so much of the company's property as it would find useful for supplying water in connection with its own system. A definite valuation is assigned to this property and the annual depreciation accruing thereon is determined. The city is given the right to purchase this property at the value fixed less the depreciation accrued to the time of purchase. Similarly a computation is made of the loss from the disruption of the business, which would leave the company with property in excess of its needs for supplying water beyond the limits of New York City. As an increasing proportion of the general investment in water bearing lands and pumping equipment can be profitably used

¹University of Illinois.

in its operations outside of the city, the amount of indemnity to be paid for the severance of the city business from its system is reduced from year to year. The schedule of rates is so framed as to yield a 6 per cent return on the property of the company, and in addition to permit it to amortize, before the expiration of the contract, the loss resulting from the abandonment of the business within the city.

At the end of the contract period the city may therefore take over the property useful to it without paying any indemnity for the loss of the business. Aside from certain immediate extensions necessary for adequate service, additions are to be financed by the municipality and expenditures made under the direction of the public authorities. The company must, however, pay a rental up to 7 per cent, if earned, for the use of city built mains and extensions, where improvements and additions are ordered by the city.

The relations of the company and the city are thus placed on a stable basis. The valuation of the property to be acquired is definitely settled, and there is obviated the necessity for future valuations, tedious delays and expensive litigation. The city is protected from an increase in cost which might result from deferring purchase. The company is safeguarded against disastrous competition, and given opportunity to divert its capital gradually to the development of its business beyond the city limits.

These aspects of the report are here emphasized because they are suggestive beyond the limits of the special problem discussed. Agreement upon a valuation of the property of a utility company, for rate making and for purchase, provisions for municipal participation in financing extensions and for sharing profits or losses on such extensions are features that will doubtless be increasingly prominent in settlements between municipalities and service corporations.

The report contains a careful consideration of the general problems of valuation and rate making. In addition it deals with the interesting and difficult tasks of ascertaining or estimating costs for differ-

ent districts (the section in New York City and the territory outside), and for different types of service, viz., the supply of water to general consumers, and the municipal fire service. In determining the charge for fire protection, Dr. Wilcox departs from the methods followed by the Wisconsin commission, and calculates the amount to be paid by the city on the additional capital and operating costs imposed by this service on a plant primarily established for the benefit of private consumers. This basis seems just and reasonable.

H. G. FRIEDMAN.¹



Philadelphia's Municipal Business.—

It is rather in the nature of a post-mortem to review here three unusual pamphlets coming into the office of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. The city of Philadelphia has had four years of a government aimed at efficiency rather than at political supremacy, and as a result the people of that great city have shown their emphatic disapproval by electing, to take office January 1, 1916, men whose relation to the city is in no wise different from that which for a long period of years has caused the city to be nationally reproached.

The first of these documents is the message of the mayor. It is dated July 1, 1915, and covers in its 28 pages a general statement which is in effect more of an appeal for a continuance of the attempt at efficient government than a dry detailing of the economics of a great city.

Mayor Blankenburg writes forcefully and picturesquely. His message is entitled "A Short Retrospect," and he adds: "A hundred million dollars expended without waste or graft efficiently in public service; five million dollars saved."

It is possible that there has been too little attention to the fact that the politician is always on the job in the administration which has thus been closed in public disapproval. It is possible—and if so it is sorrowful—that the citizens of Philadelphia prefer municipal inadequacy, municipal inefficiency and plenty

¹ New York City.

of political appointments to economy and good government.

Another of these pamphlets is entitled "Plain Talk,"¹ and it is surely unique among municipal reports, for it contains pictures, cartoons, photographic comparisons and a genuinely interesting statement of what has been done under a notable man for efficient government.

This particular report deals with the operations of the director of public works, Morris Llewellyn Cooke.

It is a very human report in its recognition of business rather than political considerations; in its argument for publicity and practicality; in its comparisons, both tabular and pictorial; and in its discussion and showing of the extraordinary exhibitions which attracted many people in Philadelphia to their advantage. These exhibitions related to city affairs, and one was called the "know your city better show." I do not remember ever to have been more deeply impressed than when in seeing this show I noted an exhibit so arranged that a light went out and came on again to illustrate that within the number of seconds that had elapsed a baby had died in Philadelphia, in many cases from disease which might have been prevented by proper municipal attention.

The last of these pamphlets is entitled "Street Lighting by Gas and Gasoline," and was issued by George E. Mapes, chief of the bureau of lighting. It discusses methods and ideals in a luminous fashion.

All through these documents there appears the same note of regret and protest that the men who were doing this work for the public were not in harmony with the city council, which, at least as they represent it, was desirous of specifically defeating any efficient effort for better conditions in Philadelphia. An executive who does not have with him the legislative body under our yet stupid American method of holding a man responsible for what he cannot control, is most unfortunate.

Philadelphia has had her showing of business government and of better conditions. She has had a little look in the right direction. That she prefers the other form of government ought to mean to those who are to carry it out at least a

little more devotion to the public interest than has been in evidence in the past. It may therefore be hoped that while, as it is currently reported, all efficient and faithful employees are to be at once dismissed so as to make room for political appointees, there will yet be enough disposition to consider the lives and the prosperity of the citizens of Philadelphia to prevent a return to the worst of the old conditions.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

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Regarding Surveys by New York Bureau of Municipal Research.—In view of the growing interest in the problems of county government, it seems desirable to call the attention of the readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW to the incompleteness of and the erroneous statements contained in the review of publications on county government by Richard S. Childs, in the January issue.²

In the first place, Mr. Childs omitted entirely any reference to the very complete and instructive report by city chamberlain Henry Bruère and commissioner of accounts L. M. Wallstein on a proposed reorganization of the five county governments comprised within Greater New York. The editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW pointed out the omission in a footnote. Although Mr. Childs gave considerable space to criticising the report on the government of Nassau county, New York, he made no mention of a similar report on the government of Monroe county. Both were submitted to the constitutional convention and published by it.

Relative to the Nassau county report, Mr. Childs wrote as follows:

The document on the government of Nassau County is typical of surveys by the bureau of municipal research, the analysis being along financial rather than political lines, illustrated with diagrams of every department. They offer no appraisal or criticism.

Three points of error which should be corrected are to be noted in connection with the above statement.

(1) The report is not "typical of surveys by the bureau of municipal research."

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 5.

²See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. v, p. 153.

Mr. Childs is in error in calling the Nassau volume a survey. As printed plainly on the cover, it is merely "a description of organization and functions." It was never intended as a survey report and a re-examination of its pages fails to disclose the use of the word "survey." Every one of the many surveys which the New York bureau has made throughout the country has been both critical and constructive. It has always adhered strenuously to the policy of never criticising a plan of organization, method or procedure unless it could suggest an effective and practicable means of correcting the defect criticised. The descriptive report is not typical of the bureau's surveys.

(2) The analysis is not "along financial rather than political lines." The entire introduction is given over to discussing the political divisions of the county—the three town governments constituting the county and also the election, school, light, water, fire and sidewalk districts. A separate section of the report is given over to each department and office, and contains a detailed description not only of how each organization unit functions, but just what duties are performed by each individual employe. Moreover, the summary arranges the various county departments in two main groups, according to whether the administrative groups are elective or appointive. Surely, if such an arrangement fails to follow political lines, then we know not the meaning of the term. True, the salary rates of each position and the total payroll costs are included and properly so, but this does not justify describing the report as "being along financial rather than political lines."

(3) The reason why the volume examined by Mr. Childs "offers no appraisal or criticism" is simply that it represents only part of the work performed for the Nassau county commission which financed the undertaking. The commission desired that a description of the organization and functions of the county and town governments be prepared first, and this is what was submitted to the convention, and is what Mr. Childs calls typical of the bureau's surveys. Following immediately thereafter, two other volumes or parts of the undertaking were prepared and sub-

mitted to the commission. One contained three alternative constructive suggestions for reorganizing the Nassau county government, and the other was a digest of all existing laws relating to the inter-office procedure of the state and county, state and towns, and county and towns. The bureau has never been interested in preparing merely descriptive reports other than to serve as the basis for intensive study and constructive recommendations. Even the large volume descriptive of the organization of the state government of New York which the Bureau prepared in co-operation with the state department of efficiency and economy was supplemented by an appraisal and constructive suggestions published by the bureau and submitted by it to the convention.

In connection with the descriptive report of Monroe county, New York, which Mr. Childs overlooked, it might also be noted that a second volume of 251 pages of critical and constructive matter was prepared and submitted to the same authorities for which the descriptive report was made. Comprehensive survey reports on county government have also been made by the Bureau in Oregon, Colorado, Pennsylvania, etc., which fact was also overlooked by Mr. Childs when he stated that the small descriptive report of Nassau county was typical of bureau surveys.

HERBERT R. SANDS.¹

The above communication was referred to Mr. Childs who made the following comment on it:

The language in my article was somewhat loose in view of the special meaning which the word "survey" seems to carry to Mr. Sands and the bureau. Substitute "description" for the word "survey" (that being what I meant) and there is not much left for us to differ over. I have been very much surprised to find that I had said anything to which the bureau would object. Mr. Sands seems to interpret the paragraph in question as a sneer at the bureau, an idea which never entered my mind.

¹ Assistant director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research in supervision of its field work.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY¹**Accounting**

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PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION¹

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR HERMAN G. JAMES

BY JOHN H. HUMPHREYS

General Secretary, Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain

PROPORTIONAL representation is now "a real issue," says Professor James in the April issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, "which must be faced at once by those who are leaders in moulding public opinion along lines of municipal progress." We who are advocates of P. R. acknowledge with much pleasure this admission of the great advance recently made in America by our cause, but we welcome no less warmly the criticisms which Professor James directs against our proposals. The case against P. R. is stated fully, moderately, competently. For us this is a great advantage: we understand more clearly the difficulties which P. R. presents to the minds of those who are as earnest as ourselves in their devotion to reform; we are confronted with the weaknesses, if any, of our position; we must deal with objections formulated with so much authority. The whole article compels thoughtful discussion, and from such discussion proposals for reforms based upon sound principles always emerge with added strength, with increased support.

¹ The following is a list of articles dealing with the subjects of proportional representation and preferential voting published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. In addition there have been frequent brief references in the departments.

Preferential Voting and How It Works, Reginald Mott Hull, Vol. i, p. 386.

Proportional Representation, Preferential Voting and Direct Primaries, Clarence G. Hoag, Vol. III, p. 49.

Preferential Voting, Lewis J. Johnson, Vol. iii, p. 83.

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The Ashtabula Plan—The Latest Step in Municipal Organization, A. R. Hatton, Vol. v, p. 56.

Proportional Representation: A Fundamental or a Fad, Herman G. James. Vol. v. p. 306.

THE THREE METHODS OF ELECTING A CITY COUNCIL

Professor James classifies his objections under three heads, theoretical, legal, and practical; it will be convenient, therefore, to examine them in this order. The real point at issue, however—it runs right through the article—is the relative merit of different methods of election; and as it is desirable that this discussion shall have practical results, shall enable those who follow it to arrive at definite conclusions, I shall, before proceeding to deal with the objections in detail, contrast briefly the three principal methods available for electing a council—the block vote, the ward system, proportional representation.

With the block vote councillors are elected by the city at large or by districts of considerable size each electing several representatives; each elector has a vote in respect of each seat to be filled. Under this system the largest group of citizens, by nominating a full list of candidates and giving one vote to each, may win all the seats, leaving all other groups without representation. This system is in use in Lewisham, the London borough in which I live. For the past nine years the majority there has held all the seats. The Progressive minority (a municipal group), numbering about 40 per cent, has had no representation, and a feeling of hopelessness has crept into all its organizations. The same system was used in the election at large of fifteen delegates to serve in the last New York constitutional convention; the Republicans elected all fifteen.

This simple form of the block vote may be modified by incorporating with it provisions for preferential voting. In the sense in which the term is used in America, preferential voting is intended to insure that each person elected by it shall be a candidate who is favored by an absolute majority of the votes. From his article I gather that Professor James approves of the election of the governing body of a city—the council or commission—by the block vote carried out with this preferential ballot. On this point “all leaders in moulding public opinion” must think out their own position with equal clearness. Do they, or do they not, approve of a method of election which may leave 40 per cent or more of the citizens without representation in the council which decides policies affecting all?

With the second method, the ward system, the city is divided into comparatively small districts each of which elects as a rule one representative at a time. The elected councillor is supposed to represent all the citizens who sleep in his ward, but who may differ as widely as the poles in their views on municipal policies. These citizens are usually agreed in nothing save the interests of their section of the city, and that explains why the representative so often considers and votes upon municipal problems in the light of the interests of his ward only. Under this system

the public-spirited may find their votes completely nullified by the votes of those who have accepted favors from the ward boss; the former possess the right to vote but not the right, which the franchise was intended to confer, to choose a representative.

Under the ward system a leader like Alderman Charles E. Merriam of Chicago, who really represents a large percentage of all the voters of the city, may lose his seat merely because he fails to receive the largest vote in the particular ward in which he happens to live. This may be the fate even of the leader whom an absolute majority of the citizens would elect if they could. In the London county elections of 1907 their supporters and the county lost the services of two ex-chairmen of the council, the vice-chairman, and several chairmen of committees—all chosen by their colleagues for these positions because of their special fitness. Manchester and other English cities have lost some of their ablest councillors in the same way, defeat by small majorities in a ward election. Under the block vote the danger of a sweeping change of personnel is obvious: under that system the turn-over of a trifling percentage of votes—the small number often sufficient to turn the scale—may mean the defeat of a whole group of councillors of long experience.

Proportional representation takes the good features of the two systems already outlined and adds others of its own. The election is held at large—the good feature of the block vote—so that the broader outlook, the needs of the city, may prevail over the narrower outlook of the ward. It accepts, too, one of the ideas on which the ward system is based. If a city, with a council of seven, is divided into seven districts or wards of approximately equal size, each one-seventh of the citizens secures one-seventh of the representation. Under P. R. one-seventh of the citizens would be equally entitled to one-seventh of the representation. But the character of the constituency is changed: it is no longer a seventh of the citizens who live in adjoining streets and think differently; it is a seventh who may live in different parts of the city but are agreed in their views on municipal questions. Under such a system the votes of the public-spirited are not nullified by those of the dependents of the ward-manager: electors are free, in choosing representatives, to join with those who are like-minded; the majority does not monopolize representation, but each important group secures its fair share; municipal leadership is encouraged—the Merriams must fight for their group and for their principles, but they have reasonable security of tenure since the retention of their seats depends not on their opponents but on their friends. Under such a system all citizens, within the limits of practicability, will be brought into association with the council; they will follow its proceedings and discussions with greater interest, for each will have a representative in whose election—in whose *selection*—he took an effective part.

THEORETICAL OBJECTIONS TO P. R.

The foregoing analysis of the three available methods of election will enable me to deal more lucidly with the objections raised by Professor James. He prefaces them with a statement of the claims made for proportional representation which concludes in these terms: "There will be reflected in the council every important shade of political opinion that exists in the community, and the action of the council will represent in the end the composite of the opinions of the electorate, instead of merely the opinion of the majority." I prefer, more particularly as the article deals with cities, to state the case as follows: Under P. R. every important group of citizens who are in agreement in respect of municipal policies will be assured of representation in proportion to their strength; and, as a consequence of this fair and complete representation, the action of the council on any issue submitted to it will be determined in each case by the representatives of a majority of the citizens; whilst, before any decision is taken, the representatives of the minority will be in a position both to criticize the proposal of the majority and to put forward suggestions of their own for consideration.

Three alterations have been made, and in commenting upon them I shall answer the main objections made by Professor James. The first change is merely verbal and has little significance. For "shades of political opinion" I have substituted "groups of citizens agreed on municipal policies." If the words "political opinion" are interpreted in their broadest sense, no real change has been made. I desire, however, to emphasize the fact that P. R. facilitates more surely than any other method of election the elimination of national politics from municipal elections; it encourages the grouping of citizens around municipal policies and issues, with which the principles of the two largest national parties surely have little to do. If, as Professor James suggests, more or less permanent municipal parties arise, it will be because the two main tendencies in human thought—the progressive and the conservative—will find expression therein; but P. R. is so flexible, it adapts itself so readily to the needs of the moment, that it is more probable that, as M. Ostrogorski contends, new groups, new parties will arise as new municipal problems and issues emerge for consideration.

The second alteration is much more important. I have inserted the clauses "*in consequence of this fair and complete representation*, the action of the council . . . will be determined by the representatives of a majority of the citizens." Complete representation, I contend, that is, representation as complete as is practicable, is necessary to insure majority rule. For let us examine what takes place when the council represents "merely the opinion of the majority." In this case the members of the council will perhaps have been elected by, and will speak for, but

little more than half of the citizens. A majority of the members will be sufficient to determine any of the important questions brought before the council. But a majority of the members will not represent a majority of the citizens: they will speak for much less than half. Thus the representation of the majority only often means minority rule.

Let me illustrate this contention. Citizens may be divided into four groups holding different views on municipal questions. The first group may be made up of men interested in business, in contracts, in the preservation of privilege and monopoly of all kinds, and partly of men merely conservative. The second group may be keenly interested in social welfare activities in respect of which it wants its city to stand pre-eminent; this group may at the same time be opposed to government ownership, contending that municipal franchises should be strictly controlled but not operated by the city itself. The third group might be convinced that it is in the public interest that the city should own and operate street-car lines and all enterprises of a municipal character. The fourth group, the Socialists, might desire to press still further the policy of municipal ownership. Under the proportional system these principles and the issues related to them would be clearly discussed at election time, and after the election all four groups would be represented fairly. A distinct issue might then be raised in this representative council, say the establishment of a system of playgrounds such as that of Chicago. In respect to the proposal each representative would have to go on record. The second, third, and fourth groups would probably approve; and if their representatives constituted a majority, the views of the majority of the citizens would prevail. A second and quite different issue might then arise, the establishment of a municipally owned and operated electric-light plant. The third and fourth groups would approve, but unless their representatives constituted a majority the proposal would be voted down. In each case the majority of the citizens decide because all are represented. Contrast the work of this P. R. council with one elected under the block-vote majority system. The four different groups would still exist, but they would have to find representation as best they could. Amalgamations would take place. Many of the second group (supporters of social welfare reforms), alarmed at some of the proposals of the third and fourth groups, might find themselves, somewhat unwillingly, compelled to vote for candidates nominated and controlled by reactionary influences. The latter might have made some concessions by including in their ticket the names of a few reformers. The composite ticket wins, and the third and fourth groups are unrepresented. The decisions now taken in the council will be determined by a majority of the members elected on the composite ticket, and decisions favorable to reactionary interests may be taken which would have been rejected had

all the citizens been fairly represented. The council represents the majority only, and the minority rules.

The third alteration is equally important. The action of the council, instead of representing, as Professor James suggests, "the composite of the opinions of the electorate," represents in each issue the wishes of the majority who are free to accept or reject the suggestions of the minority. I challenge particularly, in respect of the council's action, the use of the word "composite": it suggests haziness, indefiniteness—whereas P. R. does not confuse, it clarifies, the presentation of issues. Again let us use an illustration. The question of a large city improvement may come up for decision; a majority approves and it is carried. This improvement may involve the displacement of many poor families, and hardships may result in many cases whether the law provides for compensation or not. Under P. R. there are likely to be in the council representatives who have especially at heart the interests of the poorer classes. The considerations urged on their behalf are admitted, and the scheme is modified, or rather improved, so that the hardships, so far as possible, are obviated. There is no haziness about these decisions. The majority decided in favor of the improvement and it was carried. The representatives of minorities criticized and made suggestions. The suggestions were accepted, but again the decision was taken by the majority. Each issue was presented clearly and separately and determined upon in accordance with its merits. Professor James says: "The more truly the councillors reflect the conflicting interests of the constituencies, the more difficult does the process of legislation become, and the more unsatisfactory will the finally inevitable compromises prove." The fact is, as my illustration shows, that legislation is improved—the shoe is made to fit—when the experience, the needs, of all classes of citizens are presented within the council. Unsatisfactory compromises, unintelligible haziness are the characteristics of the majority system, which compels different classes of citizens to find expression, if they can, through some common denominator, to get representation through a composite ticket. But, says Professor James, "however lengthy and careful may be the discussion . . . the final action is and must be taken by majorities." This statement is obviously true. With the majority system of representation all the planks in the compromise platform are steam-rollered through by one and the same majority; with proportional representation each separate issue is determined by a majority of the citizens, but it may be by a different majority.

Two other points raised by Professor James call for comment. "How," says he, "can a councillor, elected by one-tenth of the voters of a city, not knowing who his electors were or what policies they represent, reflect the political opinions of any one but himself?" This sentence reveals so complete a misunderstanding of what takes place and must take place under P. R. that I am astonished that it finds its way into print. Profes-

sor James is evidently troubled by the claim made by P. R. advocates that independent candidates may sometimes be elected. The independent candidate, if elected, will certainly not be some one who, as it were, is in the air, detached from and unrelated to the questions which enter into the election; he will be an independent with a long record of public service behind him, in itself a sufficient indication of his views, or a candidate with a distinctive policy or new issue which other groups have refused to endorse. It is inconceivable that in any municipal election under P. R. a candidate would give no indication of his views. The electors are going to choose representatives. On what grounds will a candidate with no record of work behind him, no policy to enunciate, appeal for support? Under P. R. there will be the greatest political sympathy between the councillor and those who chose him: they will have selected him because they approve of him and his policies.

The other objection raised is the weakest of all. Professor James reminds us that representation cannot possibly be complete or perfect in character; "the dreams of the proportional representation advocates are not possible of realization." We are practical men and know full well that it is not possible to provide under any scheme of election that every group, however unimportant, shall be represented; but why is this an objection to providing for the fair representation of groups that are important? For these P. R. can and does secure representation; and when, as will be the tendency, municipal groups are based on principles, even the smaller matters will fall into their proper place.

Hitherto we have been examining the case of a representative city government, one in which all matters of policy are determined. "But," says Professor James, "under the system of direct government which we are rapidly approaching, and which they [the advocates of P. R.] endorse, important questions of policy are no longer left to the decision of the representative body. Under those circumstances *the only issue in the choice of candidates is one of personality and character.*" A good many leading advocates of P. R. do not approve of direct legislation; they support P. R. because it strengthens and perfects representative government; they oppose direct legislation because it replaces representative government, substituting for the legislative chamber a body less competent to work out the details of legislation. I admit, however, that there is much agreement between those who are working on different lines for the improvement of democratic government, but I was not aware that the leaders in the movement for direct legislation wish to destroy representative government altogether. Mr. U'Ren, with whom I discussed these matters in Oregon last December, informed me that he had in view, from the very beginning of his reform agitation, the creation of a deliberative and fully representative legislature. He is still pursuing his original aim. Other advocates of the initiative, referendum, and recall

whom I met in the west expressed the opinion that these instruments should be used sparingly, their object being to control, not replace, representative government. The leaders, as Professor Barnett says, recognize that direct legislation can be overworked; they fear that "its overuse will bring reaction and endanger its existence."¹ Last year some 47 separate propositions were submitted at the same time to the electors of California. In common with these leaders I do not desire to overtax the capacity of voters; I approve of the short ballot movement for a similar reason; it seeks to concentrate the attention of electors upon a few things which they can do well, to wit, the election of representatives. Further, with direct legislation the voters must reject or accept a bill as presented. P. P. Woodbridge, secretary of the United Farmers of Alberta, told me that he assisted in carrying by referendum a prohibition act for his state, although it contained clauses which he detested, one of which penalized a householder on whose premises were found tumblers such as are used in saloons. In a legislative chamber there would have been a separate decision on that point. Perfected representative government still has many advantages over direct government. I cannot admit, therefore, that the time has come or is coming when the only issue in the choice of candidates is one of personality and character.

But even were it so, the Hare system allows each group of citizens to select the representatives it most prefers. Professor James is again troubled. "If," says he, "one-tenth of the electorate is law-breaking, corrupt, and disgraceful, P. R. insures their representative a seat in the council. That is a kind of democracy which I for one cannot endorse." Apparently Professor James would choose for them. But one of the great merits of P. R. is this: it will allow the public to see what kind of representative these law-breaking, disgraceful citizens will elect. Their representative will be isolated, and there is nothing like isolation in full view of the public to destroy both corruption and those conditions in which it breeds. Moreover, with the system of majority representation, these law-breaking, corrupt, and disgraceful citizens still exist, but they do not stand alone: they enter into and often corrupt the municipal group which trades for their support; their votes are purchased, not necessarily with money, for the more these corrupt influences are hidden, the more powerful they are; the decisions within the council of the composite majority often reflect the terms on which that majority secured its power.

LEGAL OBJECTIONS

A state supreme court has held the preferential ballot (the Bucklin system widely adopted in America) to be unconstitutional, and Professor

¹ James D. Barnett, *The Operation of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall in Oregon*, pp. 81, 82.

James warns the advocates of P. R. of the possible fate of their proposals. It is interesting in this connection to call attention to the judicial decisions on preferential voting given in the same issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW in which Professor James' article appears. The arguments by which the court sustains its judgment in *Brown v. Smallwood* (Minnesota) are valid against preferential voting, but not against proportional representation. The judgment says that "the preferential system greatly diminishes the right of an elector to give an effective vote for the candidate of his choice. If he votes for him once, his power to help him is exhausted. If he votes for other candidates he may harm his choice but cannot help him." The judgment fastens upon the essential defect in the Bucklin system of preferential voting which Professor James endorses. *The expression of a second-choice may harm the first-choice.* The Bucklin system does not even insure majority representation. As soon as the largest group of electors discover that it does not pay to record second preferences, the Bucklin system will tend to break down. Were I an organizer and wanted to control the election, say, of a council of five, and the Bucklin system was in force, I should advise the supporters of our group to give first-choice votes to each of our five nominees and to throw away their second-choices. Our group might command only 45 per cent of the votes, but, with the accretion of second-choices given by supporters of other groups not so wide-awake, we might secure all five seats. At the last elections in Cleveland, Ohio—they were held under this system—only a small percentage of the electors exercised their second choice, and some of these regretted having done so.

The other opinion quoted, the judgment in *State v. Thompson* (North Dakota) reads as follows: "Our system of government is based upon the doctrine that the majority rules. This does not mean a majority of marks, but a majority of persons." P. R. complies with the terms of this judgment; it is based upon the doctrine that the majority rules; it asserts that, to secure majority rule, all must be represented as fairly as the circumstances permit. If majority rule is a first principle of American government, the advocates of P. R. need not despair. But granted that there are constitutional difficulties in the way of P. R., the obstacles have to be overcome.

PRACTICAL OBJECTIONS

The practical objections may be dismissed in a few words. P. R., it is alleged, "is an elaborate and complicated election procedure." The average voters "will be sceptical and suspicious, and so far from having their interest in voting increased it will be decreased." Wherein lies this great complication? The Hare system is supposed to be the most complicated of all. Yet its rules for counting consist, in the main, of directions for the sorting and transferring of ballots according to the preferences

marked upon them. The written rules for baseball give an appearance of complexity to one who has never watched or taken part in the game. The electoral officers who have carried out elections under the Hare system do not complain: they find each of the operations sufficiently simple. Further, the facts show that the interest in voting is increased, not decreased. The citizens, instead of being suspicious, begin to wake up when they realize the effect of the new system. The working-men of Johannesburg understand full well that they will obtain one representative on the city council for every quota of votes polled; they therefore endeavor to poll as many quotas as possible. In Tasmania, when the figures are announced, some of the citizens are adepts in working out what the quota must be. The truth is, the Hare system made its first advances among working-men, trades unions: so far from being alarmed at its complexity, they recognized its fairness and put it to use.

The second objection is that some of the election officers may be corrupt and that their corruption may be more difficult to discover. It would seem desirable to get rid of corrupt election officers in any case, and I know of no case where corruption has been alleged against any officers charged with the administration of the Hare system. Corruption, instead of being more difficult to discover, is more difficult to perpetrate: not only must the presiding officer in a voting precinct be corrupt, but all the other precinct officials and all those at the central office, through whose hands the papers must pass, must connive at the corruption.

The third objection is that the satisfactory working of the recall is impossible. If the recall is necessary, the proportional system supplies the only machinery in which its fair use can be guaranteed. The city council of Berkeley is not elected under P. R., but nevertheless two Socialist councillors, representatives of the minority, were elected when Stitt Wilson, a Socialist, was elected mayor. The recall was put into operation, so Mr. Wilson informed me, for the purpose of withdrawing these representatives of the minority from the council. The attempt failed, but Mr. Wilson saw in this attempt what an unfair advantage the recall places in the hands of an unscrupulous majority. In Ashtabula, where the Hare P. R. system is used, the position of a representative of the minority is safeguarded: the recall is put into operation only if 75 per cent² of those who signed the nominating petition of the elected councillor also sign the recall petition. A minority member cannot be recalled so long as he commands the confidence of those he represents. I am hoping that, with P. R., the recall may not be necessary; it implies that we cannot trust the representatives we elect. To obtain the best representatives we *must* trust. I prefer to trust and to take the risk of my representative failing me. Under P. R. I know he will have every reason to keep faith: he will depend for re-election upon those who voted

² This percentage is perhaps too high. J. H. H.

for him in the first instance. He cannot take refuge under any umbrella such as that which the majority system, with its composite ticket, affords.

The final objection is best answered by those who have had experience of the commission-manager plan of government. Professor James fears that it is "strategically unwise for the supporters of good city government to advocate at this time so radical a change in the manner of constituting the governing bodies of our cities." Let Lent D. Upson, recently director of the bureau of municipal research at Dayton, answer. When P. R. was being advocated for Ashtabula, he wrote as follows: "I am sorry that my own city of Dayton should not have been chosen to make the experiment. . . . The experience of a year and a half has now demonstrated the need of a more satisfactory method of connecting public opinion with the government itself. Our administration is honest, highly efficient, and has exceeded my most enthusiastic expectation so far as results are concerned. I feel, however, that its work would be strengthened if every element had a voice in the policy-making body, and was compelled to go on record regarding the very matters which they are now criticizing. . . . I feel confident that *the greatest success of our present type of government* [commission-manager plan] *will come under some system of proportional representation.*" The last sentence, which I have italicized, should give Professor James pause. Let me add to it another, this time from Professor C. A. Beard: "*The great gains of the new forms of city government cannot be retained unless provision is made for proportional representation.*" Yes, it would indeed seem that P. R. has become "a real issue which must be faced at once by those who are leaders in moulding public opinion along the lines of municipal progress."

SOME RECENT USES OF THE RECALL

BY F. STUART FITZPATRICK¹

Columbia University

ALAMEDA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

THE attempt to recall Supervisor Kelly of Alameda county, California, last fall (1915) spent itself in a futile struggle over the petition. Underneath the formal charges written into the petition, one of which was that Supervisor Kelly had cast a favorable vote for the purchase of a new courthouse site, there existed apparently a keen factional strife. The recall issues were confused by the bitterness of this strife and by the charges and counter charges of fraud and misrepresentation in regard to the petition procedure. The petition was the pivotal point of the conflict; it was the beginning and end of the whole affair.

In the latter part of October 1915 a petition designating Supervisor Kelly, and containing some 300 names, was filed with the county clerk. It was insufficient since 3,685 signatures were necessary to constitute the required minimum. The clerk so certified to the board of supervisors who, in accordance with the provisions of the recall law, granted the filers of the petition ten days within which to secure supplemental signatures.

During this ten day interim Kelly brought charges of misrepresentation and fraud against the circulators of the petition, and his charges were followed by the arrest of two of the paid solicitors. The day following the arrest 65 men and women appeared before the clerk and requested that he remove their names, claiming that they had thought that they were signing a protest against the adoption of the new courthouse site. The recall faction denied the charge and brought the counter charge that several of the solicitors they had employed were really in the employ of Kelly and had made every effort to obtain fake signatures to the petitions in order to discredit the whole recall movement.

At the time when the board of supervisors had made provision for the ten day period for the filing of the supplementary petitions they had also spread on their minutes an opinion of the district attorney to the effect that the petition first filed constituted the legal petition, that all names added thereafter were supplemental and with their filing the time for withdrawals would terminate. The originators of the petition at the expiration of the ten day period filed with the county clerk 4,400 sup-

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plemental signatures to be added to the original petition. This move effectively prevented Kelly from obtaining access for the purpose of securing removals to the names of the large majority of the signers of the petition directed against him. He charged that the action of the recall faction in thus filing the supplemental names at the eleventh hour was a mere piece of political jobbery. The storm of criticism waxed violent on both sides, and the point at issue was not the recall, but the petition designed to initiate the recall.

The matter was brought to a close by the action of the county clerk. He declared the petition as supplemented insufficient. Some 800 names were thrown out for various irregularities, such as, according to the clerk's reported statement, signatures made by wives for husbands and *vice versa*, failure properly to date the separate sheets, affixing of dates by the solicitor when they should have been written in by the signer, etc.

The contest in Alameda county illustrates the force of the criticism, long since made, of this circulating petition procedure. The safeguard of the legal tabu is not sufficient to prevent unscrupulous men from taking advantage of the manifold opportunities for misrepresentation and fraud, not to speak of forgery and bribery, that present themselves in circulating a petition, or to speak more accurately a number of petitions (separate sheets), among the voters. The professional solicitor is not made of the staunchest stuff, leaving out of account the "amateur" who hires him. The plan adopted in some cities of placing the petitions in convenient public places, readily accessible to the voter desirous of having an official recalled, is much better adapted to avoiding the evils attaching to irresponsible petition peddling.

SAN BERNARDINO, CALIFORNIA

The attempt to recall George Wixom, mayor of San Bernardino, California, throws light on another phase of the recall, a political rather than a procedural phase. Wixom in a contest which involved three other candidates was elected mayor by a plurality of 500 votes. Immediately after the election former mayor Catick, an unsuccessful candidate to succeed himself, aided and abetted by his chief of police Seecomb, started a petition for the recall of the newly elected mayor. Eight months later he had secured sufficient names to initiate a recall election. Charges of inefficiency and extravagance were formally made in the petition, but the real issue seems to have been a fight over a more "liberal" town. A heated campaign ensued from which Wixom emerged triumphant having defeated his opponent, the same former Mayor Catick, by the overwhelming majority of 1800 votes. Mayor Wixom was supported not only by his own forces but by the forces of two of the three men who were contestants in the original election.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

The potential force of the recall as a deterrent, which by some persons thoroughly cognizant with municipal affairs has been considered its chief virtue, is illustrated in a somewhat unusual fashion in a recent unsuccessful recall election in Atlanta, Georgia. The fact of its existence and the threat of its use constitute what is usually understood as the deterrent force of the recall. In Atlanta it took the experience of an actual recall election to clarify the atmosphere and bring home to recalcitrant officials the will of the people.

In October 1915 the board of police commissioners of Atlanta, composed of the mayor and one councilman, *ex officio*, and five others, removed from office Chief of Police Beavers who had been in the service 26 years without a single reprimand, and who had risen by the force of personal character to the head of the department. Beavers was charged with incompetency, inefficiency, and insubordination, but the evidence was so overwhelmingly in his favor as to the charges of incompetency and inefficiency that he was found guilty only of insubordination. It was believed by many that the insubordination the police board had in mind was the fact that Beavers was seeking to enforce the liquor law, and had been instrumental in closing the segregated district. The fact that the spirit if not the letter of the civil service law had been violated intensified the popular feeling against the commissioners.

The petition for the recall of the police board including the mayor was duly filed and the council passed a resolution setting January 5, 1916, as the date for the recall election. Then a startling thing occurred—the mayor vetoed the act of the council. He alleged that the petition was illegal. The city clerk, however, being advised by the city attorney that the veto was null, ordered the recall election for January 5. The recall election was held, the mayor offering no further obstruction, and the recall in each case of mayor and each member of the police commission was defeated overwhelmingly.

The defeat of the recall taken on its surface would warrant one in concluding that the people of Atlanta approved the police commissioners' act removing Beavers, and, by implication, favored a policy of an "open" town. An analysis of the election, however, reveals the interesting fact that in all probability the police commissioners were saved from defeat by the efforts made in their behalf by the three local newspapers which repeatedly assured the voters that the removal of Beavers had no relation to a policy of non enforcement of the law. On the contrary the voters could be certain that if the police commissioners were not recalled the law would continue to be enforced. The recall faction maintained that the removal was an entering wedge towards an "open" town. If the officials under suspicion did have in mind a policy of "liberalizing" the city, it is certainly fair to conclude from the publicity given to the issue of an "open" versus a "closed" town, upon which both factions

apparently were agreed, that the election, although unsuccessful, would act as a decided deterrent upon the policy of the commissioners. The statement of the recall committee, although it may be discounted as a partisan utterance, will serve nevertheless to bring out this possibility of the recall. From the *Journal*, Atlanta, Georgia, January 5:

"The Atlanta newspapers have succeeded in convincing the majority of the voters that the seven commissioners stand for law, decency, and order. We are especially pleased at the editorial statements of the three newspapers that the segregated district shall never be opened."

SANDUSKY, OHIO

The city manager plan went into operation in Sandusky, Ohio, the first of the year. The commission of five members had scarcely organized before a split disclosed itself. There is little doubt but that the split was due to the fact that Commissioner Stubig and Commissioner Graefe were the representatives, in fact the leaders of two contending factions. The struggle opened over the election of the president of the commission. It was at this time that Stubig won the support of Commissioner Koegle, who was elected president of the commission, and thus secured control of a majority of the commission. The first climax in the conflict between Stubig and Graefe was reached when the majority of the commission ousted Auditor-treasurer Cheney from office. Thereupon the two minority commissioners Graefe and Mitchell in a signed statement published in all the newspapers advocated the recall of the entire commission on the ground that its lack of harmony was seriously hampering the proper administration of public affairs.

The two daily papers pushed the movement for the recall of the entire commission. The basis of their attack was that the commission was out of joint with itself as demonstrated by the fact that the vote on every important question was three to two, and that the majority of the commission had subverted the charter by introducing politics. They had removed the auditor-treasurer, an expert called in from the outside, before he had been given sufficient time to prove his merit in order to put in his place one of their own friends. They had in order to build up patronage seriously hampered the city manager in his appointments even to the extent of dictating the appointment of his stenographer.

Stubig's Weekly which represents the majority of the commission replied to these charges with vigor and no little feeling. It charged that the whole recall movement was a conspiracy on the part of the two minority commissioners in coalition with certain powerful clubs of the city and the two daily newspapers to gain control of the city administration by means of a new election. It justified the dismissal of the auditor-treasurer on the ground that he was an expert accountant who knew nothing of municipal affairs. It stated that the city manager, whom they had secured from the outside in order that he might make fair and impartial appointments, had upon coming to Sandusky lodged at one of the clubs

where he fell in with a society out of sympathy with the ideals of the people, and had without consulting the commissioners made his appointments on the recommendations of this society. It was, consequently, the imperative duty of the commission to supervise his appointments. The commission, not its hired appointees, was on trial before the people.

The recall movement, if it may be termed such, initiated by the two minority commissioners, spent itself in mutual recriminations and threats. Commissioner Stubig, however, did get under way a real movement to recall minority Commissioner Graefe, at least preliminary petitions are being circulated among the south and west end residents. It is doubtful whether the petition will receive sufficient signatures since Commissioner Graefe "is a prominent man and a banker who is greatly feared in politics."

It is difficult to evaluate the recall in a situation such as exists at Sandusky. That city is torn apart by bitter factions, and the chief issue is one of personalities rather than of efficient, serviceable government. The recall, like every other instrument of government, can be used as a weapon in a factional conflict, and as such it is neither more nor less legitimate than any other instrument of government. The recall did not introduce confusion into the municipal politics of Sandusky. It is doubtful whether it is able to dispel any of the confusion. The electorate could make use of it to oust its "wrangling" politicians. One of the factions could make use of it to defeat its opponents. The real crux of the matter here, as always, is the level of public opinion.

PUBLIC EXPEDIENCY

The recall was designed, according to some of its most able defenders, to put the removal of public officials upon the grounds of public expediency as contrasted with the previous "due process" removal procedure where (legal) cause had to be shown. The question at once arises—what constitutes public expediency? And the answer seems to be that public expediency is that which the public think is expedient. This is not a mere quirk for we have introduced in the answer the think element—public opinion. Translated into the terms of practice removal for public expediency means removal any time a majority of the electorate, or of those voting at an election decide to remove an official, or are persuaded to so decide to leave open a loop hole for some kind of leadership. Efficiency, economy, serviceableness are terms which have fairly definite connotations as standards for judging a city administration. Experts can put content into these standards by devising ways and means for obtaining efficient, economic service, but there must needs be some kind of a force back of these ways and means to make possible their realization. This brings us again to public opinion. In the last analysis public opinion is both the force which decides the expediency of the removal and the force which sets the standards for testing this expe-

diency. If an active group, or a single leader, can persuade the majority of the electorate, or the majority of those who see fit to vote at an election, that it is expedient for them ("the public") to recall an official, then we must frankly admit that the recall has properly fulfilled its political function of removal on the grounds of public expediency.

This paper which is devoted to a description of some recent uses of the recall in municipalities will not attempt any discussion of the recall from the viewpoint of its relation to public opinion on the one hand, and the "reform" elements and the "reactionary" elements on the other hand. It was thought desirable, however, to call attention to this phase of the recall especially as the recent use of it in Oakland, California, and Nashville, Tennessee, emphasizes some of the possibilities of this process of removal on the ground of public expediency.

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

On January 1, 1916, Commissioner-mayor John L. Davie and Commissioners Jackson and Edwards took office in Oakland, California. They were elected as a "reform" administration and their campaign had been supported by the citizens' and taxpayers' league. Commissioners Baccus and Anderson were left over from the old administration as their terms of office had not expired. Attempts were made by the taxpayers' league in March and July of the preceding year to recall these two commissioners, both of which failed to result in an election. It was rumored at the time when the three new commissioners took office that they would circulate petitions for the recall of Commissioners Baccus and Anderson. The reformers, however, were apparently satisfied with their majority of one, and any contemplated use of the recall died with the rumor.

March and April 1916 saw the rise and fall of a recall movement which for a time threatened to turn out of office the entire commission. The jitney bus was the *casus belli*. In January the commission had passed the so called jitney bus ordinance which "prohibited jitneys from the business district, where congestion existed, set apart a safety zone" and "provided more stringent rules for insurance to protect passengers and public from injury to person and property." This ordinance was passed by the votes of Commissioners Davie (Mayor), Edwards, Baccus, and Anderson, and it was against these four commissioners that William Mitchell, an officer of the chauffeurs' union, and various jitney bus drivers filed affidavits of intention to circulate petitions.

The interest of the group opposed to the jitney bus ordinance is clear. The ordinance had so restricted the jitney business as to cut deeply into its profits and had to that extent been an aid to its competitor, the traction company. Their one ground for the recall of the commissioners was the fact that they had voted for the ordinance. There was no other charge. If this group had secured sufficient strength to remove the officials it would be difficult to see wherein the recall had not fulfilled its

function of removal on the ground of public expediency. Yet the newspapers criticized as illegitimate and vicious this use of the recall. *The Tribune* in an editorial, March 16, stated:

Thus the recall, devised and created by the people to safeguard them against misuse of authority and maladministration of office, has been taken up as a club to coerce action in favor of certain interests. . . . If the recall is adopted to further private interests it will very shortly be classed with the corrupt instruments so often alleged to be used by big corporations. When that occurs it will have outlived its usefulness and will be a thing condemned.

Mayor Davie, speaking for the four commissioners, stated that the ordinance was in accord with the sentiment of the voters as expressed in the vote on jitney regulation May 1, 1915. He held that the passage of the ordinance put the jitney question before the voters, and that the controversy could be settled more honestly by an initiative than by a recall.

The filing (March 14) of a declaration by Dr. Mabel E. Anthony of intention to circulate petitions for the recall of Commissioner of Public Health and Safety Jackson brought the remaining commissioner under the threat of recall procedure, thus providing for a clean sweep of the city council. The principal charge brought against Commissioner Jackson was that while he had been elected with Commissioners Davie and Edwards to bring about certain municipal reforms, he had at the first opportunity deserted them for the two minority commissioners "whose previous course had made reforms necessary and whose ill conduct in office he was elected to amend."

The whole recall movement collapsed in April with the settlement of the jitney cases, about 200 in number, which were dismissed by the court on the agreement of the jitney men to operate only in the streets allowed by the commission.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

In Nashville, Tennessee, we have a situation which illustrates in a rather striking way the two edged possibility of the recall. In this city there is working side by side the recall removal and the "due process" removal. The latter is embodied in the so called ouster bill which was passed by the state legislature in 1915 and which provides that a city official may be convicted of non-feasance or mis-feasance in office in a court action brought by a state's attorney and that on conviction he shall be removed. This law was passed to overcome the non enforcement through the inaction of city officials of the state-wide prohibition law, which had been forced upon the larger cities by the rural members of the legislature.

During the summer of 1915 the recall provisions of the city charter were for the first time made use of and a petition directed against Commissioner-mayor H. E. Howse and a number of the members of his ad-

ministration was circulated and was signed by the required 25 per cent of the electors. The supreme court, however, held that a petition directed against more than one official was illegal, that there must be a separate petition for each official. Thereafter the ouster bill was successfully invoked through proceedings instituted by taxpayers against the officials in question and their "due process" removal thereby accomplished. It seems also that there had been gross dishonesty in the handling of the city's financial affairs.

There is competent local opinion to the effect that the faction lead by former Mayor Howse, a politician whose reputation is not of the best order, has the backing of the majority of the electorate. Whether this is the fact is about to be brought to the test by recall proceedings directed against one of the new commissioners who were elected to succeed the "ousted" members of the Howse administration. The petition for the recall of Commissioner Treanor was filed on the day the six month period of grace provided for in the charter had expired. The statement in the petition of the grounds for the recall contained the charges of incompetency, refusal to pay the salary earned by city officers or employes, and the use of office for patronage. The Howse faction is confident that the necessary number of signatures will be obtained, in which case the recall election will probably take place some time in July.

If Commissioner Treanor is recalled it will be a removal on the ground of public expediency, that is, a removal because the Howse faction is able to control a majority of the electorate. There is good reason to believe that the faction which invoked the ouster bill is probably in the minority in Nashville. It succeeded because the officials in office had refused to obey the state laws. It secured the removal of officials whom it deemed undesirable by a "due process" procedure. After a lapse of six months the faction which is probably in the majority becomes active again and appears to be on the verge of having a recall election to dispose of one of its rivals.

This use of ouster proceedings against a "corrupt" administration and of recall proceedings against a "reform" administration is an interesting commentary upon the views of those who hold that the recall possesses some kind of an inherent reform nature. It is after all but a mechanistic device being in itself neither good nor evil, another method by which group conflicts may adjust themselves. The situation in Nashville, no matter how it works itself out, is neither a case for nor against the recall. The problem of efficient, servicable government lies deeper than the mere machinery through which it operates. It has its roots in the underlying group conflicts.

RECENT CITY PLAN REPORTS

BY CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON

Rochester, N. Y.

WHEN the war in Europe broke out and American cities were suddenly unable to sell their bonds, it was supposed that the practice of city planning had received in the United States a check hardly less definite than that which it had suffered abroad. But the "come back" in American finance showed itself nowhere more clearly than in the market for municipal securities, and the last year, marked as it has been by wars and rumors of war, has seen the river of American city planning literature flowing at flood height.

This series of annual reviews¹ is fortunately limited to "reports"—to that output which is called "fugitive" as compared to the volumes which bear the imprint of well known publishers, and whose writers are real "authors." Yet some of these fugitive reports, by reason of their size, matter, and permanency, belong in the book class, just as some books prove only fugitive; and the reviewer, with three dozen accumulated on his table in the year, finds his task a formidable one.

The most elaborate single publication of the year, among city plan reports, is Dr. Hegemann's "Report on a City Plan for the Municipalities of Oakland and Berkeley."² Detroit, Newark, New York, Philadelphia and St. Louis, however, each present a number of studies, carefully made, that cover different phases of their special city planning problem and make, between them, in each case, an important contribution. In addition to these, there have come isolated reports from other cities on the aspects of the city plan that are locally pressing—so continuing the tendency noted last year, of dividing the city plan study into sections instead of attempting to include the whole of it in one report; and then an increasing number of "annual" reports from planning boards—in pursuance of the tendency noted two years ago and that was emphasized again last summer.

It may be, perhaps, something more than a curious coincidence that the most sumptuously published of the city plan reports is this year, as it was last year, written by a foreigner; that it is not an American whose

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. ii, p. 160; vol. iii, p. 539; vol. iv, p. 383.

² Report on a City Plan for the Municipalities of Oakland and Berkeley. By Werner Hegemann, Ph.D. Prepared and published under the auspices of the municipal governments of Oakland and Berkeley, the supervisors of Alameda county, the chamber of commerce and commercial club of Oakland, the civic art commission of Berkeley and the city club of Berkeley. 1915.

study is so confidently presented to the public, as comprising all there is to say on the subject. A year ago the foreigner was an Englishman; this time he is a German. Americans must grant, however, that the report is again of great excellence—surprising in its combination of breadth of scope and thoroughness of treatment. This Oakland and Berkeley report represents some two years of careful work.

OAKLAND'S PLAN

Following a preface by Dr. Frederic C. Howe, and a long introduction by Dr. Hegemann, there is substituted for the usual table of contents a discussion of the structural rank of the different elements in a city plan. Considering first the city economic, and then the city recreational and beautiful, the subjects are arranged by Dr. Hegemann in the following order:

1. Harbor.
2. Railroads.
 - a. Freight.
 - b. Passenger.
 - (a) Long distance.
 - (b) Suburban and urban.
3. Streets.
 - a. Main traffic streets.
 - b. Business streets.
 - c. Residential streets.
 - (a) Expensive.
 - (b) Inexpensive.
4. Parks and playgrounds.
5. Civic art, civic centers.

Under each of these headings, there is a discussion of general principles, and then the application of these principles to local conditions. It need hardly be said that the text is full of valuable suggestions. Its most serious lack is inspirational quality—perhaps inevitably, since its author is writing in a foreign tongue, though he does this with great facility—and the length of the text is such that one can anticipate little general use of it except for reference. But that may be, in the long run, the best possible use of it, and the admirable index will facilitate such use. Yet, there doubtless is some loss in the fact that citizens are not likely to read the report through. For this Dr. Hegemann is not wholly responsible, the choice of type having been most unfortunate, a black face that makes every word emphatic being very wearisome. The illustrations, though they include no large maps, are many and excellent—really of great value; there are copious references; and there are long quotations from, and generous tributes to, the two Americans who had made studies of the region prior to Dr. Hegemann's coming.

BRANTFORD, CANADA

Next after Dr. Hegemann's study, the most pretentious of the recent comprehensive city planning reports is, curiously, that for the city of Brantford, Ontario, made by H. B. and L. A. Dunington-Grubb, landscape architects of Toronto.³ This report, though addressed to the parks commission, is in fact a general city plan study. It is very attractively issued; and maps, plans and photographs occupy an appropriate, but not too conspicuous, place in it.

The authors themselves present their report modestly enough. They call it "preliminary" and declare their suggestions "merely tentative," pointing out that the preparation of an authoritative plan for a city is a work "of very great magnitude," to be undertaken only by a commission possessing permanency and having large powers. Following the introduction, they divide their report into two main parts: A survey of existing conditions, both physical and economic; and the proposals for improvement. The latter deal with the street system, the park system, including playgrounds, the market, housing and methods of procedure.

An interesting feature of the report is the publication at the end of the book of a letter from Thomas Adams, town planning adviser for the dominion, commending the study and emphasizing certain parts of it. A suggestion which Mr. Adams makes is that, since "it is possible that at this critical time" there may be need of avoiding expenditure on new and expensive schemes of improvement, emphasis may well be placed on those suggestions which look to preventive measures rather than on those which contemplate large expense for reconstruction. This is a "rainy day" suggestion which cities on this side of the border may well keep in mind—that merely because there is no money to spend, a city does not have to deny itself all the advantages of city planning.

LAWRENCE, MASS., AND PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

In modest paper bound pamphlets, which offer, considering their sources, striking contrast to the foregoing reports, are city planning studies for Lawrence, Mass.,⁴ and the preliminary suggestions for Pasadena, California⁵—the only other published reports of the year that pretend to comprehensiveness. The Lawrence studies are by Arthur Coleman Comey, and are printed in the second annual report of the Lawrence planning board. In presenting them, the board describes the work as "comprehensive and very valuable," "covering the entire city and the immediately adjacent portions of our suburbs, Methuen and

³ City of Brantford, Ontario. Preliminary report to the parks commission on future development and improvement. By H. B. and L. A. Dunington-Grubb. December, 1914.

⁴ City of Lawrence, Mass. Second annual report of the planning board: Lawrence city planning studies. By Arthur Coleman Comey. April, 1915.

⁵ Some preliminary suggestions for a Pasadena plan. Woman's civic league, Pasadena, Cal. 1915.

Andover," and as laying down "the broad foundation lines along which the development of Lawrence should proceed."

Mr. Comey himself describes the work as consisting of four studies, embodying the results of a three months' investigation. Chapter I is a program of procedure, designed to guide the work of the board; chapter II considers the main features of a thoroughfare system; chapter III is devoted to recreation facilities, and chapter IV comprises an intensive study for the treatment of the Spicket River—a feature of the city plan which may be carried out at once. Though the pamphlet is illustrated by a number of photographs, the fifteen diagrams and plans which are listed as accompanying the original report are, unfortunately, not reproduced. A feature of the "studies" which has particular general value is an analysis or summary of the data that should be embraced in a civic survey. The thoroughness of this tabulation may be gauged by the fact that it fills more than twenty printed pages.

The Pasadena suggestions consist of two addresses by Dean George A. Damon, of Throop college, who, it appears, asked that the suggestions be "not approved, but improved." The pamphlet is illustrated with plans and drawings, of which those for the "four corners competition" and for a social and educational center are of most interest outside of Pasadena.

Turning now to those groups of reports, with which various cities, since the publication of the last review, have discussed the phases of the city plan problem that were locally pressing, we may take the cities alphabetically.

DETROIT

From Detroit, where the National Conference on City Planning met a year ago, four reports have come. All of these are issued by the city plan and improvement commission, two reports from whom were included in last year's tabulation. The first is a revision, dated December, 1914, of T. Glenn Phillips's report on city tree planting.⁶ It is a brief, practical, suggestive discussion, of which the value is by no means limited to Detroit. Several simple diagrams add to the forcefulness of the text. Another pamphlet issued by the commission is entitled "Conditions in Detroit—1915."⁷ This contains Frederick Law Olmsted's report of "a rapid examination of Belle Isle park, the circuit of boulevards and certain minor parks." The purpose in retaining Mr. Olmsted, it is stated, was to secure the fresh impressions of a suitably trained outsider, who should "apply to the present condition of the Detroit parks an appreciatively critical eye, unfamiliar with the exact steps by which that condition has

⁶ City Tree Planting: The selection, planting and care of trees along city thoroughfares. By T. Glenn Phillips. Detroit city plan and improvement commission. Report No. 1, revised. December, 1914.

⁷ Together with a report made by Professor Olmsted to the Detroit board of commerce in 1905. June, 1915.

been attained and with the particular obstacles which have stood in the way of still further excellence," in the belief that such comments might be—as doubtless they proved—of great value.

A third report from the Detroit commission is entitled "Preliminary Plan of Detroit."⁸ This is a study by Edward H. Bennett, with a beautiful frontispiece in color of the proposed new bridge to Belle Isle. The scant text of this report is supplemented by reproductions of a number of plans and diagrams. The large pages, glazed paper, and many photographic reproductions of plans makes this much the handsomest publication of the Detroit series. It represents city planning in "the grand manner."

The fourth report is a discussion of suburban planning.⁹ This is based on the foregoing preliminary plan but is by A. C. Comey. The report contains five main heads. Under the first, entitled "surveys," there is consideration of the engineering requirements for an intelligent study of suburban tendencies and possibilities. The second takes up the general scheme of streets and parkways, and their differentiation according to use. The third section considers blocks and lots; the fourth, public lands; and the fifth, control. Several interesting diagrams illustrate the report.

It is clear that in the aggregate these four studies give to Detroit a more thorough discussion of the local city planning problem than is contained in many of the more pretentious single volumes which other cities have put out.

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

Newark also, in recognition of the magnitude of true city planning, has been willing to authorize the preparation of a series of separate reports. Some of other years have been already mentioned in these reviews. This year's include the report in pamphlet form of both the real estate committee¹⁰ and the committee on streets and highways,¹¹ for the conference on interurban improvement that was held by Newark and its adjacent communities. The latter report with its two dozen maps—of which some of the folded-in ones are very large and elaborate—is of special value.

A public recreation system is the subject which a third pamphlet discusses.¹² This contains "the suggestions and recommendations" of the city plan commission, but handles its big subject briefly.

⁸ Preliminary Plan of Detroit. By Edward H. Bennett. Together with sketch plans for a new bridge to Belle Isle by Cass Gilbert, architect, Barelay, Parsons & Klapp, engineers. 1915.

⁹ May, 1915.

¹⁰ Conference on inter-urban improvement of Newark and adjacent municipalities. Report of the real estate committee. October 14, 1914. Published by the city plan commission.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Report of the committee on streets and highways. January 27, 1915. Published by the city plan commission.

¹² A Public Recreation System for Newark: suggestions and recommendations by the city plan commission. 1915.

The fourth publication, "Comprehensive Plan of Newark,"¹³ is a volume of nearly two hundred pages, profusely illustrated with maps, plans and valuable photographs, representative in its text of modern methods in city planning, and full of good ideas and suggestions. Put out by the city plan commission, the men especially responsible for it are F. J. Keer, of the commission, Harland Bartholomew who was then secretary of the commission, and John C. Dana of the public library—whose name does not appear. The plan represents the result of three and a half years' effort.

Following an introduction, the text of the Newark plan is divided into four parts. The first considers streets, transportation and markets; the second concerns itself with parks, recreation, and civic beauty; the third has to do with housing and the public control of private development; the fourth with metropolitan planning and a program of work. A novel feature of this portion of the report is a chronological and financial program, marking off the next fifty years into five-year periods, and indicating just what may be done in each. The scope and comprehensiveness of the plan, the thoroughness of the study upon which each recommendation has been based, the clarity with which it is all illustrated or explained, and the large amount already done toward the realization of the Newark plan, give to this report an unusual value to the student of city planning.

NEW YORK CITY

New York City's contributions to city planning literature in the last few months are only two, but they are of great importance. The first, which is issued in book form, is a report on the development and present status of city planning in New York City, to which have been added pertinent papers presented at a meeting of the advisory committee on city plan.¹⁴ The whole makes a very complete history of the movement in New York, to which many maps, plans, diagrams and photographs give an added value. The other recent contribution from New York City is the tentative report of the commission on building districts and restrictions¹⁵—which, for the brief time it has been out, has had probably more discussion, with generally favorable comment, than any other report that has been issued on a single aspect of city planning. Its arguments and conclusions form the basis of the proposed districting system of New York City—a system which, if put successfully into effect, is going to have an immense influence on city planning throughout the United States.

¹³ December 31, 1915.

¹⁴ "Development and Present Status of City Planning in New York City." Being the report of the committee on the city plan, December 31, 1914, together with papers presented at a meeting of the advisory commission on city plan, December 17, 1914. City of New York, Board of Estimate and Apportionment, Committee on the City Plan. 1914.

¹⁵ City of New York, Board of Estimate and Apportionment. March 10, 1916.

PHILADELPHIA

From Philadelphia there are four pamphlets. The first is the report of the bureau of surveys¹⁶—one of the few annual city plan reports that is always of interest and value, because of the practicalness of text and illustrations. Under the title of “one year’s progress,” the brief discussion of general planning is supplemented by records of the work done by the bureau during the calendar year of 1914 in bridge and sewer construction, in grade crossing removal, and in various other directions. A second pamphlet comes from another city department—that of transit.¹⁷ This contains the formal statement of the director, A. Merritt Taylor, to the state public service commission, in behalf of the city’s application with reference to the municipal construction of certain subway and elevated structures. The statement is clear and strong, and though strictly local in subject, use is made of interesting comparisons. The third and fourth reports come from still another branch of the Philadelphia city government. This is the permanent committee on comprehensive plans. One is the annual report for the calendar year 1914. To the record of the year’s accomplishments, the secretary appends recommendations of which the application is by no means limited to Philadelphia. The other is a report on the proposition of a central traffic circuit.¹⁸ The arguments in behalf of this important and comparatively new device in city planning are here put forward in a most interesting and convincing way.

As was observed in the case of Detroit, these four studies provide the city from which they come with a more thorough discussion of the practical problems of city planning than is contained in many a handsomely issued single report.

(To be concluded in the October issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW)

¹⁶ The Record of One Year’s Progress And a Look Ahead: Annual report of the bureau of surveys of Philadelphia for the year ending December 31, 1911.

¹⁷ Statement of A. Merritt Taylor, director of the department of city transit, City of Philadelphia, submitted to the public service commission of Pennsylvania, at Harrisburg, July 26, 1915, in support of application of the City of Philadelphia for a certificate, or certificates, of public convenience with relation to the construction by the city of certain subway and elevated railway structures. Department of city transit, July 26, 1915.

¹⁸ Report on the Proposition of a Central Traffic Circuit. By the permanent committee on comprehensive plans. Department of public works, Philadelphia, 1915.

PROGRESS OF THE CIVIC AND SOCIAL SURVEY IDEA¹

BY MURRAY GROSS

Philadelphia

IN THE cure of disease and physical disorders, a careful physician first makes an accurate diagnosis. In many instances this enables him to use preventive measures that avert an acute or chronic state in an ailment, and makes it possible for him to advise a plan of living which will insure normal health and efficiency.

In attempting to arrange a program which may insure to a community health, efficiency, and successful development, a "social diagnosis" is equally essential. Existing conditions must be known and understood before wise alleviative and corrective measures are possible. That a principle so elementary and yet so important as the foregoing should have been so long disregarded, or only fitfully recognized, in efforts at social, economic, and governmental improvement, is a striking evidence of the shortsighted vision which distorted such undertakings.

In the affairs of many an American community, the actual foundation that exists upon which to rest a program of correction and improvement hardly extends beyond a map of the community in the clerk's office, perhaps a chart of the water work system at a pumping station, or a diagram of new plottings in the hands of the surveyor. The taxpayer is ignorant of the bonded indebtedness of his community, and of the percentage spent for schools, public safety, or public works. Under many circumstances, he knows little about the condition of the source of his water and food supply. He pays taxes to maintain the community jail and garbage disposal plant, but is entirely ignorant of their condition and their yearly expense. It is this ignorance and this indifference that causes much of the waste of efforts and revenue in our American communities, and demands systematic efforts toward correction.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

It was essentially this point of view that led a group of public spirited citizens in 1907-08 to undertake the now famous study of the social, economic and civic conditions in the city of Pittsburgh as a basis for formulating suggestions and recommendations for correcting shortcomings and

¹ See article by Prof. Gross entitled "Civic and Social Surveys and Community Efficiency," vol. iii, p. 726.

controlling future development.² This survey of Pittsburgh marks the beginning of a methodical solution of community problems that promises well for the future. The value and force of the survey as "an investigation of local life in process, in a given area, at a given time, of a given subject field broad enough so that each factor entering into it may be investigated inductively as distinct from a piece of surface skimming" is now recognized. In a recent bulletin³ of the Russell Sage Foundation library over 300 titles are included in its list of social survey studies made since the initial Pittsburgh survey. It is notable that in 1909 hardly a dozen had appeared; in 1912, over fifty were made; while during the past year, 1915, the number published rose to over a hundred. Fortunately, too, of the total number 34 deal with the technique, scope and methods of survey making. Taken as a whole, this body of survey literature, rapidly increasing from year to year, constitutes an invaluable fund of scientific data of the highest importance in the solution of the civic, social and economic affairs of not only the immediate community whose life and problems are specifically set forth, but also of other communities confronted by similar ones.

That the result of surveys and the accompanying recommendations should be made as widely available as possible is obvious. In a brochure entitled the "Collection of Social Survey Material," Florence Curtis, of the University of Illinois library school, points out that the public library is especially in a favorable situation to give intelligent service in this direction, and submits an outline for the collection and arrangement of such material so that it may be accessible to the citizen, social worker, and the public official.

While private individuals and special agencies and commissions from time to time have made comprehensive and excellent surveys of various communities and fields of investigation, special coherence has been given the survey movement by the department of surveys and exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation, under the direction of Shelby M. Harrison, and the New York bureau of municipal research, under the present direction of Frederick A. Cleveland. The former has adopted as its particular aim the use of the survey as a means of educating the public in regard to its own shortcomings and needs; the latter adapts the survey particularly to the needs of public and administrative officials.

THE SPRINGFIELD GENERAL SURVEY

Among the surveys of 1915, the survey of Springfield (Ill.) made by the Russell Sage Foundation department of surveys is conspicuous for its suc-

² See Proceedings of The Pittsburgh Conference for Good City Government, 1907, p. 22.

³ The Social Survey: A Bibliography, Russell Sage Foundation Library, December, 1915.

cessful realization of its purpose not only to present facts about the community, but to present the facts in such a way that they may rouse the citizen into active support of measures designed to correct faults. In order that it may make an emphatic appeal to as many groups of interests as possible, the survey is issued in pamphlet form, phrased in exceedingly readable language, and well enforced by charts, maps, and diagrams. The complete survey includes nine pamphlets, two of which are still in process of publication.

The first section of the Springfield survey deals with the public schools, and was carried out under the direction of L. P. Ayres. It analyses the character and efficiency of the board of education; the school plant; the condition of the school children; the efficiency of the teaching force; the quality of the class room instruction; the suitability of the course of study; the character of the financial administration; the medical inspection of the school children; problems of the junior high and the senior high schools; vocational education; and educational extension.

The second one covers the care of mental defectives and the insane. W. S. Threadway, who directed it, gave his attention to answering the following questions and to solving the concomitant problems: what is the proportion of mental defectives; what is done in the public schools to detect abnormal mental conditions; what is being done in the public schools for the special training of children who are unable to make use of the same facilities as those of average mentality; what is being done for the mental defective in the community; what practical plans can be adopted for securing adequate care for the mentally defective in the school and in the community. In regard to the insane, the survey takes up the question of procedure and commitment; treatment of early cases of insane and those awaiting commitment in general hospitals; institutional provisions; parole; discharge and after care.

Section three, on recreation, by L. F. Hammer and C. A. Perry, treats public concern in connection with recreation in the home, the schools, in the parks, in the streets, in the library, the museum, in athletics, festivals, pageants, public celebrations, and amusements of a commercialized character. The fourth, dealing with housing, by John Ihlder, dissects the problems of the multiple dwelling, water supply, garbage and refuse, sewerage, privies, land overcrowding, fire hazards, dark apartments, negro districts, city planning, and ideals of housing. The fifth, on public health, by Franz Schneider, Jr., covers the field of infant mortality, contagious diseases, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, purity of water supply, sewerage and sewage disposal, milk supply, food supply, and the public health service.

The sixth, on charities, by Francis H. McLean, handles the problems of children in institutions, the care of the sick, family disabilities and treatment, social agencies dealing with families. The seventh, on the

correctional system, by Zenas L. Potter, deals with the handling of adult offenders, the relation of fines, hours to leave town, suspended sentences, and probation, to community protection; the handling of juvenile delinquents; complaints against children; juvenile probation work; and the police department and police policy. The other two, one on industrial conditions of the city, by D. O. Decker, and the other, the survey summed up by S. M. Harrison, are still in process of publication.

This Springfield group of social and economic studies of actual conditions, accompanied by remedial and correctional suggestions and recommendations, represents a summing up of affairs in an American city that is of the utmost interest and importance to other cities, especially to those with a population ranging from 40,000 to 150,000. In general, the questions met in Springfield are a good deal the same as those of other cities of similar size and situation, and conclusions reached concerning the problems of this city are applicable elsewhere.

GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATIVE SURVEYS

Among the surveys of the New York bureau of municipal research are several notable government and administrative studies. In commenting upon its own activities, the bureau in one of its reports explains that it gives consideration to three main factors when surveying the administrative affairs of a government. First, it studies the existing organization and methods; second, it makes a critical appraisal thereof; and third, it makes constructive suggestions for corrections. However, the bureau does not deem it necessary to include much descriptive matter because its reports are prepared for and submitted directly to the public officials themselves who are assumed to be conversant with existing conditions. The searchlight of investigation that the bureau throws upon a governmental administration and organization permits little to remain in darkness, and its findings and recommendations should constitute a program of improvement characterized by continuity of plan and method. This will in a measure counteract the interruptions occasioned by changes in government and administrations, a feature of American governmental conditions somewhat unfortunate. Unhappily most of the surveys of the bureau seem to be published under the auspices of the persons, agencies, or governments, that have secured the services of the bureau, and therefore its important investigations and findings are not as conveniently available for the benefit of other communities as might be desirable.

Among the activities of the New York bureau, are complete surveys of Buffalo, Rochester, Norfolk, Stamford, Conn., Monroe Co., N. Y.; a survey of taxation, indebtedness, and accounting methods of New Orleans; and a survey of the organization and function of Nassau Co., N. Y.⁴ In

⁴ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, pp. 153 and 358.

addition to this list should be added administrative studies of New York state work including conditions of New York state sinking funds; salary conditions for the civil service commission of the state senate; state charitable institutions; state prison department; health officer of the port of New York; port wardens of the port of New York; state budget; constitution and government of the state of New York covering standards for the appraisalment of the present constitution and government; constitutional and statutory provisions governing the electorate; the official personnel; the structure of government, and the powers, duties, and limitations of its officers; organization and procedure of the legislature; constitutional provisions defining the relations of the legislature and the executive; the independent auditor; the governor and the administration; organization for the administration of the state's proprietary and other general functions; organization for the administration of military functions of the state government; organization for the administration of the public service functions; and the content and form of the constitution.

Of these surveys several notable ones have appeared in print and may be secured from the local authorities. These include exhaustive studies of Buffalo and Rochester, N. Y., Stamford, Conn., and Norfolk, Va., concerning elections, budget methods, supply purchases, license procedure, assessments and taxation, administration of public safety, traffic, building, sanitation, arrest of intoxicants, suppression of vice, police court conditions, pension funds, fire prevention, communicable disease prevention, milk and meat inspection, relief of the poor, street cleaning, collection and disposal of refuse, street lighting, water supply, civil service, standards of compensation, and systems of civil service promotion. In the recommendations of the bureau, care is taken to subdivide them into two classes: those which can be made effective without change of the present governmental powers; and those which require amendment of the existing powers and organization.

INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION SURVEYS

Among the special subject surveys made during 1915 is to be found the vocational education survey of Richmond, Va., made under the auspices of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education and published as a bulletin of the federal bureau of labor statistics. In undertaking the survey, the national society announced as its aim first, to prove the necessity of a knowledge of industrial and school conditions in the making of a program for industrial education in a city; second, to show the kind of facts about industry and about the schools which need to be gathered to develop a proper method for studying the industries and the schools for the purpose of industrial education; third, to secure the co-operation of national and local public and private agencies in the

making of a type survey. The first part of this survey deals with the public school problem of Richmond, and thoroughly deals with the problems of public school enrollment; children in private and parochial schools; school attendance; compulsory education; prohibition of child labor; ages and grades of withdrawal from school; part time schooling of young people at work; wages of young people at work; occupational choice of young people; present status of technical and vocational education; and financial support of the public schools. The second division of the survey analyses the industrial situation of Richmond with respect to vocational preparation of the wage-earners covering the printing, building, and metal trades, women and girls in retail stores, and workers in the tobacco industries. The survey considers the hours of work; regularity of employment; age at beginning work; apprenticeship; misfits in trades; physical and nervous strain of occupations; occupational diseases; adequacy of shop instruction; educational courses taken since leaving school; part time courses desired by workers; suggestions as to subjects to be taught for the trades; skilled and unskilled work; promotion; problem of financing vocational work; types of schools and courses of study for boys and men as well as for girls and women; prevocational education; and the place of private institutions in the general plan of education.

Another important survey is the vocational section of the industrial survey of Cincinnati made under the auspices of the Cincinnati chamber of commerce. The portion of the survey now in published form deals with the printing trades. In the survey in general is emphasized the aim to collect information that may assist the public schools in better training the working people of the city. The survey deals with the problem of securing data; what workers need to know before entering the industry; what schools fail to accomplish; opinions of employers as to what schools can do; how the shops train beginners; the shop school; the New Haven system; the Philadelphia system; co-operation and continuation versus the trade schools; equipment of schools; training for compositors, pressmen, and journeymen; attitude of the unions; and the qualification of the teacher.

VILLAGE AND RURAL SURVEYS

In the field of village and rural surveys, especially interesting is the social and economic survey of a community in northeastern Minnesota,⁵ by Gustav P. Warber, published as a bulletin of the University of Minnesota. It represents a continuation of an undertaking started in 1913, and as the author states, "This survey, and the one taken simultaneously in the Red River valley, differs from that previously published in that an attempt has been made to include both a farming and a village community

⁵ The village of Braham and the adjoining territory of Isanti, Chisago, Pine, and Kanabec counties.

instead of a farming community alone. A village has been selected as the center of economic activities, *i.e.*, the territory which uses the village both as a shipping point and as a place to buy supplies and professional services. In this way, it has been intended not only to bring out a comparison between life on the farm and life in a small village, but also to bring out the economic interdependence of one on the other." The survey has carefully analysed the problems of agricultural development; farm labor; marketing of products; roads and markets; purchase of goods; farmers' co-operative activities; local government; taxes and cost of local government; educational activities; religious activities; possibilities of rural life; recreation and social life; and conclusions.

Another of the same type as the foregoing is a social survey of three rural townships in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, conducted by the Rev. J. M. Hayman, under the supervision of the Episcopal diocese of Pennsylvania. Its findings are especially interesting from the point of view of the work of the church in rural communities. The conclusions of Bishop Rhinelander of Pennsylvania expressed in a foreword emphasize the importance of a community house. With this equipment much may be done by the church to influence and stimulate the social, domestic, economic and intellectual life of the people.

The surveys referred to in the course of this article are taken to illustrate the work that is being done to base programs of reform, readjustment and correction upon exact knowledge of existing conditions instead of upon the old haphazard foundation of blind groping in the shadows of assumption and misinformation. The old aphorism, "man, know thyself," might be appropriately broadened in thought so as to read, "community, know thyself!"⁶

⁶ The following is a supplemental list of social and civic survey studies made during the year, 1915:

Purpose and Method of City Surveys: Purpose and benefit of social surveys, by F. W. Blackmar. Community survey in relation to church efficiency, by C. E. Carrol. The way to win, by F. B. Fisher. The social survey and its further development, by J. L. Gillin. School surveys, by L. P. Ayres. Correctional reforms and correctional surveys, by Z. L. Potter.

General City and District Surveys: Reports of the bureau of social surveys, department of public welfare, Chicago. Coopersburg, Pa., survey, by T. M. Morrison. Social survey of Fargo, by the social science department, Fargo college, under M. C. Elmer. Report of a preliminary and general social survey of Pitcou, Canada. Report of a preliminary and general social survey of St. Catherines, Canada. Satellite cities, by G. R. Taylor. A community study of a parish of the Brooklyn Clinton Avenue Congregational church.

Charities, Delinquency and Corrections: Survey of the charities and housing conditions of Burlington, Vt., by F. H. McLean. Survey of the relief agencies of Cleveland, Ohio, by S. C. Kingsley. Outdoor relief in Missouri, by G. A. Warfield. Function of a farm colony by the department of public welfare of Chicago. Report of the Chicago city council committee on crime, by C. E. Merriam. Study of the problem of girl

delinquency in New Haven, by M. A. Wiley. Mental defectives in the District of Columbia, by E. O. Lundberg.

Health: Public health administration in Chicago, by J. C. Perry. Preliminary report of the health survey of El Paso, Texas, by J. P. Rich. Housing health survey of El Paso, by J. H. Grossman. Public health administration in Illinois, by S. B. Grubbs. Sumner County, Kansas, sanitary and social survey, by the state board of health. Public health administration in Toledo, by Carrol Fox. Public health administration in the state of Washington, by Carrol Fox. Public health administration in West Virginia.

Housing: Housing survey in the Italian district of the 17th ward of Chicago, by the Chicago department of public welfare. Report on housing conditions in the Oranges, N. J., by E. R. Hall. Housing conditions among the negroes in Harlem, N. Y. C. Survey of housing conditions in Passaic, N. Y., by U. D. Brown. Study of housing and social conditions in selected districts in Philadelphia, by F. A. Craig. Housing conditions in Plainfield, N. J., by the Charity organization society.

Schools: Constructive survey of the public school system of Ashland, Ore., by F. C. Ayer. Special report of the Boise, Idaho, public schools, by E. C. Elliott. Report upon divisions 4 and 5 elementary schools of Brooklyn, by William McAndrews. Cleveland educational survey, by L. P. Ayres. Educational survey of Bulloch, Clayton, Taliaferro, Jackson, Morgan and Rabun counties, Georgia, by M. L. Duggan. Rural school system of Minnesota, by H. W. Foght. Summary of a survey of the school department of Oakland, Cal. Survey of schools of Ogden, Utah, by W. S. Deffenbaugh. Survey of schools of Portland, Ore., by E. P. Cubberley. Survey of the school system of Salt Lake City, by E. P. Cubberley. School system of San Antonio, Texas, by J. F. Bobbitt.

Recreation: Recreation in Charlotte, N. C., by I. G. Wright. Play and recreation in Ipswich, Mass., by H. R. Knight. Preliminary report of general need for extended use of public schools as social and community centers in Chicago, by Chicago department of public welfare.

Rural Surveys: Rural survey of Clark county, Georgia, with special reference to the Negroes. Economic and social surveys of Fulton and Bibb counties, Georgia, by E. C. Branson. Brief economic and social survey of Putnam county, Georgia, by E. C. Branson. Social and economic survey of a community in the Red River valley, by L. D. H. Weld.

Vice: Second report on vice conditions in the city of Lancaster. Report of vice commission of Lexington, Ky. Report of the survey made in Rockland county, N. Y. Brief survey and recommendations of the vice commission of Shreveport, La.

RECENT PROGRESS IN MUNICIPAL BUDGETS AND ACCOUNTS

BY C. E. RIGHTOR¹

Dayton, Ohio

AN ACCOUNTING system is supplementary to a general financial program of any government; it is only a means to an end, and not the end itself. For this reason no pronounced results for better methods may be noted in accounting alone, but the budget must receive our first consideration.

Dr. F. A. Cleveland, the foremost of our authorities upon the subject of budgets, defines the term thus:

A budget is a plan for financing an enterprise or government during a definite period, which is prepared and submitted by a responsible executive to a representative body (or duly constituted agent) whose approval and authorization are necessary before the plan may be executed.

Prof. A. R. Hatton states of the budget, in a recent number of *The Annals* devoted to this subject,² that it provides a means through which citizens may assure themselves that their effort which has been diverted to community ends is made to produce the maximum of results for the effort expended. He adds that it may be made one of the most potent instruments of democracy.

Government is a simple thing when viewed as a corporation existing only to perform certain services better done by community than by individual action. It is largely a business, to which business methods may be applied and the results be measured by certain standards. It is now accepted that one-half of good government is an interested and informed citizen body. Information can be obtained by the citizen and interest aroused through the furnishing of reports of real value, which are based upon a sound accounting procedure. What has been done by the government should be reflected in the records and reports; what is to be done by the government should be shown in the budget.

CITIZEN INTEREST IN GOVERNMENT INCREASING

There is apparent no radical departure from ordinary progress to be chronicled in reviewing the budget making and accounting methods of our cities. The dominant feature to be noted during recent years is the

¹Director, Dayton bureau of municipal research.

²*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November 1915, p. vii.

increasing interest being manifested by the citizens and by the business men in their government, in their desire to assume direction of the business of government which they have created for their own ends.

This public interest is not spasmodic, but it is a sincere and enduring one. It is due on the one hand to the increasing pressure of taxation, consequent to the assumption by the cities of an ever widening scope of activities, which in turn require additional money from the benefited for their performance. On the other hand, it is affected by a broader spirit of citizenship, which is developing throughout the country. This participation of the public in governmental affairs is a general one, and applies to national, state and local units. It is being realized that government cannot stand alone, but that it needs the quickening influence of an awakened public conscience. At the expense of years of inefficient and costly methods, the taxpayers are learning to substitute service for "politics."

Public opinion gains force and effectiveness through organization rather than disconcerted action. When sufficiently aroused, citizen interest takes definite form in the organization of a citizen agency. This agency finds that before it may serve as a medium of communication between the citizen and his government, and before it can secure the results desired, it must have fact-bases. Investigation is required to afford sound recommendations, and as a result the extensive progress being made in governmental affairs must be attributed largely to these civic agencies. It is necessary to review the work of these agencies, as well as the government itself, to find what steps have been taken to place government upon a higher plane. Their object is always a better government. They are variously known as bureaus of municipal research, institutes for public service, institutes for government research, civic or tax payers' associations, municipal leagues, etc. The number of these agencies is increasing and their influence for good government was never greater than to-day. Logically, they give no thought to whether the administration is a party one, but instead demand that it be measured in terms of effectiveness and whether the largest possibilities are being realized through economical and efficient expenditure of public funds.

NUMEROUS AGENCIES COMPILING VALUABLE STATISTICS

The bureau of the census compiles annually financial statistics of cities having population of over 30,000, and these afford much enlightenment to a student of municipal affairs. It is only regretted that these publications are not available many months earlier than is the case at present. These reports, while of course very detailed and complete, furnish the basis for desirable account keeping, in accordance with uniform classifications.

Many states have passed laws providing for the compilation of financial statistics of municipalities, and the reports of the Massachusetts bureau of statistics in this respect prove full of interesting information concerning the receipts, expenditures, public debt, and accounting features of its cities and towns. Diagrams showing the increase in public debt and the certification of notes are unusually striking. The publication of two Massachusetts laws shows that that state has been the pioneer in developing the executive budget and optional tax-limit law.

First steps in reorganizing state government have been taken in at least fourteen states, by the creation of committees or commissions on "economy and efficiency."³ Some of these institutions are permanent, but often they are temporary. Invariably they recommend, among things, a scientific budget system to control expenditures, as a part of their study of administrative organization. Unfortunately in some cases the necessary follow-up of these commission reports is not instituted, and they are lost in sub-committees of the legislature to whom they are referred. The constitutional convention of New York provided in the proposed new constitution a centralized control over appropriations in that state, but it was unsuccessful. An exhaustive study of the state government was made at that time by the New York bureau of municipal research.⁴

County governments have made but little improvement in finance methods in recent years, although New York and Indiana have laws prescribing some features of uniform budget estimates and appropriations. Westchester and Monroe counties, New York, afford examples of a modern county budgets.

IMPROVEMENT IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IS GENERAL

It is in the management of local affairs, however, that the most immediate influence of the citizen body is being felt, and to review the results of this contact for municipal betterment is the primary purpose of this article.

³ An interesting and important development is now in progress in Maryland, in which the methods of accounting of the state government have been incomplete and inaccurate for many years. After an investigation which established the fact of a deficiency in the general funds of the state, which was rapidly approaching \$2,000,000, the question of establishing budgetary procedure came to the front and was included in the platform declarations of both parties in the gubernatorial campaign in 1915. A "commission on economy and efficiency" was established with Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, president of Johns Hopkins University, as chairman, and Harvey S. Chase, C.P.A., of Boston, as expert examiner.

As one of the results the legislature has passed an act calling for a constitutional amendment in the form drawn up by this Commission which is intended to, and will provide for, real and effective budgetary procedure in the financial affairs of the state hereafter.

⁴ Government of the State of New York, 1915.

Results produced thus far are in different stages of advancement in different communities. What has been done, both within the government and without, in achieving responsible and representative control, through budgetary procedure and accounting and reporting methods?

Chief among the contributions for perfecting budgetary procedure during recent months is "Next Steps in Budget Procedure."⁵ Historically, it is to be noted that ten years ago appropriations were merely licenses to spend funds in amounts asked for by the department heads, without regard to actual needs. Later, appropriations were made according to classifications of functions or activities, and as to object of expenditure, and resulted in the highly segregated budget now found in New York City. The latest step, now proposed, is the lump sum appropriations for departments, with definite restrictions as to the manner in which the money is to be expended. One fundamental difference between the segregated budget and this new form is that the former was developed with the idea of preventing misuse of public funds, whereas the prevailing idea now is to direct and facilitate public business.

The proposed plan is to have the budget prepared in accordance with the scientific meaning of that document. It is designed to increase the effectiveness of legislative control over governmental policies and over revenues and expenditures, and at the same time leave independent the management of departmental affairs. A more complete document is contemplated, and is to consist of two parts,—first, a resolution establishing the revenue and operating policy for the next year; a "work program" indicating the activities to be performed or services to be rendered pursuant to appropriations; and an appropriation ordinance. The second part is to consist of supporting data showing the general financial condition of the city, by balance sheets, operation and debt statements, etc.

Supervision by the board of estimate is to be exercised through the work program, and through the allotment system of appropriations. Instead of detailed appropriations by functions, lump sums by objects of expenditure—salaries, wages, supplies, etc.—will be voted. As a part of the appropriation ordinance will be schedules of positions and salaries, and schedules of standard specifications for materials to be bought. To provide control over the functions and activities, work shall be done only in accordance with a work program previously approved by the board of estimate and apportionment. Further, department heads are responsible for voucher certification; audit by the comptroller is provided; and cost, stores and property records established. The value of a work program, enabling an understanding as to the quantities of work to be performed as a result of authorized expenditures, is a distinctly forward step. The success of the suggested plan depends upon the development and use of the accounts and reports, agencies of investigation and inspection, and

⁵ New York bureau of municipal research, January, 1915.

special advisory staffs established by the board of estimate. The bureau of standards, the bureau of contract supervision, and the bureau of municipal investigation and statistics have been established to provide the necessary information.

The program proposed was not adopted in the 1916 budget of New York City, but the proposals demand a full consideration. The 1916 budget is a segregated and functionalized one, the details requiring 494 pages, and it is apparent that a procedure which will allow of a complete financial program being presented to administrators and the public in a much condensed form will be welcomed.

It will be practical to attempt this program in one of our smaller cities, and it was thought that Springfield, Mass., which is giving much attention to improved budget methods under the supervision of the New York bureau, would adopt the plan this year. It may, however, be tried out at a later date. In its work on the budget, Springfield has issued several pamphlets of value.⁶ Explicit details to all officers for filling out the estimate sheets, in accordance with required classifications, are given. The annual budget is a complete document, giving details of receipts and appropriations, together with summary tables and other pertinent information in an intelligible and graphic style. Springfield's departmental budget sheets are to be based upon an expense basis, accountability for expenditure being thrown upon the heads of the departments. As is usual, the officers responsible for the effective working of this advanced plan are in entire accord with it.

TOO MANY CITY BUDGETS STILL INCOMPLETE

Too frequently the so-called budget of a city is in reality nothing more than an appropriation ordinance. Witness the published "budget" of San Francisco for the year 1915-1916. It is a very elementary document, affording inadequate details of the appropriations, without an uniform classification and showing nothing as to the manner of financing the appropriations, etc. As a result of the increase of governmental expense in that city, the California state tax association prepared an exhaustive report upon affairs there,⁷ concluding that more efficient management is necessary to cut the costs of operation sufficiently to save funds for the additional requirements. The reasons for inefficiency are shown, and the possible remedies suggested.

⁶ Directions for preparing the budget, from the office of the mayor, 1915; the annual budget, for both 1915 and 1916, published by the Springfield bureau of municipal research; report on present methods of budget making, Springfield bureau of municipal research, 1914.

⁷ The Problem of High Taxes in San Francisco, June, 1915.

PHILADELPHIA'S COMPLETE BUDGET PROCEDURE

Philadelphia enjoys one of the most complete accounting systems as a supplement to the budget procedure which is to be found. Expenditures are completely analyzed by fund, organization unit, function, character and object. The difficulties in this city are those of charter provisions, which reduce its effectiveness through a highly centralized executive organization, yet with the mayor unable to lead in securing measures for better administration because the controller is the only one who by charter is permitted to submit to the board of aldermen the estimates and no one is required to assume responsibility for a definite financial plan or proposal for the next fiscal period. It is apparent that this is contrary to the theory of a budget, so far as its preparation goes. In the budget statement of the city controller for 1916 full supporting data are given.⁸ Expenditures for a three-year period are shown, according to a uniform classification. Receipts are shown in comparison with the actual receipts of preceding years and also a five-year average, as required by act of assembly. The budget statement includes also a consolidated balance sheet; a general account, capital account sinking fund, special and trust accounts, and comparative fund balance sheets, as supplementary information. So far as available reports of budget procedure and controller's annual report are concerned, Philadelphia stands as a model of completeness.

A standard for annual reports of Milwaukee was established in 1913 and 1914, and has been followed in 1915.⁹ The progress has been thorough and is definitely established now. The segregated budget resulting in the installation of a complete system of fund accounts was installed by the citizens' bureau of economy and efficiency in 1914. The budget of this city, however, makes the common error of being in fact merely an appropriation ordinance, with no statement of revenues to justify it to the administrator or to the citizen. The 1914 budget was more complete in itemization than is the 1915 document, and is a better budget for that reason. Details of personal service are required to assure proper expenditure of public funds. There is issued annually a pamphlet giving directions for the preparation of the budget.¹⁰

A review of work of the citizens' bureau of municipal efficiency for the year 1914-15¹¹ reveals that it has given much attention to improving this financial document, revising forms, regulating transfers to prevent abuse, providing for publication of the tentative budget, etc. In addition, the bureau participated in the installation of accounting records and cost accounts, and reduced expenditures from the contingent fund. These

⁸ Budget statement, 1916.

⁹ Annual reports for 1914 and 1915.

¹⁰ Directions for preparing the budget for 1916.

¹¹ "Helping Milwaukee," December, 1915.

activities serve to indicate the scope of work of an average bureau, not only in finances but in other departments, while publicity is also a feature whenever possible.

Baltimore in 1915 adopted a new budget and accounting procedure, the appropriations being classified in accordance with the various functions of the city government, instead of according to organization units as formerly. This classification is in accordance with the federal census bureau, and is being adopted more and more by cities. There is now available a complete exhibit of the finances of the city, and through reports the relations of the city's needs to its finances may be grasped at once. The basic principle of sound financing of each department living within its appropriations is fulfilled, and the accounts are placed upon a revenue and expense basis. These improvements have been gradually introduced until to-day Baltimore possesses a financial and accounting system equal to the best.

REPORT OF THE BOSTON COMMITTEE

A special committee of five citizens of the city of Boston submitted a report proposing a form for the annual budget of that city.¹² The study made by the committee is an interesting one, and their conclusions as stated by them are that the form proposed is "not a compromise, but to suggest a system which, for this city, will be distinctly superior to those in use elsewhere." One-half the budget—the subject of estimated revenue for financing the needs for the year—is omitted; possibly it is assumed that this portion of the budget will be prepared in full before the expenditure side is considered.

Sufficient details are contemplated in the "budget" to show what is to be spent by the different departments for the various purposes of the government, and disclose the exact number of employes together with maximum compensation. Publicity is encouraged by the presentation of the right material in the right form, and responsibility is fixed for expenditure. The plan devised by the commission consists of first, a set of estimate sheets; second, a revised appropriation order with an accompanying set of budget sheets, which are a condensation of the estimates; and third, of a revised form of monthly statements to be submitted by the departments. The result will be a budget much more condensed than that for cities having extreme itemization, due to the rejection of attempts to classify items by functions and to not prescribing the number of divisions in larger departments. Departments will keep a strict account of expenditures under each item of the appropriation order, and submit a report thereof monthly to the auditor. Forms of estimate sheets, the text of the proposed appropriation order, and the form of monthly statement to be

¹² Report of the commission on the annual budget, Boston, 1915.

filled out by the departments are a part of the report. It will be interesting to observe the success of this form of budget in fulfilling its mission.

In Chicago, through the efforts of the efficiency division of the city civil service commission, the budget for the year 1916 was prepared upon scientific lines, with a resultant saving of over \$600,000 from the figures first prepared by the controller. The budget for the current year is an unusual one in that it keeps the total of expenditures for operation within the estimated revenue. With the efficiency bureau transferred to the office of the controller, its general work of investigation may be continued with even more success and permanency than in the past.

A detailed study of Rochester, N. Y., revealed that conditions there were of as high an order as in any other city in the country. Executive authority rests in reality in the mayor, and he is responsible for the budget. Although under the mayor and council form of government, it was found unnecessary to recommend a new charter, but merely to effect changes in the present document in a few important particulars. A bureau of municipal research was established during the past year, which is amply financed for a period of five years, and is now engaged in effecting the recommendations of the survey report.

(To be concluded in the October issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW)

THE LIQUOR QUESTION AND MUNICIPAL REFORM

BY GEORGE C. SIKES¹

Chicago

FROM time immemorial, intoxicating beverages have been productive of human misery on an enormous scale. The saloon is a tremendous power for evil in politics. Therefore, a considerable portion of our citizenship favors the complete suppression of the liquor traffic and the banishment of the saloon. This might be a desirable accomplishment, if it could be effected—which is much the same as saying that this world would be a heaven if all the persons in it could be compelled to be good; though if all persons were self restrained and temperate, prohibition would not be necessary. The fact is, however, that the races that dominate the world and lead in civilization will not submit to the curtailment of personal liberty and the interference with the rights of individuals or of social groups to determine for themselves what is right or wrong for themselves, which the policy of prohibition involves. The Turks constitute an example of a people that can be forced by the combined power of church and state to abstain from the use of intoxicating beverages; but the Turks stand low in the scale of human progress. Abstention from the use of liquor has not enabled them to equal, much less to surpass, the races that lead in civilization. The stagnating influence in the Turk that causes him to lag behind his more independent Caucasian brother is the quality that leads him to yield to the arbitrary interference by the state and the church with his personal habits.

The temperance movement, as distinguished from the prohibition movement, has progressed rapidly in the last half century. Within the past few years, and especially since the outbreak of the European war, there has been a marked increase in prohibition sentiment. I cannot believe, however, that the prohibitionists are to score more than partial successes. Unless the experience of the world for thousands of years is a false guide in this matter, the pendulum will swing back again toward liberalism. It is hard to believe that the great cities of the United States or of Europe will soon see the complete suppression of the sale and

¹ Mr. Sikes, the author of this article, has been identified with civic organizations and has been a newspaper writer in Chicago for nearly 25 years. He was at one time secretary of the municipal voters' league; later, for a period of about five years, he was secretary of the Chicago bureau of public efficiency.—EDITOR.

use of liquor—unless temporarily and under orders of some czar-like authority.

It is, of course, the political privilege of any group in a democracy to urge the adoption by the government of whatever policy it may deem wise. The prohibitionists constitute no exception. It is the purpose of this paper to show, however, that the prohibition movement, as applied to large cities at least, is subversive of good government and a demoralizing factor of great importance in municipal politics. Confusion of the anti-saloon movement with municipal reform operates to discredit the latter and to block municipal progress. Wherever in large cities the anti-saloon agitation is strong, there the cause of municipal reform is retrogressing. I challenge the citation of conspicuous exceptions. On the other hand, I contend that an examination of instances of substantial improvement in the government of large cities will show that the improvement took place under the leadership of men of moderate, if not of liberal views on the control of the liquor traffic and of Sunday amusements. I do not recall a case in which improvement in municipal administration generally took place under the leadership of a man or of men classed as prohibitionists. I am speaking of large cities, not of smaller municipalities.

Let us name over some of the men who have actually helped to better municipal conditions. There are ex-mayor Low, William Travers Jerome, and Mayor Mitchel of New York city; ex-mayor Blankenburg of Philadelphia; Hazen S. Pingree of Detroit; Tom Johnson and Newton D. Baker, former mayors of Cleveland; "Golden Rule" Jones and Brand Whitlock, former mayors of Toledo; Joseph W. Folk of St. Louis; and Francis J. Heney of San Francisco. For Chicago, mention should be made of William E. Kent, one time alderman, former president of the municipal voters' league, and now an independent member of congress from a California district; George E. Cole, first president of the municipal voters' league; John Maynard Harlan, one time alderman and independent candidate for mayor in 1897; Charles R. Crane and Walter L. Fisher, former presidents of the municipal voters' league; and Charles E. Merriam, member of the city council and candidate for mayor in 1911.

All of these men, at the periods of their greatest usefulness in the field of municipal politics, were credited with liberal views on such questions as control of the liquor traffic and Sunday amusements, or they never would have had the opportunity to be useful in city politics.

Folk is not classed as a liberal today, to be sure. But he was so classed when he was successfully fighting municipal grafters in St. Louis. When he became governor of Missouri, and closed the saloons of St. Louis on Sunday, and otherwise ranged himself on the side of the prohibitionists, he ceased to be a municipal reformer. Whatever his standing may have been thereafter with rural Missouri, he was without political influence in

the city of St. Louis. Municipal conditions in St. Louis are worse today, in my opinion, than they would have been had Folk remained a municipal reformer, instead of allying himself with the anti-saloon element and thus sacrificing his influence as a leader in the affairs of a city that is predominantly liberal, and is resentful of activities which are termed fanatical.

David P. Jones, of Minneapolis, was elected mayor of his city, following the disgraceful Ames régime, on the issue of honest government. It was not long until he seized the idea, out of a clear sky, so to speak, that it was his main business to close the saloons on Sunday, which he did. They have remained closed ever since, but Minneapolis has also had unsatisfactory municipal government, out of keeping with its advantages in many ways, and the high grade of its citizenship. One important reason, I believe, is that civic leaders who ought to have shown better judgment have continued to devote to futile anti-saloon campaigns, initiated by prohibition zealots, energy that should have been expended in the effort to secure and maintain better city government.

It is chiefly with Chicago, however, that I wish to deal in the discussion of this subject. Large elements of the population of Chicago are of foreign origin, mostly from countries which do not hold to Puritan ideas of Sunday amusements and the use of liquor. While the community comprising Chicago, with its maze of overlapping governments, and large number of irresponsible elective officials, must be credited generally with bad administration, nevertheless, in so far as its city council is concerned, that city has made more progress in the last twenty years than any other municipality in the country. That progress is due to the fact that the leader in the fight for council betterment, the municipal voters' league, has ever kept good government to the forefront as the main issue. The prohibition agitators, who have actually tried to make Chicago prohibition territory, have not been able thus far to impair the effectiveness of the work of the league—which deals only with the city council. But the activities of the prohibition group are a constant menace to all movements for municipal betterment, and are responsible for the great hypocritical play on Sunday closing of saloons made by the worst mayor Chicago has had in many years. Unless the situation is met intelligently and courageously, the demoralizing effect may be very great.

Folk of St. Louis and Jones of Minneapolis undoubtedly acted from conscientious motives—though I think unwisely—when they closed the saloons on Sunday. But very few persons credit Mayor Thompson of Chicago with sincerity in his Sunday closing move. The action was not only in direct violation of a specific written pledge to the "United Societies" that he would not close the saloons on Sunday, but it was inconsistent with his own entire political and personal record. He has always been known as a believer in the "wide open" policy in all respects.

There are those who charge that he intended to get the political advantage of the move both ways—to be credited by the anti-saloon group with courage to enforce the law, and to be able to win political support from saloonkeepers by resort to favoritism. Since the Sunday closing order went into effect, it has been specifically charged—with what truth I am not prepared to say—that saloonkeepers selling liquor on Sunday were allied politically with the mayor. Certainly Mayor Thompson cannot truthfully claim to enforce all laws strictly, for he does not. There has never been so much complaint against any other administration for flagrant disregard of both the spirit and the letter of the civil service law. Every case thus far decided in court involving such matters has been decided against Mayor Thompson's civil service commission. Cabaret entertainments are particularly scandalous under this administration, and provisions for the protection of the morals of youth of both sexes are unusually bad. In the face of all this, Mayor Thompson charges every critic of his administration with being a tool of the "whiskey bosses." He asks support for unwise policies and for unfit candidates favored by his group on the ground that he defied the liquor interests and closed the saloons on Sunday. It would hardly be supposed that the saloonkeepers in the council who have the worst records as aldermen are thick and thin supporters of the Thompson administration, yet such is the fact. The notorious first ward aldermen, "Hinky Dink" Kenna and "Bathhouse John" Coughlin vote as the mayor desires on every occasion.

In order to understand the issues involved, it may be well to survey the history of the Sunday closing movement in Chicago. The laws of Illinois, like those of many states, provide that saloons shall be closed on Sunday. Enforcement in Illinois is left entirely to local officials, in which respect the situation differs from that in some other states. In Ohio, as I understand it, the rather general Sunday closing movement throughout the state followed the enactment of a law in which saloon control was vested in part in state officials. Not only is there no provision in Illinois for enforcement by state officials, but there is no specific machinery for removing from office or punishing otherwise a local official who fails to enforce a state law like that relating to the sale of liquor on Sunday. This has been the situation for half a century or more, yet the legislature of Illinois, in the face of entirely open disregard of the Sunday closing law, not only in Chicago, but in most other good sized cities of the state, has made no move whatever either to change the law or the mode of enforcement.

Following the great fire of 1871, Joseph Medill, then editor of the Chicago *Tribune*, was elected mayor of Chicago, on the good government issue. On the basis of previously expressed views, Mr. Medill was supposed to be in sympathy with the liberal ideas of the community with relation to the use of liquor and Sunday amusements. Otherwise, it is doubtful if

he could have been elected. Against his own better judgment in the matter, Mayor Medill yielded to the clamor of the anti-saloon element, and permitted his superintendent of police to close the saloons on Sunday. The liberal minded voters of Chicago had shown that they desired good government as well as liberal administration when they made Medill mayor. At the next election they gave emphatic indication of their disapproval of what was termed the surrender to fanaticism, by electing as mayor the candidate who boldly declared himself for the wide open policy. Incidentally this mayor, Harvey O. Colvin, gave a very bad administration of city affairs.

From the time of Colvin's election as mayor over forty years ago, up to the sudden and unexpected issuance of Mayor Thompson's Sunday closing order in the fall of 1915, the saloons of Chicago had remained open on Sunday as a matter of course. City ordinances that might be held to require Sunday closing were repealed by the city council immediately after the election of Colvin as mayor. Occasionally, the extreme prohibitionists, led by Arthur Burrage Farwell, would make some move to bring about Sunday closing by court action or otherwise, but always without success. Every serious candidate for mayor has given assurances, either express or implied, that he would not disturb the existing policy of the community with respect to Sunday closing. This was true of John Maynard Harlan, who ran for mayor as an independent in 1897, and of Alderman Merriam, who was the republican nominee for mayor in 1911. Arthur Burrage Farwell and a few others who subordinate every other issue, including that of honest government, to prohibition, consistently refused to vote for either Harlan or Merriam for mayor. What puzzles me is the present attitude of many citizens who did vote without question for Harlan and Merriam, despite their pronouncements against Sunday closing, who now conventionally support the view that law is law and must be enforced literally and completely. For my part, I cannot see why "law enforcement" should be regarded as a matter of mere expediency at one time, and of arbitrary and unwavering acquiescence in the views of the fanatics at another. To my way of thinking, there must be an administrative policy with reference to the enforcement of laws and ordinances, especially those relating to the regulation of matters that are not crimes in themselves. And in some few cases, the policy may lead for a time at least to deliberate non-enforcement. This is especially true where the enforcement of state laws is left to local officials. Shriekers for "law enforcement" always have some particular law or laws in mind.

The United States is the most lawless of the civilized nations, due in large part probably to the fact that we are overridden with laws. Life and property are less secure here than in most European countries, none of which has so many periodical spasms of "law enforcement." We do need greater respect for law in this land, but such respect is not

to be had from spasmodic and extreme enforcement—at the behest of fanatics and hypocrites—of unenforceable laws, or laws that do not reflect real public sentiment. There is a great deal of cant and nonsense put forth in the name of “law enforcement.”

Examples of unenforceable laws are acts for the assessment of personal property for purposes of taxation on the basis of uniformity. Years of experience have demonstrated that such acts cannot be enforced literally, and would entail great injustice if they were. Constitutions and laws must be changed so as to permit the classification of personal property for purposes of taxation. Pending the change, assessing officials should seek to do justice as nearly as possible, rather than to follow antiquated and unworkable methods literally.

It is impossible to secure satisfactory enforcement by local officials of a state law that is repugnant to local sentiment. In some such cases it may be the better policy for the local officials to ignore a state law altogether, leaving to the state itself the problem of enforcement. Certainly that course is preferable to partial enforcement under which the political supporters of an administration are given favors denied to others. If the state cares for the law, it will provide its own method of enforcement. If it does not care, it cannot rightly complain if its acts are not taken seriously by local communities that do not like them. Local self government, where it exists, and the right of trial by jury, are even more fundamental in our plan of government than are the wordings of statutes. It is always understood—except when fanatics are clamoring for the enforcement of unpopular statutes—that a measure repulsive to a local community will not be enforced by local officials, and that local juries will not convict under it. That fact is taken into account when laws are passed, or when they are left as they are in the face of demands for modification.

Laws are supposed to embody public sentiment as voiced by the legislative body. In no country of the world having what is termed responsible government—and all such countries have more real respect for law than is shown in the United States—would the executive undertake to give drastic effect to a statute that had been a dead letter for half a century without assurance that in so doing he represented the views of a majority of the law making body. Only the czar of Russia would attempt that. Revival by mere executive decree of obsolete statutes is a device of tyranny. At the time Mayor Thompson issued his Sunday closing order it is a moral certainty that neither the legislature of Illinois nor the city council of Chicago could have been induced to pass a resolution approving of the order. At the present time saloons in suburbs of Chicago, and in other cities of the state, are openly carrying on business on Sunday, and nothing is done about it. The state's-attorney of Cook county, in which Chicago is located, refuses to prosecute cases under the

Sunday closing law, so that Mayor Thompson, in order to enforce his Sunday closing order, is obliged to utilize the power to revoke licenses—an adequate remedy for the purpose, but one liable to political abuse.

I do not wish to be understood as arguing that saloons should be open on Sunday. My concern is with the honesty and capacity of the city government. The supreme desire of all of us should be to have a government that will so function as to solve all our problems properly, and on democratic lines. Such a government would close the saloons on Sunday, or place special restrictions upon the sale of liquor on that day, if the people so desire, and would not do so otherwise. The questions of prohibition or of Sunday closing are of less importance than honest government. If we can have honest government and Sunday closing, or honest government and prohibition, well and good. But neither Sunday closing nor prohibition should be forced upon a community in such a way as to demoralize its politics. And the influence is bound to be harmful whenever so-called good citizens lend support to a movement to foist a policy upon a community in an undemocratic way. If it be true that American cities heretofore having open saloons on Sunday are prepared for a different policy, the change will come soon through the healthy reaction of public opinion on the government. It will be better to wait a little while than to secure speedier results by undemocratic methods. A community forced against its will to a particular course of conduct is certain to show its resentment. If men classed as municipal reformers are identified with the forcing process, then municipal reform must suffer through the manifestation of resentment. Fortunately, Mayor Thompson is not classed as a municipal reformer. He is a rank partisan spoilsman and machine politician, with the element of hypocrisy added. I would not have liked to see a mayor of Chicago elected as a representative of municipal progress close the saloons on Sunday in the way in which Mayor Thompson did. The result inevitably would have been a setback for municipal reform. The trouble now in our large cities is that men who are fighting for decency and honest government are suspected of being puritans, no matter what they say. But for that suspicion I am satisfied that Merriam would have been elected mayor of Chicago in 1911, instead of Carter Harrison. American cities are enduring scandalous abuses, objectionable to the majority of the people, which could be cured but for the confusion of the situation by extremists who force to the front issues upon which too many respectable citizens become aligned with the minority.

The issue of Sunday closing having been raised in Chicago by Mayor Thompson, at the instigation of the extremist group led by Arthur Bursage Farwell, exists to embarrass conscientious leaders and to confuse citizens who are more concerned with honest government than with the precise method of solution of any particular question. If the community

has gotten to the point where the majority favors Sunday closing of saloons, advocates of good government would not want to help force the opening of saloons again in the interest of the minority. If the effective majority desires Sunday beer, that majority is going to have its way, and advocates of good government who side with the minority in opposing the liberal policy must expect to see the cause of good government suffer in consequence of their own unpopular alignment.

What ought to be done to remedy the situation? The procedure that should be followed seems clear to me. The legislature should confer upon the city government, subject possibly to referendum provisions, the full power to deal with such matters as Sunday amusements and control of the sale of liquor both on Sundays and on week days. The city government should—and I believe would—proceed to frame regulations about those matters in conformity with local public sentiment. There would then be no excuse for non-enforcement. Thus respect for law would be promoted. The trouble with the anti-saloon group, as typified by Arthur Burrage Farwell, is that they prefer to keep the Sunday closing laws on the statute books, whether they can be enforced or not. In other words they do not really care for law enforcement, of which they talk when seeking support in their efforts to override the will of the majority. Their desire is to force their theocratic ideas upon a community that does not approve of those ideas.

It is my belief that the Chicago city council, if given power to regulate the sale of liquor on Sunday, would work out a plan that would be a compromise between the wide-open policy of former years and the rigid Sunday closing arrangement that is supposed to prevail at the present time. As matters now stand, liquor cannot be served with meals in Chicago hotels and clubs on Sunday.

If the legislature is unwilling to confer upon cities within the borders of the state the power to make and enforce regulations regarding Sunday amusements and the sale of liquor on Sunday, then the state itself should undertake the direct enforcement of such regulations as it cares to insist upon. I do not believe this course the wise one, but it is the only logical alternative to the denial of home rule on such matters. The legislature should cease being two-faced. It should deal with such subjects honestly and courageously, and pursue consistently one policy or the other. It should give cities home rule, or it should provide for enforcement of state laws by an agency of the state.

TUBEROSE OBSTACLES TO REFORM IN NEW YORK CITY

BY WILLIAM H. ALLEN¹

New York City

ARTHUR BRISBANE once startled a testimonial audience by referring to eulogies of a distinguished New York officer as follows: "Even at this distance from our guest of honor, I feel like a baby smothered with tuberoses."

Reform in New York has taken too deep root to be smothered by either tuberoses or brickbats. It is not, however, sufficiently rooted so that it is proof against setback. Among the many obstacles to progressive reform in New York City's government, a critical observer is compelled, I believe, to say that none is so great as silence for deficiencies with full praise or overpraise for excellencies. In this respect New York is no exception, except that its stake is greater. Yet is not the price of progress frank analysis that leads inevitably to praise or question or criticism, according to what's done and not according to who's in?

It is generally taken for granted in New York that the reform administration cannot succeed itself in 1918. The closer one comes to the insidest of insiders, the less confidence and hope one finds. Yet never before or elsewhere in the history of American government has a single administrative officer been able to report so many separate, definite, extensive and invaluable forward steps as Hon. John Purroy Mitchel, mayor of Greater New York, reported on May 2, 1916, for the first two years of his administration.

No equal: yet no chance. Could there be a more extraordinary situation?

There is a reason. There are many reasons. One reason is indicated in the title of this article and is epitomized in the January issue of the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW* by the article of the then city chamberlain of New York entitled "Mayor Mitchel's Administration of the City of New York."² It is relevant that an officer close to the mayor and to the facts of the present and of the past should at all misstate the case; but there is no special obstacle presented in official overstatement. The serious obstacle is the condition that, although men and women inside and outside the present government of New York City know that errors of fact and hyperbole of praise are given in official statements, no public mention of the errors is welcome.

¹ Director of the New York Institute for Public Service.

² See *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, vol. v, p. 24.

Several city employes complained to the institute for public service that the chamberlain's article was unfair to previous administrations, to the mayor's associates in this administration, and to the facts; but these complainants would not dare to utter publicly the questions they raised with us. Outside analysts, who in ordinary affairs exhibit a keen discrimination with regard to non-reform and anti-reform utterances, have been pursuing throughout the present administration a policy of "Sh-h, don't wake up the baby!" It is that policy which is progressively raising tuberoses obstacles to reform.

The city chamberlain, whose relation to the mayor and to the administration makes him spokesman in a sense seldom exhibited, wrote his article at the end of the second year of Mayor Mitchel's administration, at the end of the sixth year of fusion government and after ten years of "rebuilding of city government and the education of the New York public in the merits of better government." In this process of rebuilding few, if any, men have carried a more important rôle during these ten years than the chamberlain himself. Special significance, therefore, attaches to any gaps between facts of record and the chamberlain's allegations in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW or other "right or wrong" eulogies.

Gap No. 1. The, "pay-as-you-go" remedy for future permanent debt was cited, page 35, as a "mark of statesmanship . . . which the board of estimate and apportionment has had the courage to prescribe." Instead of a mark of statesmanship, the pay-as-you-go policy was a signal of dependence. It was prescribed not by the board of estimate and apportionment but by H. P. Davison of J. P. Morgan and Company, and President F. L. Hine of the First National Bank. The city needed \$100,000,000 after the European war broke out to pay debts to Europe. It had to have it or confess bankruptcy. The banks gave it on condition that the pay-as-you-go policy be adopted. These facts were testified to before the recent legislative committee on New York expenditures. Against "home rule" opposition and upon the advice of bankers, Senator Brown induced the legislature to pass a bill making the pay-as-you-go policy compulsory.

Gap No. 2. Speaking of school affairs, page 33, the chamberlain wrote: "Mayor Mitchel has not attempted to break down the traditional barriers existing between the schools and the city government." Yet prior to this writing numerous barriers had been broken down by the mayor in ways that would have been a national scandal if a "Tammany" mayor had done the same things. For example, he stated publicly that before appointing new members of the board of education last November, he pledged them to vote against one man and to vote for another man for president of the board, in spite of the law's intent that this board should be thoroughly barrier-ed against political or mayoralty interference.

Men and women so pledged denied the pledge publicly, but the mayor let the cat out of the bag before he learned of their denial. Three months later, May 2, the mayor stated that he had chosen them for their "personal independence." These discrepancies between fact and advertisement are covered up with tuberoses, to the jeopardy of the public schools and of municipal reform.

Gap No. 3. In April 1916, a newspaper which has tuberoses for the mayor and brickbats for all challengers wrote: "There is never any guessing as to what political or personal interest is supposed to be at the bottom of the [mayor's] choice, or to whose 'pull' it may be traced." In December 1913, the mayor-elect stated: "We were elected not to do the work of any party but to do the work of the whole citizenry. We were elected to give a business administration . . . without regard to politics and that in so far as I have the power I propose to do." January 1916, the chamberlain wrote, page 26: "Appointments were deliberately made to minor positions from the nominees of political fusion or anti-Tammany organizations. Mayor Mitchel took the position publicly that whenever he could name men to subordinate positions who were acceptable to the political groups he would do so provided that they were reasonably competent."

Papers with nation-wide circulation defend the mayor against the demands of labor unions for the resignation of "two Rockefeller employes" from the board of education. It is admitted that these employes have been the mayor's chief representatives in gaining control of the board of education. "Tuberosing" first defends the mayor and then applauds the contributions of these two Rockefeller members. The records fail to show one constructive proposal due to these men (unless wanting a small board is *per se* constructive), but do show that they have been absent since being appointed members, one more than half the meetings and the other a trifle less than half the meetings.

Gap No. 4. Appointments were made to major offices which would have provoked ridicule and condemnation if made by a not-yet-reform administration. No one knew the facts regarding these appointments more intimately than the mayor's intimate spokesman, the chamberlain. The more regrettable, therefore, is the misstatement by the chamberlain, page 26: "The mayor chose wherever he could find them men best qualified by reason of training and experience for the particular job to be filled." Twenty-three pages further on in the January REVIEW are found several admissions by another writer that with respect to the civil service commission this was not true. At the time the chamberlain was writing it had ceased to be true of two of the three departments cited for illustration.

At the very first public criticism of the new administration—its first week—several of its members wrote letters of protest and otherwise

threatened to withdraw the city's co-operation in certain reforms if such criticism was to be publicly voiced. The occasion was the appointment as chief efficiency examiner of a specialist in the Irish drama. From that time to this criticism has been construed as evidence of ill-will and vicious motive, with the result that criticism and frank analysis have become lost arts to many agencies with previous enviable records as impersonal and impartial analysts of city management.

Not since the city was started have appointments from personal reasons been more numerous. Whether or not the partners or intimate personal friends of the mayor or of his personal friends are efficient or not is beside the question here. The fact of importance is that the excellencies of reform are endangered because of foibles and weaknesses which would not continue if there were free criticism.

Gap No. 5. Before the administration was half over, five important resignations were announced: Corporation Counsel Polk, Health Commissioner Goldwater, Chamberlain Bruère, Corrections Commissioner Davis, and President McAneny of the board of aldermen. No one expected this in 1913. The reasons given in three cases were that financial sacrifices were too great; Mr. Polk went to Washington, Miss Davis became parole commissioner at the same salary. Had the community talked of this policy of resigning as it feels and as it would talk if it were not chloroformed with tuberoses, officers like those mentioned would choose to "get the message to Garcia." Although the resigners' work was not finished but just begun, the chamberlain did not mention these significant changes.

Gap No. 6. On May 3 last, when editorials extolled the mayor's report of his accomplishments, news columns reported that the grand jury was investigating the fact that the mayor and his police commissioner had tapped the wires of several persons connected with Catholic charities and turned results over to the charities commissioner. The writer would not subtract one iota from the commendations of Mayor Mitchel's achievements. He cares so much for them that he fears for consequences when a community has been so successfully drugged that there seems to be some curious difference between reform wiretapping and "Tammany" wiretapping. That the wires were tapped the mayor and his police commissioner admit. That in another case business wires were tapped is admitted. Not a syllable in the law cited gives any justification. If a crime was committed, the penalty is two years' imprisonment. If the same thing had been done by Mayor McClellan with the same self-justification there would have been a riot in New York. Is it unfair to reform for leaders in reform to protect that act and to see a difference between wiretapping by Mayor Mitchel of New York and wiretapping by Mayor Smith of Philadelphia?

Gap No. 7. A five year lease in the Equitable building was recently made by the New York public service commission after Mayor Mitchel's officers had failed to find quarters in the Municipal building. At the time when the mayor and the chamberlain might have been looking at submitted evidence to show how and where the public service commission could be satisfactorily housed in vacant city-owned property, they were listening to the commission's reasons for wanting to lease private property. Five hundred thousand dollars is only \$500,000 which is not much in New York, but it will go a long way when buying health and education. Papers printed columns of news space giving facts and protests. Because only a half-dozen editorials condemned this step would the chamberlain say that "the disinterested press has stood squarely behind the administration?"

Gap No. 8. This morning's papers quote the mayor's proposal to spend \$1,000,000 on building an island so that it will not be necessary to dispose of garbage on Staten Island. Staten Island is threatening secession if the mayor's plan to put a garbage plant on Staten Island is prosecuted as authorized at a "snap" session of the fiscal body called to forestall a public hearing. Yet the city owns 80 dry, available acres of land adjacent to a dead animal plant, a fish plant, and a sulphuric acid plant, all of which are to be continued. The mayor's own health department has itself made contracts which will keep the dead animal plant where it is now for four more years. Why is it that the reform administration and misguided friends refuse to consider or to mention this available site and propose to build a new island? Insiders talk, but try to keep the public from talking, about understandings in which the public did not share. Why is it that the chamberlain failed to mention to your readers that the contract excluded the island? While the chamberlain was writing his references to the street cleaning department that department itself was protesting against the policy which the administration had insisted upon and which the department claims will "postpone for years any feasible plan to save \$1,400,000 a year."

Gap No. 9. Before election the mayor pledged himself to install in the corporation counsel's office as "one of my first official acts," a bureau for attention to citizen complaints regarding "service or facilities or rates of public service companies." Two and a half years have passed and yet there is no complaint bureau. A step toward a complaint bureau was taken in May 1916 when the mayor appointed Milo R. Maltbie to succeed Mr. Bruère in the chamberlainship which the latter had repeatedly declared was a superfluous office. As an excuse for spending \$30,000 of other people's money between May 1916 and December 1917 on a sinecure office, the mayor stated that he wanted to keep in touch with public utilities. Had Mayor Gaynor or Mayor McClellan done the same thing, reform's insiders would have declared that the town needs not more in-

formation but more action regarding utilities, and not more employes, but more use of existing employes. Mayor Mitchel is apologized for and commended for wasting public money on so able an appointee. Next campaign people will say what they leave unsaid now.

Gap No. 10. In his speech of May 2, the mayor says that the cut in the school budget this year has not caused "the slightest impairment of educational service, even providing for extension of certain activities." When that statement was made the mayor knew and reform insiders knew that service has been tremendously impaired, that there are 130,000 children in classes of over 50 pupils in a class, that there are still 1,000 substitutes, that night schools have been reduced from 90 to 70 nights a year and from four to two nights a week, summer evening schools for foreigners closed, and public lectures reduced one-half. Not one extension of service could he mention. No one knows better than reform's friends that these references misstate the facts. They know that private promises were made to give the mayor's candidates money which was denied to those he ousted, and that he was extolling as progressives board members whose only claim to the title was obedience to him against their own records of opposition to economy and efficiency. Did reform's friends protest? No. But by not protesting they are practically forcing schools as a leading issue for the next municipal campaign with "reform" on the defensive.

Miscellaneous Gaps. In the chamberlain's article, which throughout has been cited only because it is symptomatic, appeared many minor claims and charges and omissions the unfairness of which is no less an obstacle to reform because editorial writers and public speakers consider them minor. For example:

1. "*Familiar official hack*" is not entirely descriptive of the reform administration's predecessors in New York service, such as Abram S. Hewitt, Seth Low, William J. Gaynor, George B. McClellan, Edward J. Swanstrom, Bird S. Coler, Cyrus C. Miller, William B. Ellison, Henry S. Thompson, General Bingham, Robert W. Hebbard, John M. Brannan, Thomas Darlington, Andrew H. Green, E. R. L. Gould, Homer Folks, Calvin S. Tompkins, Gustav Lindenthal, Michael Kennedy, William R. Wilcox, Henry Smith, et al.

2. "*Total absence of special training for subordinate positions of leadership*" is not a fair characterization of the condition which Mayor Mitchel inherited. Civil service commission, finance department, police department, fire and other departments had men of notable accomplishments without whom Mayor Mitchel's new importations would have made a sorry record. Present Commissioners Adamson, Woods, Smith, Murphy, Lewis, Keogh were trained in earlier administrations. Mr. Mitchel himself was trained under Mayor McClellan and strongly backed by him.

3. The "*standardization of duties and salaries*" and "*analyzing and preparing the annual appropriation ordinance*" began years before the

Mitchel administration or its predecessor. So the "*policy of dealing with big questions on a basis of information*" antedates the present administration by several years.

4. "*Since Colonel Waring's time no progress in the technique of street cleaning*" is quite unfair to two preceding administrations. It is true, as the chamberlain stated, that the present commissioner was sent to Europe to "study the street cleaning problems of European cities." It is not true, as implied, that Mayor Mitchel sent him. It is also true, however, that the administration has rejected his recommendations for disposing of garbage and other refuse and saving \$1,400,000 a year.

5. Regarding the administration of charities the chamberlain failed to admit that as "the curse of the poor is their poverty" so the curse of preceding managements was not lack of program but lack of money. Subtract the additional money and freedom given to Mayor Mitchel's commissioner and the steps taken in this administration that were not attempted in preceding administrations noticeably shrink.

6. The pension investigations which the chamberlain credits to Mayor Mitchel were outlined under Mayor Gaynor who appointed a committee on pensions of which the later chamberlain was himself a member.

7. Fire prevention work which the chamberlain implied was started in Mayor Mitchel's time had been working for years under Mayor Gaynor; its improvement under Mayor Mitchel is beyond question.

8. In his statement regarding the civil service the chamberlain failed to mention that the law had been violated, *inter alia*, by appointing men without technical qualifications to technical positions. The six matters referred to in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for January, on page 55, would have caused much public discontent if a "Tammany" candidate had been responsible.

9. One of fusion's promises which members of the National Municipal League regard as important, the present administration has practically repudiated; namely, the promise to abolish the board of aldermen. The promise was made with no qualifications. Voters were not told that the board would be abolished if "Tammany" continued to control it, but would be excused or used if "fusion" controlled it. The board stands. It is under "Tammany" control. The city has lost its chance to free itself of a fifth wheel which at best can contribute almost nothing and when not at its best is a millstone.

10. Another fundamental promise was to prepare a new charter. Students of government know how sadly New York needs a new charter. If anti-reform had failed to fulfill such a promise, New York reformers would be neither voiceless nor indulgent. The only step the present administration has taken toward framing a model charter was when it asked the legislature of 1915 to reduce the board of education from 46 to 9 members. This step was taken, not in fulfillment of a promise for comprehensive revision, but in an effort to jam through the board of

education certain policies opposed by the majority of that board. That the step would be taken by the city administration was announced as a threat on the floor of the board of education by one of the so-called "Rockefeller employes," above mentioned, several days before the administration's committee had decided to take or had considered the step. This unfulfilled promise is also obscured by tuberose, and, to quote Lincoln, by "passing the buck" to Albany for failing to give a home rule amendment.

11. At the time the chamberlain was writing about license control, page 32, the bureau of licenses was harboring an organized band of pickpockets and bribe blackjacks on the inside—the greatest old time corruption scandal for a decade.

12. The accounting reforms did not prevent undetected defalcation by one of the chamberlain's subordinates.

13. The unparalleled use of co-operating citizen committees, page 37, includes unsurpassed discourtesy to such committees when protesting against the board of estimate's plans for Riverside Drive and garbage disposal.

14. Without an editorial protest liquor and dancing are being allowed in two city parks and the privilege of combining liquor and dancing in two Central Park restaurants was being advertised when the mayor made his May 2 speech.

When Mayor Mitchel took office in 1914, New York City had been through a period of scrutiny and criticism which made it clearly the foremost city in the country in public discussion of public business. It is doubtful if ever an electorate hoped so much or so definitely or, judging from past experience, so justifiably. The newly elected mayor and his associates knew the city's needs and how to meet those needs. They had made many specific pledges which they knew how, and had the power, to carry out. A very long list of these pledges they have carried out; the great majority are under way. Yet something has happened which threatens to over-shadow in the public mind these notable achievements. That something or several somethings are here noted as an appeal to out-of-New-Yorkers to help New York return to straight thinking and sincere discussion of its municipal needs.

There can be no sincere discussion when the balance sheet stands with all credit entries and when the friends of reform keep under cover, in the back yard or behind the door, tendencies and acts which can be cured and stopped only by the fresh air and spotlight of admission and frank discussion in time. A weakness loses neither its identity nor its importance because it is outnumbered or outweighed by excellencies. Can there be an unfriendlier way to show friendship for governmental reform than to throw either brickbats at virtues when outnumbered, or tuberose at deficiencies no matter how much they seem to be outnumbered or outweighed by excellencies?

SOME FURTHER FACTS ABOUT MAYOR MITCHEL'S ADMINISTRATION¹

BY ROBERT S. BINKERD
New York City

DEAR MR. WOODRUFF:

I beg to acknowledge receipt this morning of a proof of the forthcoming article on the present administration in New York City by Dr. William H. Allen. I cannot prepare a reply to it in the sense in which you ask, as I am leaving the city tonight and could not get a manuscript to you in time for the publication date which you mention.

I do not feel called upon to attempt any categorical set of answers to much of the gossip which Dr. Allen retails. I think almost all men in close touch with the affairs of New York City recognize that there has been a progressive improvement in its government for the past ten years. While much of that improvement has been due to the same general group of men who are now in the municipal administration, neither Mayor Mitchel, nor President McAneny, nor Mr. Bruère would minimize the improvement inherited from former administrations. The mayor himself said, for instance: "Health work has been brought up to a still higher plane, although costs have been cut." In this last case we were building on a solid foundation and due credit must be given to previous administrations."

The fairness and accuracy of Dr. Allen's statements can be tested by a simple examination of a few of his allegations.

The city authorities had not the slightest control over the lease made by the public service commission of this district in the Equitable building. They attempted to secure a postponement of the making of this lease by the commission in an endeavor to find cheaper quarters. The respon-

¹ Dr. Allen's article on "Tuberosc Obstacles to Reform in New York City" raised certain questions of fact which the editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW felt should be covered by someone not a party to the controversy, so he submitted the proof to Robert S. Binkerd, the secretary of the City Club of New York, who has had exceptional facilities for observation and whose identification with that organization is a guaranty of his interest in the larger phases of the question. Mr. Binkerd has had these exceptional facilities for observation because of his connection as managing director of the Municipal government association of the state of New York and as a member of the legislative committee of the state conference of mayors, and because of his active identification with the various movements for the improvement of the New York city charter. Mr. Binkerd did not have time to prepare a formal reply, but at the editor's request has made a statement of the facts as he knows them. EDITOR.

sibility and blame for this lease, if there be any, is surely upon the commission and not upon the city government.

The mayor, the board of estimate, and the street cleaning commissioner have been co-operating to the fullest degree in the attempt to turn the garbage and refuse of New York City into a very considerable asset.

Dr. Allen states that fire prevention work had been going for years under Mayor Gaynor. The bureau was established in 1911 but constituted one of the glaring weak spots of Mayor Gaynor's administration. The appointments for fire prevention inspectors were practically parceled out to the leaders of Tammany hall, a policy which Mayor Gaynor did not pursue in many other departments.

The present board of estimate and the men in it, who constituted also a majority of the previous board of estimate, deserve the strongest possible praise for their courageous treatment of the finances of New York City. The "pay-as-you-go" policy referred to by Dr. Allen is a somewhat crude, but certainly an heroic and efficient remedy for the great over-borrowings of previous administrations. The committee of Senator Brown, to which Dr. Allen refers, came down to New York City with the expectation of criticising the financial administration of the city. It went back to Albany prepared not only to admit its virtue, but to recommend legislation to sustain it.

It is true that the present administration has not proposed a new charter for the city. For this I take a considerable personal responsibility. Instead of preparing a charter to be enacted by the legislature as a special law, New York City for the first time has thrown its lot in with the rest of the cities of the state. The mayor of New York is the first mayor to co-operate in the building up of the Mayors' conference in New York State. Every effort was made to secure from the constitutional convention of 1915 a new municipal article, which would give to all the cities of the state the power to frame, adopt, and amend their own charters. The city sent a special representative to the constitutional convention for this purpose in the person of Professor Howard Lee McBain of Columbia University.

I know of no one who argues that the governmental millenium has been secured in New York City. I know of no one who supposes that party organizations have gone out of existence, or that provincialism and localism in our boroughs have been abolished. I do believe that every disinterested observer of any statesmanlike capacity recognizes, however, that there is no political party and no political machine which is running the government of New York City. I know that any such observer would note a remarkable absence of partisan consideration in settling questions of administration and of policy. In this broad sense the mayor's statement that "partisan politics have been eliminated" is substantially true. This is so substantially true that there is wide-

spread talk among Republicans against entering another fusion campaign. The common argument used is that the Republicans contributed a majority of the votes and that they have been substantially ignored as to patronage.

Nothing is said by Dr. Allen of the uncompromising stand taken by the administration last year in opposition to breaking down our building laws, nor is mention made of the mayor's veto of a partisan Republican bill re-apportioning the aldermanic districts of the city last year. These are only a few of many evidences given during the past two years of a new concern for the welfare of the city regardless of the effect of such concern upon the political parties and upon the political future of those in office.

It is a matter of no official concern to me whether the present city government can or will be re-elected. I am concerned that New York City and its government should not be put in a false light before the friends of good government throughout the country. I am deeply disappointed that Dr. Allen, in the name of disinterested scientific inquiry, should put forth such an effusion. As you know, for some seven years we have originated and handled many of the important pieces of city legislation. During much of that time the Democratic leaders in the legislature have displayed a largeness of view in striking contrast to that displayed by Dr. Allen in this article. Is this the best that we are to expect from the new "institute for public service"?²

²At a dinner of the Committee of 107 at the Hotel Astor on Tuesday, May 2, Mayor Mitchel gave an extended account of his stewardship. His speech has been reprinted in pamphlet form and can be had upon application at the Mayor's office, City Hall, New York.

MUNICIPAL FIRE INSURANCE IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

BY RALPH H. BLANCHARD

University of Pennsylvania

THE earliest recorded instances of fire insurance were in the nature of communal schemes for indemnifying private individuals. More than twenty-five hundred years ago officials were appointed in Assyria for the purpose of levying contributions on the inhabitants when one of their number suffered loss from a fire of accidental origin. In 1240 a law to the same effect, called the "Custom of Furnes," was promulgated in Flanders. In 1609 a plan was submitted to Count Anthony von Oldenburg whereby he was to make good loss by fire in return for periodical payments which were expected to yield him a handsome profit. The count refused to adopt the plan on the ground that it might tempt providence. In 1638 and in 1668 schemes of insurance of private property by the corporation of London were advanced, but they were never put into operation.

The corporation of London, in 1681, entered the business of fire insurance, adopting the principles of a plan suggested by Deputy Newbold about five years earlier. Perpetual insurance or insurance for a term of thirty-one years were offered, with two sets of premiums, one applying to brick, the other to timber houses. Land belonging to the city and valued at £100,000 was pledged as an initial fund. The fire office, a private corporation established somewhat previously, immediately declared war, cutting their rates under those of the corporation, and announcing "that they will always set their price under the city." As a result of this competition the corporation decided to discontinue the new enterprise, although 1,670 proposals had been received. In November, 1682, the policies were cancelled and the premiums returned. This is the only example in Great Britain of the actual operation of a municipal fire insurance scheme applying to privately owned property. Similar proposals were made in 1690 by Alexander Cutting, and in 1903 by the warehousemen in the Cripplegate Wards of London, but both were rejected.

Perhaps the most interesting of the schemes advanced in the United States is that of William W. Boardman, who proposed in 1834 that the city of New Haven should take over the insurance of all buildings within the city limits, charging the regular company premiums for five years and reducing the rates by one-half after that time, provided that the

ratio of loss had not increased in the meantime. By this means he proposed not only to pay indemnities for loss, but also to meet all of the city's expenses and gradually extinguish the municipal debt. He contended that the plan "if adopted with unanimity and carried through with intelligence, perseverance, and liberality, will be certain to relieve the city imperceptibly of debt, and place her finances in a high and flourishing condition." Other plans of like import have been proposed, but there seems to be no record of their actual application.

Loss of municipal property by fire may be met in one of three ways; the municipality may assume the risk of loss, it may shift the risk to insurance companies, or it may combine the two methods by assuming only a portion of the risk and shifting the remainder to the insurance companies. Each of these methods of caring for losses to public property has a considerable body of adherents both in Great Britain and in the United States. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to municipal insurance as applied to public property only.

FIRE INSURANCE FUNDS IN BRITISH CITIES.

Beginning with the year 1900 it has become quite common for British municipalities to ask parliament for the power to establish fire insurance funds, a request which is usually granted. In 1914 twenty-five local governments had obtained such power; four before 1900, and twenty-one from 1900-1913 inclusive. The grant follows a standard form with variations to suit individual circumstances, the following provisions usually being included:

A fire insurance fund may be established to meet fire losses to property belonging to or under the custody or control of the corporation. Each year the corporation is to pay to the fund a sum equal to or not less than the premiums which would be charged by the insurance companies.

As soon as the fund reaches a certain level (varying from £10,000 to £100,000), and so long as that level is maintained, payments may be discontinued.¹ It is optional with the authorities to insure any part of their property with the companies. If the fund proves insufficient to meet any loss, the corporation may borrow, in anticipation of taxes, enough to make up the deficiency, this amount to be repaid within such period (not exceeding sixty years) as shall be determined in each case.

In the majority of cases these powers have not been used, but they are of considerable value in bargaining with the companies.

There were in 1914 nine municipal insurance funds in active operation in Great Britain, of which at least eight carried only a portion of the risks of their respective cities. The proportion of the total risk carried by the fund is limited either by a specific amount, by a certain percentage,

¹ Parliament has no set rule to fix the proportion between the amount of the fund and the value of the property at risk.

or by the degree of hazard involved. For example, in London the fund covers risks up to £10,000 in value; when a risk exceeds £10,000 it is covered to that amount in the fund, together with the whole of any balance of less than £2,000 and one-half of any balance of £2,000 or upwards. Except in special cases the liability of the fund is not to exceed £25,000. The companies insure the remainder of these risks as well as certain extra-hazardous risks entire.

For the year 1912-13 the income of the London fund was as follows:

Premiums	£6,429
Interest	3,685
	<u>£10,114</u>
Less amount allotted for management expenses	271
	<u>£9,843</u>

Losses 1905-06 to 1912-13 were £4,382, giving a yearly average of £548. The aggregate value of property insured in the fund is £13,708,516.

Glasgow secured power to establish a fund in 1898, but did not put it into operation until May, 1912. This step was taken on the basis of the fire insurance experience from 1888-1908 inclusive, which was as follows:

Total amounts covered by companies	£33,137,275
Premiums to companies	£54,750
Losses made good by companies (including fire brigade charges)	13,010
	<u>£41,740</u>

Losses = 24 per cent of premiums.

This fund insures all property on which the rate is 3s per £100 or under, and one-third of the property having a rate of more than 3s, thus carrying about seven-eighths of the total insurable value and about three-quarters of the risk. The risk is further lessened by re-insuring against loss in excess of £20,000 from any one fire. The first year's account gives the following result:

Premiums and interest	£3,740
Expense	1,325
Surplus from year as nucleus for fund	<u>£2,415</u>

The seven other funds² have likewise been successful thus far, though in no one has the experience been of sufficient length of time or breadth of scope to furnish conclusive evidence of the success of the general principle.

²At Nottingham, Birmingham, Leicester, Bradford, Hastings, Accrington and Aberdeen.

That portion of the London fund devoted to school buildings has had the most notable success, having been in operation since 1878.

Two insurance companies in Great Britain make a specialty of municipal insurance: the Fine art and general insurance company, Ltd., of London, and the Municipal mutual insurance, Ltd. The former is one of the oldest and largest of the non-tariff companies, and it makes a special offer to municipalities whereby they may participate in the profits obtained from the insurance of municipal property. Under one form of policy this consists in dividing one-half of the collective profits from this class of business pro rata according to premiums paid and subject to certain restrictions which provide for a reserve to meet a possible collective loss. Under another form of policy the company agrees to return a percentage of the premiums according to a fixed scale, the amount of the rebate depending directly on the loss ratio. If the insurance is discontinued before the expiration of five years or after that time without three months' notice the company may reclaim one-half of the rebates paid under the latter type of policy.

The Municipal mutual insurance, Ltd., is a mutual fire insurance company whose operations are restricted to municipal property. It was established in London in 1903 by thirteen of the local authorities, and has its main office there, with a branch in Edinburgh. The liability of members is limited to an assessment of £50 if necessary in the winding-up of the concern. There is no share-capital, the profits earned and the funds being the property of the policyholders. The management is vested in a board of trustees appointed by the policyholders; the board is governed by articles of association, and chooses a board of management which is in active charge. The association has power to transact any sort of insurance business except life, and, while its principal line is fire insurance, it also accepts some of the simpler casualty risks and acts as broker for such risks as it does not itself accept. Insurers agree to place their risks with the association for a period of five years, becoming entitled to dividends at the end of the fourth year. These dividends for the years 1907-1913 have amounted to £10,000 in the aggregate.

Although the Municipal mutual grants full coverage for any amount and insures (1914) £23,000,000 for some 500 local authorities, it sacrifices about one-half of its premiums for re-insurance. The re-insuring contracts are very liberal, providing for extraordinary losses, insuring the solvency of the re-insuring companies, and granting a commission and a share of the profits to the Mutual. The expense ratio for 1913 was 37 per cent, and the average ratio of losses to net premiums has been 10.5 per cent since inception. The expense ratio will probably become lower as the business increases in size, as there are no competitive expenses. Thus far the growth of this enterprise has been rather slow, due partially to pure

conservatism on the part of the local authorities, and partially to the lack of accumulated funds to act as security.³

The cities of the United States have pursued very diverse policies with regard to the insurance of public buildings. The following methods of meeting this problem are at present in vogue:

1. Partial insurance placed with insurance companies, the amount covered determined by:
 - (a) A percentage of the value of the property, or
 - (b) The fire hazard of each individual risk.
2. No insurance of any kind.
3. Insurance by means of an accumulating municipal fund.
4. Insurance with the companies for practically full value.

The various methods are listed in the order of their prevalence as indicated by replies to inquiries sent to those cities having a population of over 100,000 according to the 1910 census.

PHILADELPHIA.

The municipal fire insurance fund as a method of protection against loss is now in use in a greater or less degree in six of the cities investigated, and the financial officers of several others have expressed themselves as in favor of this scheme. The oldest and most important of these funds is that in Philadelphia, established by an ordinance of councils on March 29, 1904. It was provided that all insurance premiums on property "belonging solely to the city or in which the city is solely interested" should be discontinued, the amount of such premiums to be paid thereafter to the sinking fund commission, to be invested and accumulated until it should reach \$250,000. These accumulations constitute a permanent fire insurance fund to be used for the "repair, rebuilding, and replacement of any real or personal property of the city which may be injured or destroyed by fire or otherwise injured as an incident to such fire or fires." Whenever the fund shall exceed the required amount by \$50,000 the excess is to be applied to the municipal debt. This ordinance was amended in 1911 to cover marine insurance and raise the amount to be accumulated to \$500,000.

The Philadelphia fund on December 31, 1904, had to its credit \$124,157.93, and appropriations have been made by councils since that time as follows:

³The methods of the British funds and of the two insurance companies specializing in municipal insurance are treated in greater detail in Jack, *Fire Insurance and the Municipalities*; London, 1914.

1905	\$25,000
1906	25,000
1907	25,000
1908	45,000
1909	45,000
1910	55,000
1911	45,000
1912	25,000
1913	25,000
1914	25,000

Losses by years have been as follows:

1904	\$1,181.00
1905	74,991.85
1906	20,000.00
1907	2,215.71
1908	2,468.97
1910	5,313.45
1911	47,433.66
1912	10,938.53
1913	2,043.00
1914	8,865.52
Total	<u>\$175,451.69</u>
Average losses	\$15,950.15

The reserve for losses by fire on December 31, 1914, was \$428,603.88.

OTHER CITIES.

Newark, N. J., established an insurance fund in 1905 which had to its credit assets of \$174,732.28 on December 31, 1913. This city still places a portion of its risks with the companies. Richmond, Va., has been accumulating a fund since 1909 from appropriations of \$2,000 made semi-annually. This fund is not to carry the entire risk until it reaches \$100,000, all property except fire engine houses and buildings of fireproof construction being now insured with the companies. The fund has suffered no losses and now amounts to about \$29,000. Providence, R. I., started a fund in 1911, provision being made for the annual appropriation of \$5,000 until the fund amounts to \$50,000. No claims have as yet been made on the fund. Paterson, N. J., has a fund covering fire houses only which has been in operation since 1913, has had no losses, and amounts to nearly \$7,000. Baltimore covers all public property within the city limits by means of a fund created in 1914, to which is appropriated \$10,000 annually. The appropriations are to continue until the fund reaches \$250,000; at present it contains \$35,543.97.

Of the forty cities from which replies were received, nine carry no fire insurance whatsoever;⁴ about two-thirds of the remainder carry

⁴ One of these cities carries fire insurance on a single building, but only in deference to the wishes of the organization which occupies it.

partial insurance with the companies; and a very few approach full insurance. Of the ten largest cities in the United States, five carry no insurance, three have partial insurance with the companies, and two have municipal funds. Some cities insure their more hazardous risks and take no insurance on the less hazardous, some make fireproof or non-fireproof construction the determining factor, while others insure only a certain percentage of the value, from 5 per cent up. Occasionally the city government sees a chance to cut expenses where the public cannot criticize, and refuses to vote the money necessary for premiums.

The highest possible degree of protection against loss by fire is to be obtained, of course, by insurance for full value carried with reliable companies. But this involves the payment of a considerable sum of money in premiums, and it is wholly with a view to saving money that the municipalities have adopted other plans. The basic theory urged in justification is to the effect that the property of a municipality is of sufficient amount and spread over a sufficiently wide area to assure the operation of averages and make the calculation of future losses fairly accurate. Those cities carrying no insurance proceed on the theory that the probability of loss in any one year is so low that such losses as do occur may be met without difficulty by special appropriations, the saving of all insurance expense compensating for these possible burdens.

The cities which maintain funds have erected a sort of buffer to take the shock of large losses and distribute them over a series of years. Those which insure their properties partially with the companies are attempting to relieve the municipality of the greater risks, and occupy probably the least defensible position of any, for the premiums saved are the smallest, and it means a still further restriction in the operation of averages. The principle of varying degrees of hazard cannot be expected to be operative with any great degree of accuracy in a single community. All of these plans make little or no provision for the conflagration hazard, against which even the largest insurance companies must make careful preparation.

A municipality, however, in the event of a disastrous fire can meet the loss by an addition to taxes, which will be of small importance in the individual case, although at a time of conflagration they will be more onerous than usual, or can create an artificial average by means of its borrowing power, spreading the loss over a series of years. It should always be remembered that any departure from full insurance is an assumption of risk, and the question to be decided is whether the premiums saved warrant the risk taken. The answer should be based on expert analysis of conditions and scientific study of data.⁵

⁵ The Prudential Insurance Company of America has issued in connection with its exhibit at the Panama-Pacific Exposition a pamphlet entitled "The Documentary History of Insurance," which readers of Mr. Blanchard's article will find interesting.

SHORT ARTICLES

AMERICAN MUNICIPAL PROGRESS¹

BY THOMAS ADAMS

*Ottawa, Canada*²

THAT there has been real and substantial municipal progress in America in recent years is evident to every visitor to the United States and every reader of current literature on municipal subjects. Americans are beginning to clear themselves of the imputation contained in the statement of Viscount Bryce that municipal government was the one conspicuous failure of the republic. Professor Zueblin's book shows how great are the advances that are being made in civic improvement and organized betterment of municipal conditions in the States.

Although this is a report of the progress of work that has been and is being done, and although the author has not stinted us in regard to statistical information and records of achievement, the book is full of constructive thought and suggestion.

Professor Zueblin's method of interspersing his text at frequent intervals with staccato sentences in which he emphasizes the points he wishes to make as he proceeds, seems at times to jar on the reader, although it has peculiar merits. The conclusions are given with the argument instead of being marshalled at the end of the book and as presented are convenient for reference or quotation. And indeed, there is much in the book that is worth quoting some of it merely because of the way in which it is stated. For instance:

"Adults are like children, destructive until their imaginations are set to work at creation."

"Efficiency is coming to be stated not only in terms of profit and product but of human welfare."

"Riches increase faster than the taste and intelligence to use them."

In stating that the city should conserve its human as well as its natural resources, Professor Zueblin is only expressing the obvious, and yet it is one of the things which needs to be constantly reiterated. Natural resources represent money wealth, and so do property rights. It only requires average intelligence to appreciate the advantage

¹ American Municipal Progress. By Charles Zueblin. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

² Town planning adviser, Commission of Conservation, Canada. Late town planning inspector, Local Government Board of England and Wales.

of conserving these resources and rights. A higher level of intelligence is needed to appreciate the value of conserving human resources for it cannot be effectively done without a greater restraint on individual selfishness and a greater amount of co-operation than the self-styled "practical" man thinks is good for the community. The worship of selfishness, which he calls "liberty," blinds him to the advantages of that restraint and co-operation which are essential to secure democratic efficiency.

The railway station as the city portal has a chapter to itself, and it deserves it, for America has recently made enormous strides in improving its railway terminal facilities. There is no mistaking the author's zeal for municipal ownership of public utilities and he claims and almost convinces the reader that this is needed in order to get good management as well as to eliminate wasteful competition and graft. "No engineering or financial ingenuity," he says, "can conceal the incapacity of the greatest railway men in the country to grasp the social significance of transportation." In spite of cases in which enterprise and efficiency has produced successes in railway management, it is a remarkable fact that there has been shown an appalling degree of short-sightedness and lack of business capacity in connection with railway construction and management. But can we accept municipal control as a desirable alternative without being sure that reliance will be placed on expert officials and that graft will be made a more difficult operation than it is at present? The author's task in showing the weaknesses of the existing system is easier of accomplishment than that of giving confidence in the alternative of municipal ownership, under the political system now in vogue. What we may regard as sound principles have to give way in so many instances to our lack of confidence in the kind of machinery that is available to apply them. American municipal progress has been great; how much greater might it not have been if the public and the legislators could have proceeded to do what they regarded as the proper thing, without having in their minds the probable character of the administrators?

From the description of the great terminals at Washington and New York and the transportation improvements at Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, etc., the author passes to the consideration of the city streets. Street widths and street decoration are dealt with. Next comes consideration of the city wastes and public health.

What will probably prove in time to be the most valuable contributions of the present generation of municipal administrators and reformers to civic progress in America, are their achievements in regard to improvement of public health conditions of cities, in the supply of water, the disposal of sewage, dealing with vital statistics, infant welfare, general public cleanliness, etc. Gradually the remedy of existing bad conditions is being accomplished as this book shows; indeed, it may not be a far cry

to the time when the municipal legislator will learn the old fashioned truth that prevention is cheaper than cure. Mr. Zueblin touches on a matter of great importance in the opening words of his chapter on water and sewerage when he says that "The waste of water in American cities is one reason for the toleration of an inferior water supply. . . . Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Chicago furnish over 200 gallons per capita per day, Buffalo and Salt Lake City over 300." In an English city from 25 to 50 gallons per capita is the estimated consumption. With conservation methods it should not be more than double the largest of these figures in America.

While the statement of the author—that the protection of property has been considered as much more important than the saving of life—may be largely true, it is remarkable the extent to which this book itself indicates a change towards a more altruistic attitude both on the part of government bodies and individuals. Human life is becoming more highly valued and the "license" of the property owner to do as he chooses no matter how the health or property of others may suffer from his actions, is no longer so strongly entrenched behind the dictum of the courts. The term "general welfare" in the police power of the States had been largely ignored in legal circles until quite recently, but recent decisions indicate that even the courts are beginning to recognize that "rights" may be interpreted in terms of humanity as well as terms of property.

This book necessarily covers so wide a field that it is impossible to do more than touch very briefly on some of the extensive series of questions with which it deals. Improvement in methods and administration of education and educational institutions, recreation facilities, take up several chapters and would by themselves form an instructive volume. Here again there is evidence of a steady advance along the right lines—the development of character rather than the giving of mere instruction appears to be the direction in which educational work is tending.

In his chapter on city planning, the author describes the plans, and the process of growth of some of the chief American cities in the following categories: Seaports, river cities, hill cities, prairie cities. Two of his dicta require to be read together and thought about.

(1) "The unobstructed tree-lined vista of the American street is America's chief contribution to city making" (page 10).

(2) "Pasadena tries to make up in profuse planting for its monotonous planning" (page 330).

The social functions of the city are dealt with in the order of business, communication, public life, residence and recreation. The great part played by housing improvement in British and Canadian town planning with which I have had experience, always makes me disappointed with an American review of this subject. In the chapter on city planning,

one and a half pages are given to "bill boards" and the housing question is dismissed in about 15 lines relating to preserving residential districts. Surely there is no matter connected with city life which is more important, or the improvement of which is more involved in the planning of the city than that of housing. To plan extensions of towns and cities so that many of the existing insanitary and expensive housing conditions can be *prevented* is one of the biggest problems before American cities to-day. In relation to it has to be considered transportation, adjustment of cost of local improvements to cost of dwelling, variation in width of streets, land values, system of municipal taxation, degree of density of building, etc.

Professor Zueblin might have left out that over-done comparison of the Briton and the German with the usual compliment to the efficiency of the latter. Americans have yet to learn that Britain offers us the best example of municipal government applicable to a democracy. Britain has certainly not muddled its municipal institutions. The much paraded German efficiency is responsible for the housing of 32,000 inhabitants per square kilometre in Berlin as against 15,000 in London, for 45 per cent of back-dwellings in Berlin, for a tuberculosis death rate in Berlin half as great again as that in London, and for a proportion of 17 per cent of illegitimate births in Berlin, as against 5 per cent in London. German efficiency in Berlin makes only 19 per cent of its young men born in Berlin, of Berlin parents, fit for service.³

When British cities are declared by Dr. Powers to be managed at a cost of 40 per cent less per capita than American cities there can be little muddling. Personally I have seen a good deal of municipal government and so-called efficiency in management and I have yet to see anything so clean, economical and efficient as British local government. I speak of the United Kingdom and not of Canada for the latter is like the "States" in that it is still experimenting with "systems."

One dangerous phrase is used towards the end of the book namely—"Home rule is indispensable to municipal efficiency." The author must know that there can be no such thing in practice as "home rule" for a city, in the sense of freeing the city from state jurisdiction, if that is his meaning. His book is full of proofs of the advantage and the necessity for joint action between the city and the state—all the more needed if they are to control public utilities. He speaks of Galveston having "cemented its relation to state and nation by building a concrete causeway." He refers to the difficulties of unification in regard to transit in metropolitan New York and Boston, and in regard to sewerage in metropolitan Chicago. The word "metropolitan," as used to designate the mother-city and its off-spring, cannot exist in a home rule vocabulary. Toledo's lack of home rule in its streets, is not want of freedom from state control; it is want of freedom from interference from the courts. Co-operation and a right adjustment of relationship between

³ "Dwellings in Berlin," by T. C. Horsfall, *Town Planning Review*, July, 1915.

the city and the state is what is required, with an expert board attached to the state to administer municipal affairs. Only with such co-operation can legal interference with the affairs of local government and the undue influence of vested interests in property be fought.

Home rule in a city may be more practicable under an autocratic government, because the rule of the city can be placed in the hands of expert dictators. In no democratic state, however, can there be anything approaching a full measure of home rule for cities without the sacrifice of efficiency.

The state is largely concerned in the maintenance of constitutional rights of individuals, subject to the superior powers of the supreme courts, and the city cannot effectively control private interests in property and public utilities without the assistance of the state. The state is also the proper authority to deal with a situation which involves the joint action of two or more local authorities, or which arise out of differences between these authorities.

It would seem to be inevitable and desirable that there should be state control over city government, but it should be an essential part of the state machinery to have an expert department of municipal affairs so that local questions could be settled on principle and by men with adequate knowledge and skill to deal with the problems involved. The present impatience of city governments with the interference of state governments may be due to the fact that local questions are settled by amateur legislators without the assistance of expert advice. In that respect the British system with its Local Government Board as a central advisory body has worked smoothly and efficiently and is worthy of careful study.

My admiration for this book is none the less because I have ventured to express some criticism of the author's point of view on one or two questions. The book will be of great service to anyone desirous of obtaining a general review of American municipal progress. The writer tells his story in a pleasant and impressive way, and with not a little humour.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT¹

BY HOWARD STRONG

Minneapolis

ONE is inclined to undertake the review of a book of this character with a firmly established prejudice. So much has been written on this subject which is inadequate, so many solemnly enunciated principles have been proven impractical or erroneous, so little has been put forward in standard form by those who really know; that one views with suspicion any attempt at encompassing in the

¹Community Development. By Frank Farrington. New York: Ronald Press Co., 20 Vesey St. \$1.50.

space of two hundred and fifty pages an adequate conception of the organization or conduct of a civic or commercial body in a town or city. One's prejudices, however, begin to weaken with the reading of the introduction on "how to make use of this book," and the first two or three chapters bring the conviction that Mr. Farrington has here presented a volume which shows a keen insight into the problems of the community organization.

Whether or not Mr. Farrington has organized half a dozen commercial clubs, has been secretary of each of them in turn, and has solved one after another of their problems, I do not know, but if he has not, he possesses an almost unbelievable capacity for placing himself in the position of the man who has. He does not present the problems from the standpoint of the member who has had a casual acquaintance with his commercial club, but he takes the position of the secretary who has found it necessary to understand the psychology of the average citizen, to see his viewpoint, and through this understanding to turn the natural interests of the average citizen to account for the welfare of his community. This excerpt from Mr. Farrington's chapter on organizing a commercial club adequately illustrates the keen insight which he possesses into the mental process of the human animal as a potential commercial club factor:

It is the necessity for getting the right man at the head of the commercial club that makes it advisable that such an organization be formed in the first place on a cut-and-dried plan. Instead of calling together all the business men of the community and forming an organization off-hand in an open meeting with no advance plans, there should be a private caucus held previous to the organization meeting.

This caucus, an informal gathering of half a dozen of the business men best suited to judge of the wisest ways and means and best able to select the appropriate officers, should arrange the entire procedure of the first meeting before it is called for the purpose of organizing. Every detail should be planned in advance, down to who shall make each motion and who shall second it. Nothing should be left to chance.

There are two reasons for these careful advance plans. One is that in no other way can sufficient judgment be exercised to secure a wise organization, and the other is that without this prearrangement there will be a dull meeting with everything hanging fire and no snap or go or enthusiasm. Every one will sit still and wait for some one else to do the talking, and after electing the oldest merchant in town as president, the meeting will adjourn and the men will go home with cold feet, leaving another merchants' association well started on its way to the commercial club graveyard.

Advance plans, however, should be kept quiet. If the club starts off with an idea on the part of its members that the organizing has been done by a clique, there will be a feeling that the club is going to be run by the few and for the benefit of the few, and no one will be satisfied.

The officers should be chosen solely with a view to their fitness for the work at hand, and care should be taken to avoid selecting all the officers from any known business group, or church, or fraternal organization.

While the organization should be effected by prearranged and even secret plans, concealment should stop right there and everything should be open and above board. The club must be run on the square.

The first part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the characteristics of the average small town. Mr. Farrington emphasizes particularly the opportunities which it possesses over its larger neighbors, of which advantage must be taken as capital to be used by the commercial club. This is the pith of his argument:

While no town is likely to become the perfect ideal, still in town building as in character building, the tendency must be toward the ideal. The small town possesses an opportunity not possessed by the city for developing ideal conditions. A high average of citizenship is more nearly possible in the small town than in the city, because there is less tendency toward the extremes of society. There is not the opportunity to become superlatively rich, and there is not the opportunity to live a superlatively depraved life without being known to do so. Every one in the small town knows who are the very poor and help can go straight to the mark. Every one knows who are those of the lowest moral stratum and there, too, help can be directed aright. Work to develop a high community average of character is simple and direct in the small town, while in the city it is more likely to be complicated and roundabout. Just as a small business can more easily be handled so as to produce a proper profit than a large business with many ramifications, so the smaller town can more easily than the city be made to develop upward tendencies.

He then discusses a possible procedure which can be followed in building the commercial organization, the essential details which are likely to lead to success, already indicated in the first quotation. The following quotation indicates his appreciation of what actually occurs in almost every organization and its inevitable results:

Canvass the town thoroughly and give every one an opportunity, but let every one who refuses be left in such a mental attitude as will make it easy to renew the request later. Instead of saying sarcastically, "Oh, well, if you don't want to help along the good of the town, of course you don't need to do it," say, "Of course you know best what you want to do and if you don't feel like joining now, let it go. Perhaps later you will have more time for it. We will hope to have you with us some day, and even if you don't join, we know you are in sympathy with our work." It is very likely that a few more members might be secured at the time of the canvass by using the more strenuous means of semi-compulsion, but the eventual development and usefulness of the organization is best subserved by the more politic method and that will in the end produce the largest membership. . . .

After the organization is well started it is better to let the effort to secure members fall into the background for a time, giving the public an opportunity to join by extending a general invitation to a meeting now and then with the request to come prepared to join, but omitting urgent solicitation. The organization will be the more successful for

making it in some degree a privilege to be a member than it will if there is no one in town who has not been hounded about the matter until weary of it.

The book then devotes several chapters to a discussion of actual plans which may be followed by the community organization for the development or improvement of its town. One who has been a student of organization methods immediately recognizes in these suggestions plans which have borne the test of actual experience and which have been repeatedly successful. It is this part of the book which is perhaps of greatest value. Enough of a program is suggested here, almost every part of which is adaptable to the average town, to keep any commercial club busy for several years, and the fruition of these plans could not but bring the result for which every properly organized community body seeks. The underlying principles which should govern the sort of things which may properly be undertaken by the commercial club is well suggested in the following paragraphs:

If the commercial club or the village improvement society could decide amicably to use its influence on the right side of a local option election, it obviously might help to bring about better local conditions; but the attempt to use such an organization as a means of promulgating the doctrines of license or no-license would probably produce more ill feeling and cause more antagonism to its future work in all lines than would be offset by any possible good it might accomplish in the actual excise election.

In the same way, where the community becomes divided on one of those questions that sometimes do upset the equilibrium of a village to the extent of dividing churches and separating families, it is better to leave all discussion of the matter out of the organization. Where the two sides in a fight for a new high school building, or a sewer system, or a paved street cannot see anything good in each other's position, and where there is every form of fight over the question save actual physical warfare and the throwing of bricks, the subject may well be omitted from the councils of the improvement society or the commercial club.

Mr. Farrington is particularly fortunate in his discussion of successful methods which may be used in the industrial development of a town:

. . . It has, however, been demonstrated time and again that to hire a broken-down manufacturing concern to move into a village by giving it a bonus in one form or another is not necessarily wise.

. . . The man who will accept a handicap, . . . in order to secure a little financial aid, is not usually a good risk. The kind of assistance that is most practical and that the responsible as well as the irresponsible manufacturer sometimes wants, is capital. The commercial club can perhaps afford to employ an expert to investigate the actual facts about the applicant and then give these facts to the local capitalist who should be willing to advance money to the enterprise on security thus demonstrated to be worth while. If the commercial club cannot after in-

vestigation indorse the concern, then it is better that it go to some other place to locate for the short time it will last.

. . . The introduction of alien labor will inevitably have the effect of weakening the moral fiber of the community and of causing a definite deterioration of its institutions. Something more than the financial side of the question should be considered.

Before advertising a town as wanting manufacturing plants, there should be a painstaking consideration of the question of whether it has any advantages to offer to such a business, whether indeed it is not handicapped to such an extent by location that no concern worth having would move there.

If manufacturing or other industries are desired, the boosters of the village should find out first of all for what their community is particularly fitted—what kind of industry it will serve best, and what kind will best serve it.

Mr. Farrington's book is rounded out with a somewhat detailed discussion of the people of the town and the function which various prominent professions can well perform in the community's growth. His appreciation of the attitude which the town's people must hold toward their own community is well epitomized:

Any community whose citizens, or any considerable proportion of them, insist on standing on the side-lines and criticizing the work of the players, will be a failure as a team proposition. It may perhaps afford amusement for the time being to the critics who do not realize that they are damaging their own interests by their attitude, but it can never attain the prosperity or advancement it should. Who ever knew of the success of any athletic team when some of the members regarded the rest of the team as "They"? All business successes are built on a "We" rather than on a "They" basis. The keynote to a boy's business character and possibilities is usually found in the length of time it takes him to get the habit of talking about his employer's force as "We."

There are two classes of citizens in the town—useful citizens and others. The others are they who talk to their fellow inhabitants about "Your streets," "Your churches," "Your schools," "Your village."

It is usually assumed that the reviewer has not done his duty unless he has found much in his subject to criticize. In this instance criticism must in general be based rather upon the emphasis which is laid on some principles than upon actual disagreement with these principles.

Mr. Farrington is a little inclined perhaps to leave the impression that the function of the business man's community organization is largely commercial; that the civic, social and moral uplift of the community may be left to the women. He says that "The idea that the women's organization has nothing to do with the business men's and that the men should take entire charge of that part of the work is a mistaken one," but he does not give the converse of the proposition which is that even as the women may be expected to be interested in the commercial development of the town, so the men must be held responsible for its civic and social

development. He suggests separate organizations; the commercial club for the men of the community and an improvement association which will have charge of the civic and social development of the community, and which will be left largely to the tender mercies of the feminine contingency. I can see no reason why the commercial club should not include both men and women members, and in its activities embrace both commercial and civic advancement.

In only one instance can I seriously disagree with Mr. Farrington. He proposes that under some circumstances the community organization take part in insuring the election of good men to office. I believe experience indicates that this function cannot be performed by the organization, which, in seeking the development of its community, must work in harmony with public officials no matter how or what they may be. The organization which passes on the merits of candidates must be an entirely separate organization from the commercial club, and the men who are prominent in the one must not be over-prominent in the other.

The book might be somewhat shortened without the loss of valuable material. The same subjects are occasionally discussed in two or three separate chapters, and some condensation with the addition of a topical index would make it a little more practical as a text book and more valuable for reference.

The book can be recommended not only to small towns and villages, but to large cities which are contemplating the organization or re-organization of their community bodies, and not only to those citizens who are already conducting successful organizations in small towns, but also to citizens in large cities as well.²

CIVIC CO-OPERATION: THE INDUSTRIAL CLUB PLAN

BY ANGUS S. HIBBARD¹

Chicago

THE Industrial club of Chicago, in an endeavor to provide a practical opportunity for participation in civic helpfulness by a large number of citizens, about nine months ago presented to the mayor of Chicago a plan for civic co-operation.

In this it was proposed, first, that the police, health and public works Departments of the city should work together in carrying out ordinances

²The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW has published the following articles dealing with the same general subject, which readers of Mr. Strong's article will find interesting:

The Modern Chamber of Commerce, Ryerson Ritchie, Vol. I, p. 161; The Houston Chamber of Commerce, Jerome H. Farbar, Vol. II, p. 104; A Community Secretary, Graham Taylor, Vol. IV, p. 281.

¹Chairman, committee on civic co-operation of the Industrial Club of Chicago.

relating to health, sanitation, fire prevention and police protection; and, second, that accredited citizens should be furnished with a summary of city ordinances and a card of credentials signed by the necessary authorities and indorsed by the club, requesting them to assist and co-operate with these authorities in bringing about desired results. The selection and approval of civic co-operators was left in the hands of the Industrial club, an organization of about eighty business men of Chicago.

The plan was approved by the mayor and the co-ordination of the city departments was brought about under his direction, so that all policemen in the city are instructed to enforce the ordinances referred to, as well as criminal ordinances. A summary of the ordinances was prepared by the city and put into the hands of policemen and ordered to be made a part of their equipment. The department of health located a sanitary inspector in each of the 45 police stations, which were made the centers of these forty-five districts for police-sanitary purposes.

The appointment of a chairman in each district was then taken up by the club and about November, 1915, the enlistment of civic co-operators began. The movement has been extended gradually through improvement associations, business men's clubs, church clubs and similar bodies. The plan proposes that there shall be at least one civic co-operator in each city block who will undertake to look out particularly for that one block and interest as many as possible of the neighbors in the Co-operator work. These co-operators undertake for themselves to observe the ordinances and regulations relating to sanitation, fire prevention, police protection, etc., and by example and suggestion to bring about their observance by others and for that purpose to aid and as requested to report to or call upon the city authorities to secure their enforcement. This means that a civic co-operator, observing an ordinance violation, is expected either to bring it to the attention of the person who has caused it, or to report it to a policeman on the beat or by telephone or mail to the police station in the district in which it occurs. If the situation is not remedied within a reasonable time, the co-operator is to report the violation to the chairman of the co-operators in the district in which it occurred. If not then promptly attended to, the chairman is expected to take the matter up with the captain of police in the district. If it should happen in any case that the police captain fails to act, the district chairman is instructed to take the matter up with the general chairman of the civic co-operation committee of the club, who has been asked by the mayor to take up directly with him any such failure.

Thus it is designed to set up a large volunteer body of citizens on a well organized plan, to work in conjunction with their neighbors and with the authorities in bringing about correction, principally of what may be called minor violations of ordinances which, however, in the aggregate bring about uncontrollable conditions. The work primarily relates to

the bettering of conditions in streets, alleys and public ways, and to some extent in private premises. An experience of a few months has shown that not only such conditions but many others have been successfully undertaken by co-operators. Although the present enrollment is but few over 3000, the reports received indicate that the plan is succeeding and is making possible practical co-operative work by citizens which is of immediate and actual benefit.

The latest pamphlet issued by the committee on co-operation contains many examples taken from co-operators' reports, such as:

Engine and concrete mixer left in street after the completion of a building; reported by telephone; obstruction removed and the street cleaned up the following day.

Tool shanty left in street after completion of an apartment house; contracting firm called by telephone; promised to remove it; this was done the same day.

Neighbor depositing garbage on the curbstone; policeman notified; garbage removed at once.

Asked neighbors to assist in removing ice from sidewalks; was surprised at the hearty response.

Zone of quiet suggested in the neighborhood of churches during services; general order issued by superintendent of police to accomplish this.

Janitor shaking rugs on sidewalk was shown co-operator card; promised not to do it again.

Boys building bonfire in alley; showed them card; they put out the fire.

Stopped several cases of spitting in street cars and improper dumping of ashes, and secured removal of dead animals since receiving co-operator card.

Stopped boys breaking street signs, hitching on railway trains, building bonfires, and stealing grain from boxcars; helped a neighbor who had been cheated by a tradesman; stopped a peddler from beating horses.

Stopped a woman throwing feathers in alley, and children from building a fire near a wooden fence.

Assisted a man who fell and broke his leg; policeman in charge of ambulance thanked me and was glad to see my card.

Persuaded building contractor to remove large and objectionable pile of manure.

Reported holes in street to railway surface supervisor; immediate action was taken.

Reported dead animal to policeman; removed in few hours; also secured help of neighbors in clearing walk of ice and snow.

Several street and alley conditions reported and at once corrected by ward superintendent; gave him my card number.

Sanitary violation and defective sidewalk reported; gave my number.

Reported intoxicated person on elevated platform to ticket agent when alighting from the next station; action was secured when co-operator card was shown.

Broken glass being thrown in sewer by porter; immediately stopped by proprietor when co-operator card was shown.

Neighbor shown card; corrected unsanitary conditions in back yard; also assisted in keeping walks clear of ice.

Wagons removed from sidewalk by appealing to police; also large manure boxes which had long been a nuisance.

Disorderly pool room reported to police sergeant; condition remedied same day and the thanks of neighbors received.

Man stopped throwing ashes in alley when shown my card.

Condition in alley reported to policeman who promised to take care of it and asked if I was a co-operator. Said I was not, and he told me I had better join; I wish to be enrolled.

The Industrial club furnishes to each co-operator a summary of the ordinances of the city relating to sanitation, health, fire prevention and police protection, and has offered to the superintendent of schools and the board of education of Chicago to furnish a sufficient number of these ordinance summaries for use in the public schools to make it possible to teach the city's ordinances and laws relating to these civic conditions to students in upper grades of common schools and in the high schools of the city. It is the belief that if one of these ordinances may be the subject of a brief lesson each day the younger generation can be given the opportunity to become more appreciative of the city's laws and become more law-abiding and helpful in civic endeavor.

The movement, which is now fairly established in Chicago, has been brought to a point where an extended growth is anticipated and this will be developed by presentation of the plan to organizations of every kind in which the members are interested in city betterment. All of the city departments are working with the co-operator movement in the heartiest manner, and no case has yet been reported in which they have failed to respond promptly. The committee believes that it may hope to provide the opportunity to a large number of citizens in Chicago to become a real and practical force for civic betterment, without expense to themselves but only with the intention and effort to improve conditions around them by enrollment as Civic Co-operators.

DEVELOPING A SOCIAL BETTERMENT PROGRAM AS A BUSINESS PROPOSITION

BY EUGENIUS H. OUTERBRIDGE

New York

IN THE evolution of municipal government certain tendencies have become so marked in recent years that they may now be said to represent not only an expression of the ideals and definite desires of municipal communities, but also the policy of municipal administrations. Among the most marked of these tendencies is that which is

called the program for the social betterment of the conditions in which the wage earning classes live. Education, health, transportation, recreation and sanitation may be said broadly to cover the subject headings under which the social improvement program is developed, upon which vast sums of money are expended and for the extension and improvement of which there is a constantly increasing demand. That this is good in itself is indisputable, but that the struggle for its accomplishment leads to some embarrassing, and indeed unfortunate, results is equally true.

The trend of education is to turn out thousands of young men and women grounded in an education which, intentionally or otherwise, turns their thoughts and aspirations towards what they consider a higher field of endeavor for their life's work than manual or trade work. The number which continue their studies after leaving the public schools, with the view of adopting some profession or specializing in higher knowledge, is but a very small proportion of the whole. Much the larger proportion at once seek to enter what may be broadly called commercial life. They not only have no desire, but are distinctly averse to seeking pursuits elsewhere than in large towns or cities. The whole social program of municipal government is calculated to intensify the trend of people towards towns and cities and the educational system to create in them the desire to find their future employment in the towns and cities. The result is that at all times, whatever the conditions of business, however active and prosperous general conditions may be, there is an overwhelmingly large supply of young men and women seeking employment, their numbers far exceeding the number of available situations. There is perhaps no other labor market in the world where there is always such an excess of supply as that in the towns and cities seeking commercial occupations.

The social program is one of the largest items in the budget of every municipality and the expenditures on its behalf continue annually to turn out elements in our cities, who in turn continually press for an expansion of the program, and so the budgets of municipalities grow and grow and the burden of taxation increases, while among this vast army seeking employment there grows coincidentally a sense of disappointment and unrest because their opportunities are not what they expected and their compensation relatively the lowest because of the excess of the supply.

Should this question not be considered a business question?

How would a business man or corporation set about seeking a market for its products?

Any merchant or manufacturer who continued to increase his productive capacities, investing continually larger sums in production, while remaining passive in developing outlets for it, would in time necessarily reach bankruptcy.

Municipalities, at a constantly increasing capital expenditure, have been steadily increasing their production and output of individuals thrown upon the market educated to seek, in a general way, a certain line of employment, and as yet have made little or no coincident endeavor as a municipal program to find a market for the production, resulting in many municipalities having reached a high cost of administration which, if not approaching bankruptcy, has at least led to a high level of taxation and an addition to the high cost of living, which has an important, and, in some ways, disastrous reflex action upon the happiness, contentment and prosperity of its citizens.

What then should be done to rectify these difficulties which have become so clearly apparent to students of municipal problems? Should not the municipality, like the merchant or the manufacturer, adopt as a part of its municipal program the creation of facilities calculated to attract to it industries which would furnish employment, and therefore provide a market for the surplus products of the municipal social program?

Such a policy would have at least a two-fold advantage: It would be not only finding a market for the employment of these surplus products of humanity, but it would be increasing the city's income by the development of the taxable values of the property which the attracted industries would create. Heretofore this work of attracting industries to communities has been almost exclusively by private efforts of individuals or commercial organizations, and but few municipalities have made it a distinctive part of municipal policy and administration.

Municipal governments have heretofore given much more thought as to how much they could raise existing taxable values than to how much they could normally and naturally develop values for taxation by attracting capital and enterprise for industrial development.

It is not the purpose of this article to attempt to define the many ways in which such a suggested municipal policy might be worked out. Localities and conditions vary so widely as to make it almost a local problem in each case. The purpose is merely to suggest the idea for consideration and discussion—whether such a method of stimulating municipal income and providing a market for the human output of municipal social endeavor should not form as important a part of municipal government as any other, and be provided for by the creation of a bureau or department equipped with men of trained business experience to plan and develop such a policy; and would not capital expended by municipalities in this direction tend to become at least self-supporting, if not a source of new income and profit, materially helping to carry the cost of the social program which, as at present administered, tends rather to increase than to reduce the cost of municipal life and administration.

THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF CLEVELAND

BY RAYMOND MOLEY

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CLEVELAND was one of the first of the great cities to follow the example of Chicago in reconstructing its courts to meet the needs of modern city life. For many years the justice court disposed of all minor civil business. All the evils which attend the survival of the city justice court were present in Cleveland intensified by the fact that many justices elected in rural districts maintained offices within the city. This was made possible by the provisions of the state constitution giving a justice jurisdiction coterminous with the country. To put an end to their activity a committee of the chamber of commerce prepared a municipal court bill which passed the legislature. The municipal court of Cleveland began its work on January 1, 1912.

The court is not a part of the city administration. The supreme court of Ohio has held it to be a state court. Yet its efficiency is increased by certain correlations with city departments. For example, its police prosecutors are appointed by the city solicitor and are officially his assistants. Police officers are ex-officio bailiffs of the court and all deputy clerks and bailiffs are subject to the civil service of the city.

Its original civil jurisdiction covers all actions for the recovery of money or personal property when the amount claimed does not exceed \$1,000 and all actions on contracts when the amount involved does not exceed \$2,500. Jurisdiction extends to all such cases when one or both of the parties are residents of Cleveland. The court has criminal jurisdiction of all misdemeanors and violations of city ordinances. In felonies it has the jurisdiction of the examining magistrate.

There are ten judges, one of whom is chief justice. The latter receives a salary of \$5,000; each of his associates \$4,500. The chief justice is the administrative head of the court. He presides at all meetings of the judges, has full charge of the classification and assignment of cases, requires reports from the judges, and prepares an annual report. The judges are required to meet monthly in a body for the discussion of business; to prescribe forms and establish systems of docketry and recording. Perhaps their most important and unique power is that by which they make rules for their own procedure. The clerk is elected by popular vote for a term of four years. The city council determines the number of deputies and the clerk appoints them from an eligible list prepared by the civil service commission. The bailiff and his deputies

are taken from the classified civil service lists of the city and are appointed by the judges of the court. Their number is determined by the judges.

The act provides that all causes shall be tried by the court unless a jury is demanded. A municipal court jury consists of six members unless the parties agree upon a smaller number. Either party may demand twelve, however. In civil actions a verdict is rendered upon the concurrence of three fourths of the jury. A wise and economical method of providing juries has been devised by the chief justice. A list of available citizens is kept with the names of the most desirable at the head. When demanded a jury can be summoned on short notice by mail or telephone. This system is in marked contrast to the Chicago method of keeping a number of juries on hand at all times. Thousands of dollars in fees are saved by the Cleveland method.

A statistician is employed by the court who assists the chief justice in keeping his records and in preparing the annual report. The possibilities and advantages of accurate records are obvious. In estimating the work of the court the records of four years are available.

The chief justice is designated as the administrative head of the court. He may permit or require judges to specialize in certain classes of cases by the exercise of his duty of assigning cases. He may eliminate waste by directing judicial energy to the point where it is most needed. The bailiffs are subject to the supervision of the judges and likewise the police when they are acting as municipal court bailiffs. The chief justice has no control over the clerk's office.

The criminal branch of the court differs in that it has one judge instead of two and a larger number of prosecutors and probation officers. Scientific police court methods are perhaps as highly developed in Cleveland as in any American city. Every effort is made to conserve judicial energy by settling difficulties out of court. A system of dealing with complaints by bringing the parties together in a prosecutor's office eliminates hundreds of unnecessary trials. A personal bond system has practically driven the professional bondsmen out of business in Cleveland.

Judges are nominated individually by petition or may be placed in nomination by a party at a primary. The names of all nominees then appear at election on a non-partisan judicial ballot. A provision in the constitution of Ohio makes necessary the election of all court clerks. An effort has been made to bring the clerk under the control of the judges by providing that the chief justice should also be clerk. This was a failure because of the opposition of powerful political influence.

The need of a commercial court was the motive which first prompted the chamber of commerce to interest itself in creating a city court. To determine whether this need had been met, a list of questions was mailed by the chamber to all the leading law firms of Cleveland. Nearly all of the replies spoke in high terms of its efficiency in commercial cases.

Perhaps the most important problem which municipal courts must solve is the disposition of the great number of small civil suits which arise in the complex life of the great city. Grave injustice is done when inferior courts do not care for the difficulties of the poor man simply, speedily and at a small cost.

The Cleveland court is not self-sustaining. The actual cost of maintaining it above all receipts has in two years amounted to more than \$100,000. The Chicago court finished its first year with a surplus of \$8,000. The friends of the Cleveland court are disposed to point with some pride to the contrast in this respect. They hold that if the civil branch is to maintain well paid judges ministering to rich and poor alike and the criminal branch to concern itself with correction and probation rather than fines there is no reason to expect a surplus. In a letter to a committee of Cleveland judges, Ex-President Taft said in this connection: "The giving to poor litigants the opportunity to defend or prosecute with least expense is one of the objects for which I think the receipts from general taxation may well be spent."

The rules of procedure adopted by the judges of the court are few and simple. No case can fail for lack of form. The litigant who invokes the aid of the court can easily comprehend the procedure by which the equity of his claim is determined. With or without the aid of a lawyer he may bring the aid of a great institution to collect his just dues.

The speed with which business is done may be judged by the fact that the court at this writing is less than two weeks behind its docket. If so desired a case may be set for a week after it is filed. Another quality that should go with speed is finality of judgment. Cases decided in the municipal court cannot be appealed except for error. This finality of judgment is necessary if the poor man is to cope on equal terms with his wealthier antagonist. During the first two years of the court's operation a total of 23,363 cases were filed. Of these, 325 were appealed in error. Of these, only 66 were reversed, a total of only one fourth of 1 per cent of the cases filed.

Cost schedules in force in most courts are suggestive of days where means of communication were primitive and labor saving devices unknown. The Cleveland judges have devised a schedule of fees based upon the actual cost of services performed. Many suggestions have been made that all fees in such courts should be abolished. Ex-President Taft in the letter quoted above says: "I lean very strongly toward abolishing all fees and having the court maintained by general taxation; especially such a court as yours." Louis D. Brandeis and Senator LaFollette have concurred in this belief. Constitutional difficulties stand in the way of abolishing fees in Ohio so the policy is followed of paying all fixed charges such as salaries, rent and supplies, from general taxation and fixing fees at the actual cost of the services which the filing of the cause

lation come in contact with the courts and common sense tribunals like this must be a potent factor in elevating the bench and bar to its former good graces in public opinion.

The movement which ended in the creation of the municipal court of Cleveland began in a monumental protest against the iniquities of the justice courts. Besides putting an end to these inadequate minor courts it has grown to meet the particular problems of a metropolitan community. It is a well organized machine in which centralized authority means efficiency in the transaction of a great volume of business. It provides wise and effective means for adjusting an unscientific criminal law to the new conditions of city life. It supplies the need for a commercial tribunal in a great industrial community and it disposes of a tremendous volume of petty litigation simply, rapidly, and at a nominal cost to litigants. Such favorable beginnings should justify the belief that Cleveland is well on the way toward the solution of a very real and vital problem.

WOMEN VOTERS IN CANADIAN CITIES

BY STUART CAMERON MCLEOD, PH.D.¹

New York City

SUPPORTERS as well as opponents of the equal suffrage movement in this country not infrequently attempt to base arguments on both sides of the question upon the experience of the Canadian cities, but, as a matter of fact, the practice of the Canadian municipalities can throw little if any light upon the probable effects of the abolition of sex lines in our own franchise laws on account of other fundamental differences which render it exceedingly difficult to draw sound comparisons between the voting qualifications of the two countries.

In Canada, the municipal franchise is essentially a tax-paying franchise and, while there are numerous differences in the detailed application of this plan, the municipal voters' list is universally compiled from the assessment roll and it is in municipal affairs only that the duty of voting has been imposed upon women. In provincial and national elections where the franchise is of what is commonly called the universal type, with registration provisions not unlike our own, voting is restricted to males. Viewed either from the standpoint of theory or of practice the admission of women to a logically limited franchise is an entirely different proposition from the universal enfranchisement of women as a class,

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involving, as it would, a proportionate increase in the total number of inefficient and unqualified voters as well as of the properly equipped.

The history of the development of the Canadian municipal franchise parallels the expansion of the field of local taxation. The early city charters enfranchised only the resident freeholders and for many years this class constituted the city electorate which probably accounts for the erroneous impression not infrequently encountered that the Canadian municipal franchise is essentially a property owning franchise. As other forms of wealth were incorporated into the expanding systems of taxation their owners were admitted to the franchise on the same basis as the owners of real property, on the theory that the individuals who bore the expense of city government would probably discharge the task of choosing its administrators in the most satisfactory manner. To-day, the city franchise, while differing somewhat from province to province, includes not only those persons assessed as owners or occupants of real estate but also those assessed in respect of personal property or income, persons paying a business tax and in some cases even a poll tax. The true nature of the franchise is evidenced in the fact that in several provinces corporations who can comply with these requirements are entitled to a vote in municipal elections. Residence requirements which were at one time universal have been generally abandoned in the case of owners of real property and this has created a potential class of non-resident and plural voters of considerable proportions if not of great activity.

Women were admitted to this franchise in most of the provinces between 1880 and 1890 although in British Columbia they have been eligible since 1873. In most of the provinces only unmarried women and widows are eligible, but in British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba all women are admitted provided of course they can meet the other qualifications. The difference is not of great importance because as a rule very few married women are independent taxpayers and in fact the proportion of female voters in those provinces which admit all women is if anything smaller than in those where only single women are eligible, a fact probably accounted for by the preponderance of males in the population of the western provinces.

NUMBER OF WOMEN VOTERS

The number of women who possess the required voting qualifications is not large in any of the provinces. It is somewhat difficult to secure absolutely accurate statistics in this particular as no separate lists are kept for the women voters but on the reports of city officials and from counts made of several voters' lists it would appear that women constitute on the average between 15 and 20 per cent of the total qualified electorate. The city of New Westminster, B. C., reports about 20 per cent while Vancouver in the same province reports only 10 per cent.

Regina, Saskatchewan, has between 20 and 25 per cent and Saskatoon only 10 per cent. The city of Toronto shows 12 per cent while London in the same province has 22 and Kingston 18 per cent. From many cities the number of women voters was reported as negligible, estimates running as low as 5 per cent in some cases.

These figures possess a certain significance in connection with the "taxation without representation" argument frequently advanced on behalf of the equal suffrage propaganda since they demonstrate pretty conclusively that the number of women taxpayers in the Canadian cities is relatively small and scarcely large enough to justify the enfranchisement of the whole class. In local affairs, at least, where the taxpayers are directly charged with the cost of public administration, it would not seem unreasonable to suppose that the most efficient electorate might be recruited from the tax-paying class. This principle, however, has never been generally applied in the American cities and even if we accept the somewhat doubtful economic doctrine of the shifting of a real property tax to the renters, it is still true that in most cases our city governments are chosen by an electorate composed for the most part of individuals who pay nothing or practically nothing toward defraying the cost of local administration and who consequently are not personally affected by its extravagance or economy. In almost every city of the United States to-day the taxpayer is out-voted but, if we accept the evidence of the Canadian cities, it does not appear that this condition would be in any way improved by the abolition of sex lines, since women apparently constitute only about one fifth of the tax-paying element. In fact the admission of all women instead of improving the situation of the tax paying portion of the population would render it even more helpless than at present since the total electorate would be practically doubled while the tax-paying portion would be increased only about 25 per cent.

On the much debated question as to whether or not women will use the franchise if it is extended to them, little evidence of value can be deduced from Canadian experience. The number of women voters who habitually discharge their annual civic duties in the Canadian municipalities is relatively small, rarely exceeding 15 per cent of those qualified; but if we accept the evidence of election statistics this apparently apathetic attitude toward municipal affairs is characteristic of all elements of the municipal electorate, being only slightly more marked among the women than among the male voters. In ten cities the average vote cast at a mayoralty election was about 35 per cent of the qualified electorate and in six of these the vote was below this average, four showing less than 25 per cent. These figures, however, must be taken with considerable reservation because of the number of non-resident voters who appear on all municipal lists and constitute an uncertain but no doubt substantial element of the eligible electorate, a very small portion of which is ever polled.

While the figures are by no means as significant as they would be in a more active electorate, they do indicate that, in so far as the Canadian cities are concerned, the male voter appears to be somewhat more conscientious or at least less indifferent in the discharge of his civic obligations than his female co-laborer. In the Toronto election of 1913 when a special effort was made by several womens' associations to "get out" the female vote, 16 per cent of the qualified women and 36 per cent of the eligible men voted for the mayoralty candidates. During a period of four consecutive years the average female vote in the city of London, Ontario, was 13 per cent of those qualified while during the same period about 45 per cent of the male vote was polled each year. In several cases the proportion of women voting was reported to be less than 5 per cent.

CRITICISMS OF THE SYSTEM

The prevailing indifference of the Canadian people toward this whole question would probably be a severe shock to those ardent spirits who wage the suffrage amendment conflicts in this country, but it only reflects the normal human attitude toward established political phenomena. Forty years of familiarity is probably more than enough to chill enthusiasm for any project after the stimulus of opposition has been removed. At all events it is exceedingly difficult to gauge the weight of Canadian opinion on the question of the value and effectiveness of the female vote, chiefly for the reason that in most cases there is no opinion. The existing practice has no enthusiastic defenders, possibly because it has few serious opponents. It is generally accepted as the logical development of an electorate based upon tax-paying qualifications and as such the burden of proof falls upon its critics. The most general criticism of the system is based upon the uncertainty of the female electorate. City officials and local politicians of various types claim that most of the women vote only when canvassed and that it is consequently impossible to foretell how many of them will go to the polls. There is practically no party organization in Canadian municipal elections and occasionally some individual candidate will unexpectedly "get out" the female vote and defeat his less enterprising opponent. While critics of the system admit that this might not be a serious evil in itself, they claim that coupled with the fact that the so-called better class of candidates do not as a rule resort to a personal canvass, and that the women do not exercise any particular discrimination so long as they are sufficiently urged, it does present dangerous possibilities in city elections. How true this allegation may be it is difficult to say. It was advanced by officials of several cities in different sections of the country and it is undoubtedly true that the percentage of voting women seems to vary more from year to year than does that of the men. For example the London statistics above cited show that

18 per cent of the eligible women voted in 1910 while the average for the succeeding three years was about 11 per cent, a drop of more than one third, while during the same period the male vote remained almost constant.

In conclusion it may be said that the female voters in the Canadian cities are no indication of a general attempt to abolish sex lines for voting purposes but simply the result of the logical development of a municipal electorate based upon tax-paying qualifications. And while there could be no serious objection to the admission of women to our city electorates upon a similar basis, the Canadian experience would seem to indicate that the number of women who would be thus enfranchised is comparatively small and unless they took their responsibilities a great deal more seriously than their Canadian sisters they would exercise practically no influence upon the results on general standards of city elections.

THE WOMAN VOTER AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM IN CHICAGO

BY EDITH ABBOTT

Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

CHICAGO is in the hands of the spoilsmen. The election of William Hale Thompson, the republican candidate for mayor, in the fateful spring election of 1915 fastened a spoils administration upon the city for a term of four years. It was the first mayoralty election in which the recently enfranchised women of Chicago had had a vote, and these politically inexperienced voters went on record for good government in the primary election when they cast a clear plurality of nearly 8,000 votes for Chief Justice Olson, the reform candidate. But the men, who are also voters in Chicago, gave a plurality of more than 10,000 votes for Mr. Thompson and the spoils system; and the city government thereby fell into the hands of one of the most vicious political machines that ever controlled the administration of a great city.

The election of 1915 is now "portion and parcel of the dreadful past," but the mayor of Chicago is elected for a four years term and Chicago will continue to pay heavy costs for that mistake during the next three years. When reformers of various shades of opinion intimate that it is the duty of the women voters to deliver Chicago out of the hands of the spoilsmen, the women remember that they did their best to prevent the catastrophe, but that the horse has been stolen and that it is now too late to lock the stable door. When they are asked why they "don't do something about Mayor Thompson," the women reply calmly that there is nothing that can be done and that for the next three years Chicago must continue to

endure its present humiliation and disgrace. But although the mayor's office cannot be redeemed, the fight for good government goes on in the attempt to elect anti-spoilsmen to the city council, and here, where there is still a field for civic progress, the women voters have shown themselves zealous. An analysis of the returns of the municipal election in the spring of 1915 was published in the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*,¹ and it showed that, in the aldermanic election of that year, the women had in general voted in proportionately larger numbers than the men for the good government candidates. This question of the influence of the women's vote in municipal affairs is a question so important, and so misunderstood, that it has seemed worth while to prepare a similar analysis of the returns in the aldermanic election of 1916 to see whether or not the influence of the women voters continued to be cast on the side of the good government forces.

The women of Illinois have only partial suffrage and they are therefore given special "women's ballots." Idle speculation as to how the women voted is unnecessary since the women's vote is recorded separately and published separately from the men's. The facts about the women's vote in the election of 1916 may be somewhat briefly summarized as follows: The returns show that only 54 per cent of the registered women voted whereas 68 per cent of the registered men voted on the same day. The fact that a smaller percentage of women came out to vote is not a matter for surprise. The woman's vote is an unknown quantity to the politician, and he is afraid of it. In general, the politicians are careful to make no effort to get the women to the polls. "Let sleeping dogs lie" and "don't try to stir up a hornet's nest" best express the suspicion with which the ward politician eyes the new voter. In Chicago, therefore, the money that is spent on election day in "getting out the vote" is used to "get out" the men voters. The women are politically unorganized. They have preferred to remain independent and non-partisan in municipal elections, the only ones in which they have as yet voted, and non-partisanship means that there is no political organization which will see that they do not forget to vote. The women get themselves to the polls or they stay at home. Moreover, a very considerable percentage of the men vote because they have "jobs" or hope to get "jobs," whereas happily the women are not yet rewarded in this fashion for their political activities. They are not going to lose such profitable positions as cleaning the streets or running the elevators in the city hall if they fail to vote.

Another point that should not be overlooked is the fact that, in an aldermanic election, unlike a mayoralty election where the whole vote of the city is counted, there are many wards where the decision is sure to go to the candidate nominated by one party, and voting seems

¹ Vol. iv, 437-447 (July, 1915).

to those of the opposite party quite a useless activity. It is probably true that the women have not yet become accustomed, as are the men, to voting even when their votes are quite certainly not going to affect the result of the election. In such wards it is much more important to vote in the primaries and to secure the nomination of a good candidate than to cast what seems to be an unnecessary vote for him on election day. Many women at any rate seem to have acted on this supposition, for a relatively larger proportion of women voted on the day of the primary than on election day. Thus 41.2 per cent of the registered women and 45.7 per cent of the registered men voted in the primaries in contrast to the 54 per cent of the women and 68 per cent of the men who voted in the election. That is, on the day when in most wards the real decision was to be made, the proportion of women voting was almost as large as the proportion of men, in spite of the fact that many of the inexperienced women voters do not yet understand our complicated primary law; but on election day when the party machines were still busy "getting out the party vote" that is, the men's vote, the women did not make the same effort to vote when they knew that their votes were not necessary to secure the election of the candidates in whom they were interested.

As to the effect of the women's vote, the newspapers tell us that the women "did not change the result in a single instance." But the newspapers forget the primaries. The most bitter of the primary contests was the one waged in the seventh ward. This is the ward which sends to the city council as one of its two aldermen, Professor Charles E. Merriam, the recognized leader of the good-government, and the anti-Thompson, forces. Mayor Thompson had widely advertised his intention of preventing the renomination of the so-called "rebel" aldermen, that is, the Republican aldermen who had followed Mr. Merriam's lead in the council instead of supporting their Republican mayor. It would, of course, have been a great victory for the spoilsmen if they could have defeated in Mr. Merriam's own ward his friend and follower Alderman Kimball, who was standing for renomination. Moreover, this catastrophe would have happened if the women had not been voters. The primary vote in the seventh ward was as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
J. N. Kimball (Professor Merriam's candidate)	3,194	2,278	5,472
F. W. Krengel (Mayor Thompson's candidate)	3,313	2,001	5,314
Women's plurality for Merriam candidate			277
Men's plurality for Thompson candidate			119

The women voters clearly saved the seventh ward in one of the bitterest primary contests in the city. By election day, however, the men, aided and supported by their wives and daughters, had rallied to the good

government side; and both men and women voters in the ward gave Mr. Kimball a substantial plurality and by indirection gave Professor Merriam a warm vote of endorsement in the fight he is leading against the Thompson machine, which boasted loudly that not the least of the election gains would be "the end of Merriam as floor leader of the opposition." The newspaper head-liners casting their eyes over the election returns announced, of course, that in the seventh ward the women had "voted just like the men," and editorial writers will talk of the women contributing only a "copy-cat vote." But they forget that the women placed the good government candidate on the ballot, and they overlook the fact that on election day he received 77 per cent of the women's votes and only 64 per cent of the men's votes. In the seventh ward primary contest the women repeated their successful efforts in the primary contests of last year in the sixth and thirty third wards. The analysis of the 1915 vote which was published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW showed that had it not been for the women voters, A. A. McCormick, of the sixth ward, and Robert M. Buck, of the thirty third ward, the two aldermen whose services for good government rank next to those of Mr. Merriam in the council, would never have been nominated; but in these wards, too, the men had, by-election day, been educated up to the point of following the lead of the women. If a division of labor in the matter of voting were worth considering, the city should be satisfied if the business of the primaries were left to the women. With good candidates nominated, the women might be willing to leave the business of the election to the men.

To analyze the vote in each of the 35 wards of Chicago would be neither interesting nor profitable. But the value of the women's vote from the "good-government" point of view may be determined by a very satisfactory objective test: Did or did not a larger percentage of the women than of the men vote for the candidates recommended by the municipal voters' league? This league, organized in 1896 to redeem the city council from the control of the gray wolves, is known to the readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW as a very active good government organization. It should be explained, however, that the candidates endorsed by the league are of varying degrees of ability and integrity. It recommends the best of the several candidates in each ward unless all the candidates have notoriously bad records. In some wards, however, voting for the candidate endorsed by the league is merely negative since it does not mean the election of a good candidate but only the defeat of a very bad one. In other words, the league candidate may be very little better, if any, than some of his opponents. On the whole, however, the league endorsements furnish the only generally accepted test as to which candidates represent the good government forces. In two wards (the first ward, in which "Bathhouse John" and "Hinky-Dink" still reign,

and the eighth ward, in South Chicago) the league made no recommendation and we have therefore only 33 wards in which a non-partisan organization has determined for us which was the "best" candidate. In these wards the results were as follows:

1. In five wards in which the league endorsed a Socialist candidate the percentage of men voting for this candidate was slightly higher than the percentage of women. These were the fifteenth, sixteenth, nineteenth, twenty second, and thirty fourth wards. This is of interest because in the election of 1915 also, when there were two Socialist candidates endorsed by the league, these candidates received a slightly larger percentage of the men's than of the women's vote. The smaller percentage of women voting for Socialist candidates is probably due to the fact that the Socialist vote is predominantly a foreign vote and that the foreign vote is predominantly a men's vote. But it may indicate that the women have a conservative disinclination to vote for a Socialist candidate even when he is "recommended" as the best candidate available.

2. In seven wards there was no difference between the percentage of men and the percentage of women voting for the good government candidates. These were the third, ninth, eleventh, seventeenth, eighteenth, twenty ninth and thirty second wards.

3. In four of the remaining 21 wards, and in four wards only, a larger percentage of the men than of the women voted for the league candidates. These wards include the thirtieth (the stockyards) and three "west side" wards, the thirteenth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth.

4. Finally, in 17 of these 21 wards, and herein lies the woman voter's claim to be counted with the good government forces, a larger percentage of the women than of the men cast their votes for the candidates recommended by the league. These wards were the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, tenth, twelfth, twenty first, twenty third, twenty fourth, twenty fifth, twenty sixth, twenty seventh, twenty eighth, thirty first, thirty third, and the thirty fifth. And it is important to note that this support by the women of the candidates who gave promise of help in the effort to redeem the administration of the city was not confined to any one section of Chicago. Among the wards enumerated, for example, are the two University wards on the south side (the sixth and seventh), the "Lake Shore" wards on the north side (the twenty first and the twenty third) and at least six wards in different parts of the west side.

This result is the more interesting in that there was no city-wide organization of women voters for this purpose. It was in the nature of a spontaneous uprising of the women, as it were, against the men who are corrupting our civic life. Moreover, the result is interesting because it repeats the experience of last year, and it seems to indicate a settled

determination on the part of the women to use such influence as they possess for the destruction of the spoils system.

In the slow process of trying to rescue a great city like Chicago from the hands of the spoilsmen, the women voters have certain distinct advantages over the men. They have the enthusiasms of their early political youth. They have not yet known the sweets of victory or the bitterness of defeat. There is no disillusioned class among them claiming that the struggle for good government is a hopeless one. More than that—the women have the patience that is born of long years of deprivation. For two generations they worked against heavy odds for a cause that men called hopeless. Disappointment was their allotted and accepted portion. At any time short of the present the suffragists could have said, as Lord Shaftesbury said of the early philanthropists, that “disappointment is the badge of all our tribe.” They learned to look upon a disappointment not as a defeat, but as the signal for the beginning of a new offensive. The fight against the spoilsmen is for the present a kind of trench warfare. Gains are counted by yards not by miles. If the women voters are able to force the nomination of better men at each election and continue to vote year after year in proportionately larger numbers than the men for the good government candidates recommended by the municipal voters’ league, they are strengthening the good government forces; but they cannot destroy the spoils-system single handed. The men voters will be for a generation to come much more numerous than the women, and the task of educating the men must be shouldered. One recalls those familiar verses:

Of old the Lord with gracious word
To some bequeathed His peace
But us He honored with His sword
Whose power shall ne’er decrease.

THE PHILADELPHIA BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH¹

BY GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.

Philadelphia

IT IS characteristic of Americans that they have always considered that any citizen was equal to any administrative position under government if his heart was in the right place, and if he was sound in the principles that underlie our political creeds.

¹The substance of an address delivered by George Burnham, Jr., treasurer of the National Municipal League and a member of the board of trustees of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, at public dinner given in Philadelphia, April 6, 1915.—
EDITOR.

Hence we have taken the doctor, the lawyer, the merchant, or the blacksmith by the scruff of the neck and dumped him into the chair of the legislator, the governor of our state, the mayor of our city, and expected him to make good, whether he knew anything about the job or not. It is not my purpose to criticise this way of doing things in the state and nation, but to point out some results in our cities. The plan worked fairly well so long as our city governments were simple affairs, having to do with what were in reality merely outgrown villages. With the rapid growth of our cities, and the increasing complexity of city government due to such activities as electric and steam transportation, water distribution, electric and gas lighting, etc., the plan did not work so well and the government of our cities began to fall into disrepute. Do not suppose that I think the placing of untrained officials in positions of power and responsibility the only cause of our discredited city governments, but it is certainly a strong contributing factor. In any event, we began to be dissatisfied with our municipal governments, and then began the campaign to "turn the rascals out" and put in honest men.

Observe that we still had the old American obsession, and demanded not qualified men so much as honest men. If a man was only honest, he would find a way to perform his job satisfactorily.

It was soon found, however, that even honest and well intentioned men did not necessarily make good administrators of our cities. It was then that a small group of men conceived the idea that if a thorough study were made of municipal government, not as a political theory, but as a concrete fact, and the results of such a study were brought before the administrators in being, they would be glad to avail themselves of the chance to improve their methods. This may seem unlikely—pride of office, dislike of outside interference, you may think would prevent it. But put yourself in the place of an elected official for a moment. You suddenly find yourself confronted with a concern for which you are responsible. It has a long tradition of management which may strike you as full of absurdities, but it's there! and standing before you patiently expectant are three or four clerks awaiting your action on some current matter. The immediate burden, in other words, is so heavy that you haven't time or strength to install better methods, and you probably leave the system, after your brief period of authority, as you found it.

Now, suppose some expert in whom you have confidence steps in and says, "We have made a careful study of this office, and find the procedure is thus and so, is this correct?" You look over the papers and find that an accurate picture of the going methods in your department has been drawn. Now, says the expert, we believe you can get far better results by doing thus and so, and here are our reasons for thinking so; further, if you find we are right we want you to get the credit for making the changes we propose, as we are not seeking any glory in the matter our-

selves. Would you not be inclined to swallow your pride and accept the assistance, if the suggested changes met with your approval?

Now this has been, in a broad way, the history of the research movement in our cities, and Philadelphia has been no exception. It has seemed to me that you, as contributors and friends of the bureau, are entitled to some more detailed account of the doings of your association than you have heretofore had. I shall be as brief as possible in my résumé, but I do want you to know what we have been doing.

Organized in 1908, in the first year of the Reyburn administration, we realized at the start that we would be more or less "suspect" by the authorities, and that we must look for the place of least resistance to begin our work. We found it in the board of education, of which Doctor Brumbaugh was then the head. The first inquiry was as to the conduct of the bureau of compulsory education, which has to do with truancy and non-attendance of children of school age. It was soon found that the officer at the head of the bureau was hopelessly incompetent, and our report to the board recommended a reorganization of the bureau. The report was pigeon-holed for some weeks. We then asked the board whether they cared to publish the report, or whether we should do it. The effect of this was the resignation of the incompetent official, and the reorganization of the bureau.

A thorough study of negro education in Philadelphia was made, and the present policy of the board was based on the findings of the bureau. This study was published by the United States government.

A code of laws governing schools was prepared; the medical inspection of school children was studied, and other studies were made, all resulting in constructive recommendations.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of your bureau has been in the department of municipal finance. Let me say here that the city controller (Cap't John M. Walton), promptly gave us full access to his department, and has been of the greatest assistance to us in every way. At the suggestion of Dr. Cleveland of the New York bureau, at that time acting as our adviser, Controller Walton has entirely revised the accounting system of the city. We have now, in the opinion of many experts, the best municipal accounting system in the country. Great progress has been made towards a scientific budget, and I have no doubt that such a system will be installed by the city soon, but it must be remembered that to inaugurate such a system in our city, councils, as well as the administration, must be convinced of its necessity.

Early in our history we found the department of health and charities, then under Dr. Joseph S. Neff, very hospitable to the bureau. Doctor Neff said he was much hampered by the lack of a complete digest of the laws relating to the public health. Such laws had been enacted by the state legislature from time to time, and as they often seriously affected

personal liberties and property rights, it was most important that the health officer of the city should know just what they were. A complete digest of such laws was prepared, and has proved most useful to the Department.

A study, in co-operation with other agencies, of infant mortality in the city, resulted in the organization of the division of child hygiene. You will all remember the comprehensive study of the milk supply, and the milk show, during Doctor Neff's incumbency. Your bureau co-operated in this work.

A survey was made of the contagious disease hospital, and a system of accounts and records was installed in this department. A survey of food inspection was made in 1915, and a report prepared, which will be published by the Phipps Institute. Our recommendations have not yet been adopted, but we are expecting that the publication of this report will help us in this respect.

In the department of public safety, a manual for patrolmen was prepared, and is now in use in the department. This was the first manual printed for the use of policemen in seventeen years, and you can well imagine how defective and out-of-date the old manual had become. Schools for policemen and firemen were inaugurated, which have proved most useful. In the matter of fire prevention, an organization chart was prepared, and descriptive and constructive reports made public. The material was published in a book issued by Powell Evans, of your board of trustees.

In the bureau of water, an accounting system has been installed. A study of the bureau of city property resulted in changes in procedure and organization. City hall used to be cleaned in a haphazard manner, each office making its own arrangements. A report on this subject was made by the bureau, which has resulted in a saving of \$30,000 annually to the city, although its recommendations were only partially accepted. We believe a full acceptance would save at least \$50,000 annually.

During Mayor Reyburn's administration the bureau made a study of the weights and measures used throughout the city. All sorts of fraudulent tools of this character were discovered, and a report on the subject received wide publicity, resulting in the organization of the present bureau of weights and measures, which has continued the good work.

At the request of the municipal court, the bureau has just completed a system of tabulation for the domestic relations division, by means of which the court is enabled to compile statistics of its operations. This work is of great importance to many of the welfare and charitable agencies of the city.

Finally, the bureau has, as a sort of by-product, become a training school for workers in public positions. Eight of our people have thus far been drafted for this service. By a curious coincidence, four of these

have been appointed by "reform" department heads, and the other four by "organization" officials. Of these eight, one has left the city's service for private business, one has gone into another branch of public work, one was recalled by the bureau to resume work there, and five still remain in the employ of the city.

In closing, I cannot forbear saying a word or two as to the faithfulness and untiring zeal of the bureau staff and employees. Working, most of them, for less compensation than private business would offer, they have not hesitated to disregard hours in emergencies, and have toiled as the artist toils, because he is in love with his job.

You may perhaps want to know how that bureau has been received by the present administration. It is a little early to pronounce upon this question, but in an interview with Mayor Smith on the part of your trustees and your director, the mayor expressed his willingness to utilize our services whenever possible, and expressed particular interest in a study of salary standardization that the bureau has been making.

This morning he sent for Mr. Gruenberg and told him to convey a message to us of his willingness to co-operate with the bureau at all times, of his sympathy with the bureau ideals and program, and his great regret at being unable to be with us to-night.

MUNICIPAL CONDITIONS IN WEST VIRGINIA CITIES

BY CLARENCE M. WERUM

Huntington, W. Va.

THE constitution of the state of West Virginia is of the old form and type, and needs to be revised, especially that part which concerns the municipal government of the state. Running parallel with this old form are its frontier political methods; but fortunately for the municipalities of the state, the bad laws and practices are being felt. Their enforcement will result in the enactment of good laws. The history of municipal government in West Virginia is not different from other states except that its present status is still in the crude form.

For a long time the unbridled power of the legislature has exerted its influence and authority over the municipal governments within its jurisdiction, wielding this power regardless of the manner or sentiment of the people of the community affected, and out of this unscrupulous use of power the politicians are destroying the very fruits that they have forcibly created.

The constitution of the state provides that "the legislature shall not pass local or special laws . . . for incorporating cities, towns or villages or amending the charter of any city, town or village containing

a population of less than two thousand. The legislature shall provide, by general laws, for the foregoing, and all other cases for which provision can be so made; and in no case shall a special act be passed, where a general law would be proper, and can be made applicable to the case; nor in any other case in which the courts have jurisdiction, and are competent to give the relief asked for."

The supreme court of appeals has shown an inclination to favor the legislature in its authority over municipalities, when in the case of *Woodell v. Darst*¹ it says: "The court will not hold the special act as contravening this section, unless it clearly appears that the general laws would have accomplished the legislative purpose as well."

This constitutional provision is not a safeguard to municipal government. Municipalities whose population exceeds two thousand have absolutely no protection while those which have less than two thousand inhabitants have only a limited protection as shown in the constitutional provision above recited. The word "amend" means to change or modify that which exists; but it does not prevent the legislature from completely destroying municipal government and re-creating the same.²

So difficult has it been to amend the constitution of this state that neither of the political parties will indorse an amendment for fear of the defeat of their measure, and so the pious voters of the municipalities have closed their eyes to take their medicine. Within the last few years, however, the medicine has become quite bitter.

A certain legislator, who represents the district in which the city of Williamson exists, decided that Williamson had too many Democratic voters so he appeared at the regular session of the legislature in 1915, which was a Republican legislature, and with his influence and the customary trading of voting patronage was able to have a law passed amending the act incorporating the city of Williamson. This act vested the corporate power of the city in a board of five commissioners, three of whom must belong to one of the political parties and two to the other, and provided that said commissioners shall be appointed by the governor of the state for a term of two years. Thereafter the commissioners are to be elected by the people. This board of commissioners takes the place of the previous governmental board whose officers, Democratic in party affiliation, had just been elected to run the government of the city. The governor permitted the act to become a law without his signature and partially escaped the criticism heaped upon the legislators. The commissioners were appointed, and the act carried to the court. The power to create, unrestrained, naturally carries with it the power to amend or change, or even to destroy, so when the courts reviewed this case, they had no choice but to recognize the power of the legislature.

¹ 77 S. E. 264.

² *South Morgantown v. Morgantown*, 40 S. E. 15.

There was some hope pending this litigation, however, that the supreme court of appeals would find some grounds to rule otherwise.

This same legislature had its attention called to another municipality in this state, namely Fairmont, a political hot-bed like other West Virginia cities, where not the slightest ethics is recognized in political contests. The scrambling parties disliking the practice of one party feasting with the other party famishing, with neither party knowing until after election which would draw the famine, decided in some of the localities to create a charter form of government with a bi-partisan board, that would permit both parties equal representation upon the governing board. Thus it would be feast for all forever. But alas! when the city of Fairmont had its election there was elected on the bi-partisan board two Democrats and two Progressives and the poor Republican politicians remained out in the cold. The politicians in other cities fared better. Immediately they became busy, suggested a non-partisan board and when they were defeated in an attempt to exercise the "recall," they marched with their drooping heads to the brilliant legislature that made history for West Virginia, in 1915, and pleaded for a new charter for Fairmont. The legislature, after weighing seriously the arguments of both sides in so much as matters pertaining to municipal government were of such great importance, decided in their wisdom to give Fairmont another new charter. This charter, too, has found its way into the courts and if this act is declared invalid it will be on the grounds that you cannot eliminate the voters by mental test and that the legislature did not follow the proper rules in the passage of the act. But for these apparent defenses the act would undoubtedly be sustained.

The advocates of municipal home rule are striving hard to create sentiment that will eventually result in an amendment to the constitution, to provide that any act passed by the legislature changing the form of government of any municipality shall not take effect until ratified by the majority vote of that municipality.

DENVER'S NEW CHARTER

BY ELLIS MEREDITH

*Denver, Colorado*¹

BY AN overwhelmingly decisive vote Denver discarded the commission form of government May 9 and adopted a charter amendment which gives practically all executive power to the mayor and creates a city council of nine members.

¹ Ex-President, Denver election commission. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 663.

Before considering the new régime a word is in order by way of comfort to those who still pin their faith upon commission government. Even those who do not believe in it admit frankly that it did not have a fair trial in this city. It is based upon the theory that men of quite unusual capacity will be attracted by the opportunity for service, each commissioner being supreme in his own field, and able to make a record that stands clearly by itself. But in Denver the same vote that declared for the commission form declared also for the preferential ballot, and much to the disappointment of those who had seen in this so-called "fool-proof ballot" the realization of an "iridescent dream" it proved more like a nightmare. Party lines were wiped out to such an extent that no candidate could receive the support of any aggregation of people, and as few men are adepts in sounding their own praises this kind of personal campaigning was very obnoxious to those who might have given the city the best service. As a result those ideal candidates who, like good children are occasionally seen, but never heard, preferred to continue on the even tenor of their way, while men of lesser talent made the race.

As the five commissioners formed the council, and no one could make more than a guess as to who would be elected, and much of the success of the government must depend upon a council that could and would work together harmoniously, this was an added drawback, and the commission government failed as much on account of the uncertainty which is rendered certain by the preferential ballot, as because of any shortcomings of its own, or on the part of the commissioners who have been good officers, on the whole, even if none of them has given a brilliant administration of his own department or inaugurated any striking civic improvement in the council. It is a pity the commission form might not have had a fairer trial, for it was not without its advantages, and some 22,000 people voted to retain it.

The agitation for a change has been going on for some time. Two years ago this fall an attempt was made to recall the commissioner of safety. It was well known that it was fostered by an anti-Catholic organization, and members of that church, regardless of party, rallied to his support and re-elected him. The same element prepared an amendment calling for the election of city officials and filed it early this spring. When it became evident that there was to be an election Robert W. Speer, for eight years mayor of Denver, submitted an amendment to the charter, and shortly afterward the Republican organization of the city and county presented yet another amendment creating a city council of nine named in the charter, nominated W. W. Booth for mayor, named two of the commissioners for the offices of sheriff and treasurer and nominated a clerk and recorder.

The campaign soon demonstrated that the first, or Macy amendment was hopelessly out of the running. Very soon it became equally clear

that the Booth amendment had no chance of adoption, and there were many evidences of the old alliance between the Republican organization and that of the Democrats, which was working enthusiastically for Mr. Speer. The only alternative left was to vote against all the amendments and various organizations: the independent voters league, the anti-civic center association, the anti-saloon league—the W. C. T. U., and many of the clergy urged the public to do this. A total of 54,496 votes were cast, registered as follows:

Macy amendment—For, 6,508; against, 45,408.

Booth amendment—For, 5,659; against, 44,344.

Speer amendment—For, 30,891; against, 22,164.

No attempt was made to go into the courts. In spite of much bitterness during the campaign the city accepted the results philosophically, and even those most strenuously opposed to Mr. Speer, have decided that the best course for the present is one of "watchful waiting."

The new charter provides for a benevolent despotism. It does not repeal the initiative and referendum nor the recall. It doesn't even repeal the preferential ballot. It concentrates all the administrative powers in the hands of the mayor and all the legislative powers in the hands of the council, with an auditor independent of both. The present auditor serves until the end of his term, and next May his successor will be elected for a term of four years, also a council of nine members to be nominated and elected by districts for a term of two years. Four of the present council have been appointed by Mayor Speer and the other five by the Denver civic and commercial association, the trades assembly, the real estate exchange, the rotary club and the manufacturer's association, and while they have just organized and have had no time to formulate plans, the general public is well satisfied with the personnel of the council.

Four departments are created, the heads of which form the mayor's cabinet; they have charge respectively of the improvements and parks, revenue, health and charity and safety and excise.

The mayor is given the power to appoint the heads of all administrative departments and the members of all commissions, boards and officers, and all persons in the employ of the city or county or any of the departments thereof whose salaries or compensations are not fixed in the charter amendments are declared to be employes and shall be appointed by the mayor or department head, and the mayor is given power to fill all vacancies. In other words, he is given complete power of appointment.

The one particular section which is nearest the heart of Mayor Speer is said to be entirely new in city governments in this country. It is short and somewhat vague, and sufficiently elastic to cover a very wide scope of endeavor, as anything has need to be when it is frankly experimental in character. Nothing is a greater mistake than hard and fast

rules and limitations when embarking on an undertaking where precedents are few and success depends largely upon freedom to carry out a design that grows in the making. This section provides:

"There shall be, and hereby is, created an industrial bureau for the purpose of encouraging local industries and employment of labor. It shall be limited in its expenditures to the amount of money appropriated for its use by the city and county. It shall consist of the mayor and four members appointed by him, who shall serve without pay. This bureau shall be vested with full power of the city and county to encourage industries, stimulate trade and secure the employment of labor."

The idea of Mayor Speer, as he outlined it in his campaign, is that there are many small concerns engaged in manufacturing all sorts of things, and hampered in all sorts of ways. Sometimes there are obvious difficulties, and sometimes there are leaks that take away the profit. In one place he found the proprietor discharging a man, who almost begged to be retained. On investigation he found that the man was manufacturing an article used extensively in Denver, but imported. A little missionary work brought supply and demand together, and the employe kept his job. For months past the new mayor has been making a quiet investigation among the little shops and plants of the city, and now he has a well defined determination, rather than an exact plan, to help "to separate the men who want work from the men who won't work," and take care of both of them in the way that will be most beneficial to the community.

During his former administrations public improvements were pushed vigorously—beyond what many felt the city was able to bear. In the four years since he went out of office there has not been a great deal done in that direction. This is, perhaps, one of the innate weaknesses of commission government. Each commissioner wants all the funds he can get for his own department, and they are not willing to yield for the greater good of the community. So far as one can judge from his utterances Mayor Speer does not intend to launch out into any very extensive improvements which would call for increased taxation; already he has begun his promised era of economy by lopping off surplus clerks, consolidating departments, abolishing sinecures, and leaving the outside workers alone in the main. The day laborer, who makes parks and boulevards beautiful, is not trembling for his "job," even though the civil service, which is a poor thing under the Denver charter, does not protect him.

There is one most unusual condition following upon this election. No man has ever had more active opponents than Robert Speer, and his election was bitterly fought by men and women who are not "quitters," yet the prevailing opinion seems to be patient, rather than censorious. It is recognized that under this charter the mayor is supreme, and while there are not wanting those who are not looking for any good thing,

let alone a millenium to come as a result of this election, still the general opinion is that the new administration should have a chance to demonstrate what the one man power can do, when it has a free field.

No man ever had a harder task than that which confronts Mayor Speer. It is not only a city to govern by new methods; he is a strong man, eager to try out some theories which he has long considered, and he has had the benefit of study and travel since leaving office. For a man of his character neither work nor responsibility has any terrors, but when it comes to breaking definitely with the host of the faithful hangers-on of the past, and turning a deaf ear to the friends who deserve much in the way of personal consideration from him, but nothing whatever from this city, this is much more difficult. Yet this is what he must do if he is to justify the faith of his friends and set at naught the criticism of his enemies. Economy cannot afford to give gratitude much house-room, yet to appear unmindful of past benefits is a thankless part. It is safe to say that no problem of city administration will give Mr. Speer more anxious moments than squaring his performance with the hopes of a multitude of people who expect to receive a public reward in return for votes loyally given.

In the meantime, the city is not troubling itself with any such abstract considerations. Under the prohibition law which went into effect last January it has been growing, building, beautifying, realizing a new ideal, and now that it has started out upon what it conceives to be a new era in its history, it has "thrown to the winds its fears" and gives every promise of a year of unexampled prosperity, in spite of the lugubrious predictions that always attend presidential elections.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Charter Revisions.—On June 6, Los Angeles defeated a new charter by a vote of 30,839 to 23,562, the third attempt within four years to put the city on a modern political basis. Among the improvements which were available through the new charter are: rather greater executive authority on the part of the mayor (especially in budget matters); a more definite financial control through the erection of the office of comptroller, single directors instead of commissions for most of the administrative departments.

Budget making will be controlled by a committee of estimate consisting of the mayor, the comptroller and the president of the council and it will have at its disposal the services of a bureau of efficiency whose duty it is to "investigate the organization, administration, and procedure of the various departments, divisions and offices of the city government; to recommend to the mayor, the council and the heads of departments measures for the promotion of economy and efficiency in the city's affairs; and to furnish the mayor, the council, the committee of estimate or the advisory board such information as they may request."

The "advisory board" is to consist of the principal city officers (including heads of departments) and is to act as a sort of cabinet of administration for the purpose of recommending measures and policies to the city council and co-ordinating the city's activities.

An astonishing aspect about Los Angeles charter making is that in a community so ready in most respects to accept modern methods and to break with moss-grown traditions, the net result of its city charter construction is so out of harmony with recognized principles of improved city government. Possibly the

new instrument is a considerable improvement over its predecessor, but as compared with those of Dayton, Buffalo, Jersey City, Cleveland, or even Denver, the Los Angeles document is a product of the dark ages of charter making.

Why, for instance, must Los Angeles have an elective city attorney, elective comptroller, elective prosecutor, elective board of education and an elective municipal court? Why should all these officers be independent of the executive and the governing body? Why does Los Angeles cling to the thoroughly discredited principle of confirmation of appointments by the council?

Modern charter making recognizes the necessity of giving the council some hand in organizing the administrative departments. The Los Angeles charter violates the principle by describing in detail the organization of each of the several departments and their subdivisions and rigidly describes the powers and duties of all officers. It is conceived on the principle that everybody's hands should be tied lest somebody may possibly go wrong.

H. S. GILBERTSON.

✱

A City Manager Charter for East Cleveland, Ohio, was approved by a vote of four to one, on June 6. The charter was modeled after the Dayton and Springfield charters and the model charter of the National Municipal League. The charter provides for the election of a commission of five members elected for terms of four years (two for two years at the first election), and a municipal judge. The commission appoints the city manager and director of finance. All other officers and employees are appointed by the city manager, who is given full control and supervision of

administration. The members of the commission are individually prohibited from interfering in any manner with the administration of affairs and the appointment and removal of officers and employees. The civil service commission is appointed by the city manager, with the approval of the city commission; but the rules and regulations are to be framed and adopted by the city commission. The initiative, referendum and recall are provided. Primaries are eliminated. Candidates are to be nominated by petition and elected on a non-partisan ballot.

The unique feature of the charter is the provision granting suffrage to women. This provision was submitted as a separate section and adopted by a large majority. The constitution of the state limits the privilege of voting to "male whites," but the attorneys on the commission agreed with the attorney of the woman's suffrage party in the opinion that the home rule amendment granting authority to exercise all powers of local self government, carried with it the right, by charter provisions, to give to women the right of suffrage. The voters approved the section, and it became a part of the charter. A friendly suit will be carried up to the highest courts of the state, testing the validity of this provision.

The first election of commissioners is to be held in November, 1916, but the remainder of the charter does not take effect until January 1, 1918. In the meantime, the voters of East Cleveland will vote upon the question of annexation to the city of Cleveland. East Cleveland has a population of approximately 15,000, and is a distinctly residential suburb of the larger city.

MAYO FESLER.



Aberdeen, South Dakota, Retains Commission Plan.—By a majority of 104 in a total vote of 15,134, the voters of Aberdeen, South Dakota, have decided to retain the commission plan of city government. It is estimated that about three fifths of the normal vote was cast.

Proportional Representation.—Last winter the charters of Edmonton and Calgary, Alberta, were amended by the provincial parliament to give the cities the power to adopt proportional representation for their councils. In Ottawa, the board of trade adopted resolutions favoring proportional representation for the city, and on January 3 the voters, to whom the matter was referred by the municipal council, expressed their approval of the system for that branch of the council known as the board of control. The committee of the Ontario parliament to which the Ottawa bill was referred disapproved of several features of it, including the proportional representation, on the ground that they were matters that should be considered only in connection with a general bill applying to all the cities of Ontario.

The Springfield charter bill (Senate Bill No. 257), submitted to the Massachusetts legislature last winter, was the result of some two years' work on the part of the citizens' charter commission of 100, a body representing the leading organizations of the city. Provisions for electing both council and school committee by the Hare system of proportional representation, substantially like those printed by the National Municipal League in connection with its model charter, were included in both the alternative charters provided for in the bill. The legislative committee on cities did not approve the bill, however.

C. G. HOAG.



Telephone Companies Report.—The Interstate commerce commission, under date of April 10, 1916, has ordered that each and every telephone company subject to the provisions of the act to regulate commerce, having annual operating revenues above \$50,000 shall, from January 1, 1916, make and file with the commission monthly reports of revenues, expenses and capital charges, on forms prescribed and furnished by the commission for the purpose.



Temporary Authorizations in Chicago Civil Service.—Superintendent Fred G.

Heuchling of the West Chicago park civil service board has made the best record on the question of temporary appointments yet noted in this country.

In their report for the year 1915 the commissioners referring to the report of their superintendent of employment say:

The number of temporary appointments made, and their period of duration are generally conceded to be an index of the thoroughness with which a civil service law is administered.

This statement coming from a civil service board merits serious consideration and this board is to be commended for the showing made. It has demonstrated conclusively the ability of a civil service commission which will earnestly put itself to the task to reduce the temporary authority grants to a negligible number. Mr. Heuchling's latest report was made January 11, and shows that a total of 57 grants of authority were issued during the year 1915. Fifty of these authorized the employment of but one person, six authorized the employment of two persons and one authorized the employment of seventeen persons. Taken as a whole, there were 79 persons employed on temporary authorization during the year, not including two who were employed on authority granted during 1914. Whenever a need arose for temporary employment in a position for which an eligible list or a reinstatement list was in force, notice of such need was immediately sent to the persons whose names appeared on the list. When an eligible was willing to accept the temporary appointment, he was given the position. As a result of these efforts 24 of the persons employed on temporary authorization, out of the total of 79, were taken from the eligible list for the positions filled. The total amount of wages paid to persons employed on temporary authorization amounted to \$5,021.86. This is seventy-one one-hundredths of one per cent of the total amount of the payrolls for the year. There is a maximum number of positions of 1,036 in the West park service. The 79 persons under temporary appoint-

ments were employed for an average period of 26 days each.

A similar showing on the part of civil service commissions over the country would result in bringing thousands of positions under merit rule which are now, by the temporary authorization abuse, practically filled by political selections.

R. E. BLACKWOOD.¹

✱

Disfiguring Washington, the Capital City.—On the banks of the Potomac river, at the head of the water-front of the city of Washington, excavations and pile driving are proceeding for the foundations of the new central heating, lighting and power plant to be erected by the government for the purpose of supplying heat, light and power from a central source to those departmental and other buildings now operating isolated plants for these purposes. Congress authorized the erection of this plant, which, from an economic standpoint, is in line with modern engineering practice. When it selected the site, however, it took no account of the æsthetic side of the question. Apparently no thought was given to the effect which such a building, with its high smokestacks, might have upon the already highly developed park system, bordering the Potomac, with the Washington monument towering in the center and the new Lincoln memorial approaching completion.

One can understand why any casual visitor to the present Washington water-front, with its general back-yard appearance, might very easily be led to believe that any kind of a modern building would be an improvement. One can understand why congress seemed to be quite unaware of the plans which have been made for developing this water-front, and that the erection of a power house would be destructive of the ends which that development was designed to attain. But being willing to forgive this lack of understanding, what shall we say on behalf of those who are still willing to ignore the present

¹Secretary, Civil Service Reform Association of Chicago.

development and who steadfastly resist every effort to secure an investigation of the whole project? Chief sponsor of this group is Secretary McAdoo of the treasury. In the office of the supervising architect, a branch of his department, the plans for the power house were drawn. The contract was let. Work was about to begin, when the commission of fine arts, appointed by two successive presidents for the purpose of preventing, in so far as possible, any desecration of Washington, asked for the plans. Under the executive order issued by President Wilson, Secretary McAdoo was required to present the plans for the examination of the commission before signing a contract. His office neglected to do this and explained the neglect as a clerical error. But having made the mistake, the secretary seems determined that it shall stand. The commission reported adversely to the project. Public spirited men from all over the United States urged congress to reconsider its action. No project ever received through the press a more instant and hearty condemnation. The resolution introduced by Senator Newlands providing for its reconsideration, was passed by the senate and referred to a conference committee of the senate and the house. At this conference the senate's conferees receded. As a consequence, the committee reported against the resolution, but all who are familiar with the present manner of conference legislation as practiced in Congress today will understand that such a report must be passed *in toto* by either chamber. No one item can be stricken out, and the conferees generally manage to include enough of the right kind of items to get a sustaining vote for their report. Thus the resolution of Senator Newlands was lost—not on its merits—for there seems every reason to believe that the senate would have sustained it had it been possible to consider it on its merits alone.

The position of the secretary of the treasury was sustained in a letter which he wrote to Senator Martin of Virginia, and in fact all the resources of the admin-

istration were apparently invoked by Secretary McAdoo in order that there should be no reconsideration of the project to which he had committed the nation in defiance of an order of the very president who appointed him. These things are very discouraging to all those who believe so sincerely in the great and wonderful possibilities for so developing the capital of the United States that it shall not only be one of the world's most beautiful government seats, but that it shall also symbolize those national ideals of Washington and Jefferson—the two men who were so largely responsible for the plan devised by Major L'Enfant and now famous throughout the world.

Other serious blemishes are preparing. The erection of the new building for the department of the interior was a grave mistake. It does not in any way conform to the plan. Congress has just authorized the departments of justice and of labor to enter into leases for two office buildings which are to be built by private capital. The nation is already spending \$604,000.00 a year in rents. Many of its departments are miserably housed; the rents are exorbitant. The policy of encouraging the erection of office buildings by private capital is not only a wasteful one, since it costs the government not less than 25 per cent a year on capital invested, but is also filling Washington with a lot of poorly designed buildings, incongruous in character, offensively located, and fitted for adaptation into apartment houses or hotels when vacated by the government. Each addition of this kind makes it all the harder to secure the erection of government owned buildings of suitable dignity and character, since real estate interests in Washington have a vital interest in continuing the rented system. The abandonment by the government of the rented quarters now occupied would create a serious situation in real estate conditions, in addition to the loss of rentals.

It will require a determined national effort to save the city of Washington from these blunders and this carelessness of its

beauty and dignity. With a glorious and golden opportunity lying wide before it—with every advantage which topography could offer, with a plan of development which has never received other than the universal praise of every expert who has studied it—Washington suffers one blemish after another, principally because of the obstinacy of congress in refusing to recognize the value of expert opinion. But that is a lesson we still have to learn in this country, in Washington as elsewhere. Our tardiness will be costly. In Washington the result may be irrepairable.

CHARLES HARRIS WHITAKER.

*

Universities and City Planning.—Some idea of the growth of interest in city planning may be gathered from the fact that a number of universities are now giving courses on the subject. The following is a list of institutions which now offer instruction along these lines:

University of Illinois—Chair of civic design.

Harvard University—Courses in city planning in school of landscape architecture.

University of Michigan—Lectures in department of landscape architecture.

University of Wisconsin—Lectures in department of engineering.

Columbia University—Lectures.

Cornell University—Occasional lectures in department of landscape architecture.

Throop College of Technology—Course listed but not yet given.

University of Pennsylvania—Housing and city planning, and landscape architecture and design.

The subject also receives attention in a course on municipal engineering at the University of Minnesota and in the Chicago school of civics and philanthropy.

*

Municipal Markets.—For more than 150 years the town of *Carlisle, Pa.* (population, 11,000), has had a public market. The present market contains, in addition to the market itself, the office of the market master, the burgess's office, police

court, council chamber, board of health, city engineer's office and the police headquarters. It contains 200 inside stalls. There are also 35 outside covered stalls along two sides of the building and portable stalls or tables on the other two sides. A small restaurant is run in connection with the market during market hours. The clerk of the market offers at public sale on September 28 of each year the various stalls in the market house. The price bid is in addition to the regular licensing and annual stall rent. The average receipts per year from 1890 to 1915 were \$3,650. During the same period the average yearly expenditures were \$925.

The New York State Department of Foods and Markets, created by the legislature of 1915, was largely the result of an inquiry into markets and prices and economic methods of distribution between producer and consumer. Of particular mention are the department's achievements in the poultry trade. Widespread appreciation from farmers has also come from the establishment, by the department, of public auctions in orchard districts where the markets threatened to be glutted. At the present time the department is giving its attention to the producing end of the milk business which has been so unsatisfactory in New York City. It has also made careful inquiry into shipping abuses and has pointed out more economic methods of handling products. Because of its extremely valuable work during the past year the chamber of commerce of New York on April 3 passed a resolution endorsing the work already done and recommending ample appropriation for the continuation of it.

State Aid in Marketing in California.

In a recent address before the Outlook association of Los Angeles, Col. Harris Weinstock emphasized the aims and work of the new market commission. Three suggestions were made for the furtherance of agricultural development: rural credits, farm colonization and co-operative marketing. California produces annually \$500,000,000 worth of products. An enormous waste accrues to both producer and consumer. It was pointed out that

a 5 per cent increase of income to the producer and a 5 per cent decrease of cost to the consumer would effect an annual saving of \$25,000,000—a worth-while achievement. As a solution of the commission merchant problem, sale at public auction was advocated. Under such a system the money comes directly to the producer. Particular emphasis was placed upon the possibilities of state action as applied to agricultural colonization, production and marketing.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

*

Accounting and Research Progress in Minneapolis.—The bureau of municipal research of the Minneapolis civic and commerce association has just completed a survey of the business administration of the board of park commissioners. One of the main recommendations of the report was that a central accounting division should be established to take charge of all accounts kept by the secretary of the board and the superintendent of parks. The board immediately accepted this suggestion and the bureau is assisting in the installation of the new system. Many other changes along the lines suggested in the report have been authorized by the board on the recommendation of the secretary of the board and the superintendent of parks. The bureau has been asked to co-operate with the department in establishing the new systems.

The system of controlling appropriations installed January 1, 1915, by the city comptroller at the suggestion of the bureau of municipal research enabled the city departments operating under the current expense fund to save approximately \$140,000 in 1915. The departments had, in appropriations, \$120,000 less during 1915 than 1914, but they ended the year with a deficit of \$14,000 as compared with the 1914 deficit of \$35,000. The new system kept the officials informed of the unexpended and unencumbered balances of their appropriations.

The men in the comptroller's office have organized a class in municipal finance and, at their request, a member of the staff of the bureau of municipal research is serving

as instructor. The class meets weekly and studies the present financial system of Minneapolis as compared with the latest developments in municipal financing elsewhere.

At present a survey of the police department is under way. The mayor and chief of police, without waiting for the final report to be submitted, have already established a detective bureau with a captain in charge to establish a more effective control over the detective service.

The director of the Minneapolis bureau (F. S. Staley) is directing the survey of the business administration of the Denver public schools. In accordance with the recommendations of a preliminary report the board of education voted to adopt the by-laws establishing a new business organization.

*

Municipal Waste.—One of the most serious of municipal problems is the disposal of city waste. Following is a list of the various classes of municipal waste: ashes, rubbish, sewage, street sweepings, trade waste, dead animals and garbage. In a pamphlet on the preparation of fertilizer from municipal waste, J. W. Turrentine treats each of the classes of city waste from the point of view of its availability as fertilizer. Thus from sewage we have sewage sludge, a possible source of combined nitrogen for fertilizer purposes. Street sweepings, containing large quantities of mineral matter, are mostly used for filling. The fertilizer materials obtained from dead animals are equal if not superior to those obtained from high-grade slaughterhouse tankage, a nitrogen carrier of such value that it has to a large extent been withdrawn from the fertilizer trade and devoted to cattle feeding. The disposal of garbage presents a serious problem. Various methods of disposal are now used—feeding to swine, incinerating, rendering, etc. The latter method offers possibilities from the standpoint of fertilizer. When it becomes known what portion of nitrogen carried by vegetable matter is available in garbage, a potentially large source of fertilizer will be made available to the agriculturist.

Making Own Insecticide.—St. Augustine, Florida, is now engaged in making its own insecticide, which is used extensively in southern cities for exterminating flies and mosquitoes. Heretofore the city has been paying an average of about \$2 per gallon for this material. The city manager has just succeeded in purchasing the formula for an insecticide and the ingredients for the first barrel of the material for testing the formula at a price less than the standard offer for a barrel. By making their own material they are saving over 500 per cent on each barrel. This means that the insecticide used by the city in any one year in the future will cost about \$75 as against \$450 to \$500, which would have been paid in purchasing the same quantity under the old system.

*

Municipality-Made Street Signs.—A municipal sign writing bureau, for all street and other public signs, has been created by the city of Portland, Oregon, and has been found to be a success. A sign writer,

employed at \$3 per day, is turning out all the signs required and is lettering the windows in municipal buildings, and lettering automobiles and fire and police apparatus, and making all placards, banners, etc., needed by the city. He has a well fitted shop in the basement of the city hall. According to the figures compiled by the state commission, the bureau is making a net saving of 9 cents on each sign.

*

Women Inspectors.—The following cities have women sanitary inspectors: Kalamazoo, Michigan, a sanitary expert; Chicago, a yard superintendent of street cleaning and a garbage inspector; St. Louis, sanitary or health inspectors (fifty club women volunteered to serve as regular city inspectors presumably without pay); Cleveland, the chief of bureau of sanitation and tenement house inspectors is a woman; Philadelphia has a street cleaning inspector and two tenement house inspectors.

II. POLITICS¹

Charter, Franchise and Municipal Affairs in Dallas, Texas.²—On Tuesday, April 4, after an exciting campaign, the citizens of Dallas voted upon nine propositions to amend their city charter, as well as upon a number of ordinances, bond propositions, etc., and for the election of a board of education. This city is operating under the commission form of government and also under the home rule act which authorizes the people to amend their charter biennially.

In this election they adopted charter amendments governing the granting of franchises, changing the method of financing pavements, authorizing pensions for policemen, firemen, and the bereaved dependents of same, increasing the limit of bonds for parks, authorizing commis-

sioners to restrict the building of business houses in residence districts, providing that the city auditor should be nominated by all of the bank presidents of his city, instead of by certain of them as heretofore, authorizing the enactment of ordinances to prevent negroes from moving into any block where whites predominate and vice versa, and revising the saloon limits so as to prevent the conducting of a saloon on the state fair grounds. Curiously, although the tax-paying voters authorized three bond issues, the proposition to increase the bond limit of the city from \$8,000,000 to \$9,000,000 was defeated, for the reason that non-taxpaying voters opposed such increase. The people also adopted a proposition to permit the consolidation of the four street railway corporations of Dallas, and they defeated an initiated jitney ordinance meant to take the place of the jitney ordinance enacted by the commis-

¹ Unless otherwise indicated the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, pp. 490 and 668.

sioners some 10 months ago. The bond issues authorized were \$500,000 for a municipal light plant to serve all users, \$300,000 for storm sewers, and \$350,000 for a plaza in front of the new union station. Authority granted in 1914 to issue \$400,000 for a municipal light plant to light the streets and public buildings only, was canceled.

In a straw vote a majority was given for the proposed street railway and light plant franchises. The propositions relating to these proposed franchises commanded almost exclusive attention throughout the campaign. Dallas has four street railway corporations. These and the principal electric light and power plant were acquired by the Stone & Webster interests in 1902. The franchises of the three street railway corporations east of the Trinity river, as well as the franchise of the electric light company, will expire in 1922. The franchise of the fourth street railway corporation, which was granted by the city of Oak Cliff lying west of the Trinity river before Oak Cliff was annexed to Dallas, has about 25 years to run. Soon after Stone & Webster acquired these properties they began efforts to secure longer term franchises in lieu of those to expire in 1922, but without success. Two years ago a large number of citizens organized what was termed the Greater Dallas association, for the purpose of procuring an amendment of the city charter so as to permit of the granting of indeterminate franchises as well as of franchises limited to 20 years and to eliminate from the charter the requirement that all franchise holders should pay a gross receipts tax of 4 per cent. Henry D. Lindsley, a leading business man, now mayor of Dallas, was prominent in advocating such changes, but this effort also was unsuccessful.

A year later, Mr. Lindsley was elected mayor as the nominee of a citizens association, upon a platform which declared for expert investigation of all public utilities in Dallas and for a settlement of the franchise problem. Together with

the nominees of this association for commissioners, Mr. Lindsley was elected.

In August, 1915, the commissioners employed Edward W. Bemis of Chicago to investigate and report upon the Stone & Webster properties in Dallas and the Dallas gas company. About February 1, he made a preliminary report upon the Stone & Webster companies. Thereupon, the commissioners proposed a franchise charter amendment and also franchises for each, the street railways and the electric light plant.

The proposed amendment, which has been adopted, permitted the granting of determinate franchises for not to exceed 20 years, as heretofore, but it was provided that all such franchises should reserve to the city the right to purchase the properties at expiration or to cause them to be purchased by a new licensee. The amendment also permitted of indeterminate franchises. In lieu of the flat requirement for a 4 per cent tax on gross receipts, it was provided that the city might grant franchises with such a requirement or else with provisions for "service at cost."

The proposed franchises contemplated that the electric light plant should remain the property of a corporation separate from the street railways, as at present, so that the city might buy one or the other or both of the properties at pleasure. It was provided that the four street railways should consolidate. Both of these franchises were indeterminate after 10 years and provided for "service at cost," being modeled after the Cleveland franchises.

Stone & Webster agreed with the commissioners on all points save two: valuations and rates of return. Dr. Bemis valued the Oak Cliff lines, owned by the Northern Texas traction company, which has a franchise with 25 years of life, at \$1,350,000. It seems that this valuation was not controverted. He valued the electric light property at \$3,000,000 and the three street railways in Dallas proper at \$3,500,000, a total of \$6,500,000. Stone & Webster claimed that these properties had actually cost them \$9,700,000.

The Dallas electric securities company, a Maine corporation which holds the stocks, bonds and notes of these four corporations last indicated, is capitalized for \$13,500,000, but Stone & Webster asked that this capitalization should be disregarded in respect to the proposed franchises and asked that their actual investment, \$9,700,000, should be considered. The differences in valuation as between Dr. Bemis and Stone & Webster arose upon two items—depreciation and overhead. Stone & Webster asserted that there should be no deduction for depreciation, as the properties were kept 100 per cent efficient, but Dr. Bemis deducted some \$2,000,000 for depreciation. Stone & Webster claimed that their overhead costs—for promotion, financing, interest during construction, engineering, and legal expenses—amounted to approximately 34 per cent, but Dr. Bemis allowed only 20 per cent therefor. The valuations in this case were for both purchase and rate-making purposes, but there was only a single valuation on each of the properties.

The proposed franchises at first allowed the street railway company a rate of return of 6 per cent and the electric light 7 per cent, this latter company being more prosperous than the other. These rates were non-accumulative, except that as much as one per cent a year above the stipulated rates might be taken to make up deficiencies. Stone & Webster asked for a return of 8 per cent on both properties.

When it seemed that the parties had reached an *impasse*, prominent business men sought to bring them together, with these results: the mayor and the majority of the commissioners agreed to and did add \$500,000 to the light plant valuation because of equities, thus making a total of \$7,000,000 for the light and street railway properties other than the Oak Cliff lines, and they agreed to and did make the rate of return for the light company 8 per cent for 10 years, this in recognition of the corporation's rights under the existing franchise and 7 per cent after 10 years, and they made the

rate of return for the street railway corporation 7 per cent. Stone & Webster offered to accept a valuation of \$8,500,000 for these properties, with a rate of return of 8 per cent, in order to effect a settlement, but this offer was rejected.

At this stage the conferences were concluded and Mayor Lindsley and Commissioners Shannon and Cason voted to submit the franchise amendments to the people and also to submit for a straw vote the two franchises. They further voted to submit a proposition to revoke authority granted in 1914 for the issuance of \$400,000 of bonds for a municipal lighting plant to be limited to city government service and further to submit a proposition to authorize \$500,000 of bonds for a municipal lighting plant for general service. This latter proposition was styled a "club" to be used by the city government to secure the acceptance of the franchises. Commissioners Lang and Winfrey voted against all of these propositions, which afterwards were styled "the mayor's program."

Dr. Bemis's report was not completed until after this action had been taken and was not available to the public until a week or ten days before the election. However, something of its contents had been made known through Mayor Lindsley.

Mayor Lindsley made a brilliant and somewhat spectacular campaign for his program. It was known that he was a splendid organizer, but it developed that he was also a very effective speaker. He carried the burden of the campaign, speaking at noon and at night. His principal assistants were Commissioner Cason, City Attorney O'Donnell, and Thomas B. Love, former superintendent of banking and insurance of the state.

The mayor's program won in entirety except that his proposition to increase the city bond limit was defeated. This may or may not hamper him in issuing electric light bonds. With the cancelation of \$400,000 of electric light bonds formerly authorized there remains a margin of approximately \$1,000,000 in the present bond limit. It may be that this may be stretched to cover the three bond issues

authorized at this election. If not, it is sufficient to care for any two of these issues.

At this writing matters are in *statu quo*. The plans to execute the mayor's program have not begun.

Although a strong fight was made upon all the bond issues upon the ground that no more bonds should be issued for a time, and also upon the ground that the light plant bonds especially should be defeated, the two propositions looking to the purchase of ground for a plaza or park in front of the new union station carried by a liberal majority. This proposition was inaugurated and pressed by *The Dallas Morning News* and *The Evening Journal*.

For some months the board of appraisers of this city has been at work with experts revaluing all of the taxable property according to the Sommers system.

TOM FINTY, JR.¹

*

Los Angeles Mayoralty and Other Municipal Affairs.—When police magistrate Rose was elected mayor of Los Angeles, there was a general expectation that an "open town" would be inaugurated, but this view failed to take into consideration that the temper of the community will not stand for very much latitude along those lines. The liquor business is about as closely and strictly regulated at this writing as it was previous to the advent of Mayor Rose. There is no "red light" district, no dancing in cafés, nor any of the usual concomitants of an "open town." Mayor Rose's accomplishments were practically *nil*, his administration being uneventful and generally unsatisfactory. As a matter of fact, he was not even "urged by his friends" to stand for re-election, an illuminating commentary.

Having made an experiment with a police judge, Los Angeles is now experimenting with a chief of police for mayor. At the election his principal opponent was President Whiffen of the city council, who had been a member of that body for a number of years and chairman of its finance committee. Mr. Whiffen was

a straight and honest official, with an intimate knowledge of the city's affairs. While not taking at all times a broad view of public questions, there was never any doubt about his devotion to the city and his knowledge of its present needs. Chief Sebastian owed his election to a fluke rather than to his attainments. In fact it is doubtful if he would have been elected had it not been for an attack upon his character toward the end of his campaign, when indictments were brought against him by the grand jury for contributing to the delinquency of a minor, for which charge he was tried and acquitted.² A sympathetic reaction was created in the minds of the people by these charges being brought in the midst of a political campaign, and the voters gave him the benefit of the doubt. He was accordingly "vindicated" and elected by a very handsome majority.

Mayor Sebastian's record is very similar to that of his predecessor. In other words, there seems to be very little difference between the qualifications of a police judge and a chief of police for the office of mayor. Sometime possibly Los Angeles may wake up and realize that the question of administering a great city is a professional task, which should be assigned to a professionally equipped man.

Notwithstanding Los Angeles's shortcomings in the matter of chief executives, the city continues to advance materially. The aqueduct enterprise is gradually (although much too slowly) being put on a paying basis. Some revenue is being derived from the sale of aqueduct water, and undoubtedly within a few years most of it will be sold and distributed, largely for purposes of irrigation, until such time as it is needed for domestic use, and thus a princely revenue derived.

Gradually, through a process of annexation, the city is absorbing adjacent desirable territory and communities, and eventually through a process of evolution, there will be a practical consolidation of city and county government.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 487.

¹ Editor, *The Evening Journal*.

The San Pedro harbor, which is in the city limits, is being splendidly developed by a conscientious and competent harbor commission, and, through a course of phenomenally successful litigation pursued by a succession of able and vigilant city attorneys, has been redeemed from private control, so that the waterfront and tidelands, which, only a few years ago, were practically entirely in the hands of private corporate interests, are now almost wholly under municipal ownership and control.

Large problems are up before the state railroad commission for consideration. A suit has been commenced by the city involving the condemnation of practically the entire local plant of the Southern California Edison company, the largest distributor of electric light and power in Los Angeles, in order to use the distributing lines of the private company for the distribution of the 100,000 or more horse power of hydro-electric energy to be produced, practically as a by-product, of the aqueduct. The machinery for the generation of the first unit of this power is practically all installed and in shape, and we are advised by responsible city officials that if the distributing lines were in the control of the city the city could be distributing aqueduct power to its consumers within the year 1916. There is a strong probability of some sort of a working arrangement being arrived at between the city and the private companies looking to eventual acquisition of the private distributing lines within a very few years. If this falls through, however, the city will have to proceed with the building of parallel distributing lines and go into direct competition with the private companies.

The commission also has under consideration the matter of gas rates, which has been a "burning issue" for some time. This problem is complicated by virtue of the fact that the companies serve to the consumers in Los Angeles a mixed product of natural and artificial gas. Eventually a large portion of the gas supply of Los Angeles will be artificial gas produced in the neighboring oil fields.

Los Angeles has had two competing, well developed telephone companies, each having about 100,000 subscribers in Los Angeles county. Most people look upon the necessity for double telephone service as a considerable nuisance. The franchise of the Bell company, doing business under the title of the Pacific telephone & telegraph company, in Los Angeles, is expiring shortly, and there is no disposition on the part of the city authorities to renew same unless there is a getting together of the two companies. This now seems probable, a tentative announcement to the effect that there would be a merger having recently been made.

Taking it by and large, the Los Angeles situation may be summed up: In her elective public officials, the city has fared rather badly, most of them being men of mediocre ability. In the administration of the large departments of the city's business, however, the city has been quite fortunate in having unusually conscientious and high grade men in charge, and its large enterprises have been conducted wholly without graft and entirely in the interests of the people. Notwithstanding, therefore, considerable incompetence in high places, looked at broadly, Los Angeles may be said to be making the same great forward stride in civic advance for which it has become well known during the past decade or two.

Boston's Municipal Election (Dec. 14, 1915) stirred up more public interest than any off-year election since the new city charter went into effect. In addition to the regular annual election of three members of the council of nine elected at large, there was a special vacancy to be filled for an unexpired term of one year. One of the continuing members, Daniel J. McDonald, although recommended by the good government association at the time of his election, had proved a backslider and gone over to the Curley forces. Thus Mayor Curley saw an opportunity, if he could elect his men for the entire four vacancies, to acquire for himself a working majority in the council. He therefore put into the field a ticket of four candidates with his personal backing

and took the stump in their behalf and conducted an active campaign in their interest. He also secured for his candidates the backing of the Democratic city committee, the survival of the old machine, the control of which he had acquired since his election as mayor. Although there are no party designations on the municipal ballot in Boston, the mayor undertook to conduct his campaign for his candidates for the council upon a strictly partisan basis.

In addition the situation was complicated by two candidates appealing for votes ostensibly as Republicans, but really put into the field for the purpose of dividing the Republican vote which otherwise could be counted on to go fairly solidly for the candidates endorsed by the good government association.

The association endorsed a ticket of four candidates, all of whom happened to be Democrats in national politics, but all of whom had a record of faithful and conscientious non-partisan service to the city. The candidates thus endorsed organized a citizens' committee and fought the campaign out squarely upon the issue: Shall Boston have a Curley council or a citizens' council?

In addition to the usual circular of the good government association to every voter, special local circulars were sent out by local citizen committees in every section of the city. The Curley forces mailed a general circular ostensibly in the name of the Democratic city committee and also issued a large number of local circulars. They conducted a campaign of rallies over a period of more than two weeks and the candidates of the association conducted rallies during the last few days of the campaign.

Mayor Curley and his followers resorted to every desperate political trick to try to bring success. Toward the end of the campaign, large numbers of city employes received postal cards asking them to attend at a given time secret meetings in various parts of the city. Only those presenting these postal cards were admitted to these meetings and the cards were collected at the door and a

careful list of those in attendance compiled by the Curley forces. Those city employes neglecting the summons were marked for special attention as far as possible. Those in attendance were urged with threats and in every other possible way to go out and work for the entire Curley ticket. One head of a city department appointed by Mayor Curley issued a circular in German asking all citizens of German descent to rally to the Curley ticket because one of the citizens' candidates was a member of a firm of bankers which had helped float loans for the Allies. The author of a political roorback was pursued about the city by the association candidates and newspaper men in taxicabs and the real facts with regard to his circular were disclosed by a dramatic cross-examination. Altogether the campaign was the most exciting of any recent municipal election other than those at which a mayor was to be chosen.

The results were exceedingly gratifying: 79,578 voters (or 69.45 per cent of the registration) attended the polls. Every candidate endorsed by the good government association was elected by substantial pluralities and in two cases by actual majorities. The vote was as follows:

(For the three terms of three years each)

James J. Storrow (G. G. A.)	42,961
John J. Attridge (G. G. A.)	38,441
Walter L. Collins (G. G. A.)	36,505
James A. Watson (Curley)	32,566
John J. Conway (Curley)	30,939
Redmond S. Fitzgerald (Curley) . .	30,319
Walter N. Baker	5,515
William Berwin	5,389

(For the unexpired term of one year)

Thomas J. Kenny (G. G. A.)	43,346
William F. Doyle (Curley)	31,265

✱

Mayor Lunn, the Socialist mayor of Schenectady, has been expelled from his party because he regards the government of a city as intended for the benefit of its people and not as a part of the party machine.

Chicago's Primary and Municipal Elections.—Faced by two clear issues—whether their city council shall remain a free legislative body and whether the spoils system shall flourish unchecked, to the detriment of efficient municipal government, the voters of Chicago, men and women, at the aldermanic election of April 4 reaffirmed with added emphasis the intelligent verdict they had given at the aldermanic primary February 29.

The issue regarding aldermanic freedom from executive dictation has never been put so strongly in Chicago before. Alderman Merriam on the council floor had made it plain as day. The man in the street knew all about the mayor's efforts to impose his will upon aldermen noted chiefly for their intelligence and independence. The women voters understood the matter quite as clearly as did the men—in the seventh ward, more clearly, as they showed in the primary election when they saved Alderman Kimball from defeat.

The spoils issue was brought vividly before the voters two days before the election by the tragic death of Dr. Theodore B. Sachs, head of the great municipal tuberculosis sanitarium and a national authority on the "great white plague." This institution was practically created by him and erected through an appropriation voted by the people. Day and night for six years he worked for or in it, refusing all compensation.

Popular demand last summer forced upon the reluctant mayor the reappointment of Dr. Sachs. But after ten months of struggle—"a nightmare," he called it—against the use of the institution for political purposes, the director resigned with a protest addressed to the mayor in which he declared that "efficient service under the present conditions is absolutely impossible."

The mayor of Chicago then astounded the people by declaring Dr. Sachs' the worst appointment he had made. The mayor's pliant civil service commission began an "investigation" of the affairs of the institution. Two days before the election Dr. Sachs, broken-hearted, took

his own life. This martyrdom of a wonderfully public-spirited and unselfish man, together with the hunt of extermination made by the "city hall" upon faithful and reliable members of the council, emphasized the election issues.

The result was a complete defeat for the "city hall." Those of the "rebel nine", aldermen who had passed the primary were re-elected by convincing majorities, except Alderman Demsey of the twenty-eighth ward, and he was handicapped by the post-primary indorsement of the ward organization of the "city hall" faction. Where losses to good government occurred in the February primary, they were made up at the April election. Alderman Stern, Republican, was replaced by Ulysses S. Schwartz, Democrat; and Alderman Ray, Republican, was succeeded by John G. Horne, Democrat—both men of good reputation.

Reliable Democrats of the Alderman Richert type were re-elected—Richert, chairman of the finance committee, Doyle, Block and T. J. Lynch. The victories of men like Dr. Nance, Kimball, Kjellander, Link, Pretzel and Watson were decisive and spectacular. Rodriguez, a brilliant Socialist, went back with a big plurality. Wherever, in the so-called "poorer wards," use of city hall patronage had won primary victories, in the final election the result was reversed.

In only three contested wards did the administration win and in each its victory was due entirely to strong political organization. Alderman Michaelson, the mayor's council spokesman, running in a ward which gave Mayor Thompson 13,726 plurality last year, won by 900 votes; Alderman Norris, whose ward had given Mayor Thompson 9,370 plurality, was re-elected by 1,600; Alderman Rea enjoyed the luxury of seeing his Democratic opponent (a city hall jobholder) withdraw from the ticket at the last moment; but at this last moment a substitute Democrat was found. Independent voters of the ward gave him and the Socialist 4,000 votes each, but Rea succeeded in getting back to the council.

The municipal voters' league made recommendations in 34 wards, passing by the first ward, where "Bathhouse John" Coughlin had the usual walk-over because the Republican ward bosses put no real candidate up against him. The league's recommendations were successful in 23 wards, while in 11 wards the candidates endorsed by the league were defeated. Of the eleven opposed, however, five were Socialists recommended in preference to old party candidates who were sure of election.

The league's participation in the primary and election aroused the intense hostility of the mayor and his administration. The league does not make recommendations regarding mayors and concerns itself only with aldermen. In commenting on the records of the aldermen, the league, however, was forced to discuss acts of the administration, and the "city hall" smarted under the charge of the league that the administration was seeking to make "rubber stamps" of the aldermen. The attacks upon the league and its officers continued throughout the contest. They varied from attempts to appropriate the league's name and charter, to personal but wholly irrelevant assaults upon its officers.

In the course of the campaign, the usual non-partisan caucus of aldermen to determine the manner of making up the committees for the succeeding council was called for Thursday, March 23, about two weeks before election. To this caucus more than fifty of the seventy aldermen were invited. The "gray wolf" element as usual was excluded, that being one of the chief purposes of the non-partisan caucus. The aldermen picked a committee of six members, which committee following the election was to recommend a list of council committees and the members thereof for the year 1916-17.

The day before this caucus was held, certain "city hall" aldermen called a special meeting of the council for the same day, to do away with the present method of non-partisan organization, which has been in force for 15 years. The independent element in the council,

with but a half day's notice of the proposed meeting, became active and there was a hasty counting of noses. At the special council meeting the effort of Mayor Thompson's supporters to take the independent aldermen by surprise and to upset the existing non-partisan method of organizing the council was frustrated by 46 to 24 votes. That afternoon the non-partisan caucus was held and Aldermen Richert, Kerner and Geiger, Democrats, and Aldermen Nance, Lipps and Sitts, Republicans, were chosen to recommend the committee list for 1916-17. Following the election the committee on committees announced its intention of going to St. Augustine, Fla., out of reach of political influence, there to make up the council committees for the ensuing year "on the basis of honesty and fitness."

The primary campaign had been fought out on the issue: shall the city council remain a free and independent part of the city government? The Municipal voters' league in its yearly analysis of council activities found this to be the issue. The public recognized it, but the mayor, elected in 1915 by almost 150,000 plurality, embarked in an active campaign against those aldermen who had been leaders in the fight for the independence of the council. Nine of these leaders, who came to be called the "rebel nine," made common cause against the administration. Of their number, Aldermen Nance, Kimball, Kjellander, Link, Watson and Dempsey were renominated after severe contests. The women's votes saved Mr. Kimball from defeat. Alderman Pretzel was renominated without opposition.

Aldermen Stern and Ray were defeated through the mayor's efforts. Ray had been especially valuable—an honest and reliable labor leader. Stern, serving his first year and being the first reliable alderman in the council recall, had shown remarkable judgment in voting right on the questions coming "right off the bat." Thus seven of the "rebel nine" came safely through despite the mayor's fire. The result of the primary was a clear demonstration of the intention of the people

of Chicago that their city shall continue to be council governed.

✱

A Socialist Chosen in Milwaukee.—Milwaukee has chosen another Socialist as its mayor, this time in the person of Daniel W. Hoan, who had been city attorney. This result was due not only to the continuous growth of the Socialist vote, but to the fact that the non-partisan administration had failed to impress itself favorably upon the people of the city. In 1900 the Socialist candidate for mayor received 2,984 votes. Since that time the Socialist vote for this office has increased at every election until at the one in April, 1916, Mr. Hoan received 33,863 votes, a majority of 1,700. The successful candidate will not have back of him a sympathetic administration, for the Socialists elected less than one third of the aldermen and failed to elect their candidates for treasurer and comptroller. The Socialistic vote for these two offices, however, was larger than at any time in the history of the city, while the opposition in both of these offices lost from one to three thousand votes. The personal belief of the secretary of the City club is that Mr. Hoan will do his best to give the city an honest, efficient and democratic administration.

With regard to the council, the secretary of the Voters' league (W. J. Bollenbeck) writes that 31 out of the 37 candidates recommended by the league at the primary election were nominated, and at the final election 23 out of 36 were chosen. In several of the wards no preference was expressed, and in practically all instances with one exception the men who were elected in preference to those recommended by the league were the league's second choice. The fact that the issue was largely Socialism vs. anti-Socialism, and that many voters took this into consideration in casting their votes, prevented other recommendations from being carried out. In the words of the secretary, "Many electors made so-called non-partisanship the basis for their vote, rather than real fitness in some particular instances. The fact that

those officials whom the league recommended for retirement were retired and many of those who were clearly not qualified for office were defeated, shows that our results were anything but discouraging." The Socialists elected nine ward aldermen (they formerly had eight). Former-mayor Seidel was elected alderman at large, having been recommended by the voters' league. The so-called non-partisans elected the other five aldermen at large. With one Socialist alderman at large that party has 11 members, as against 26 non-partisans in the council.

✱

Kansas City's Municipal Election.—After a four years' term of service, Mayor Jost has gone down to a defeat by over 8,000 majority, although two years ago he received a majority approaching 10,000. There seems to be a general feeling of relief among public spirited citizens of Kansas City at this result, although there is a varying interpretation of its meaning. There is a general agreement, however, that elections in this community for years have been notoriously corrupt. One correspondent writes:

"We have just had an election in which the forces of progress have again been returned to office. Mayor Jost was re-elected two years ago by ten thousand majority and was defeated last Tuesday by over eight thousand. In a city the size of this that is some change of sentiment. The fact is in my judgment we nearly carried the election two years ago if we did not carry it. It was stolen from us in the most brazen way. During the last two years the grafters and crooks fell out among themselves over a division of the spoils, so this time we had a fairly honest election with the crooks divided.

"I feel that the experiences of the last two years have been worth while and have left our people so thoroughly disgusted with the old form of city government that we will be able to present and have adopted as near a commission form of charter as our state constitution will permit. I feel we will be able to take up the work where we left off when Mayor Brown was defeated and after quickly restoring all

we lost be able to get all we would have got if he had been re-elected. We have only been delayed four years in our work. We won't be able to undo the street car franchise steal but with that exception all else will be recovered."

✱

Atlantic City's Commission Contest.—

Atlantic City held its second election under the commission form of government on May 9, with results that are variously interpreted. Mayor Riddle had achieved wellnigh national notoriety through his open advocacy of a wide open town and Sunday. His contention was that the prosperity of the city depended upon the maintenance of such a policy. The important interests in the community, which has become perhaps the greatest pleasure ground in the world, took a different view of the matter, feeling that decency and sobriety were civic assets. The ticket representing this latter idea was accordingly supported, and Mayor Riddle was defeated by a substantial majority. So threatening was the menace of Riddle to make the resort the paradise of the sporting element that minor differences of opinion were forgotten in the combined purpose to save the resort from impending degradation. The election of the candidates pledged to the enforcement of law and the preservation of good order was regarded as a triumph for decency, although some of the men on the ticket were supported by old time political interests who seemed to be ready to utilize this opportunity to get back a measure of their lost power. It will be interesting to see whether the aroused sentiment will be equally effective against a reversion to former political methods.

✱

Attempt to Recall the Commission Form of Government in Waukegan, Ill.—In Waukegan before it adopted the commission form of government, like most cities of its size and kind, incompetency and inefficiency were the characteristics of its government, with probably some

incidental graft. Then the commission form was adopted, not because the city was educated for it, but because of the activity of some of the leaders. Little or no sense of responsibility had been aroused and the press was not very active afterward in teaching the citizens how to use the new machinery.

Notwithstanding this, under the commission form many local improvements were made and some economies effected, but considerable of the old inefficiency remained. A spirit of reaction developed in the second election when a mayor of the old school was chosen on the commission form. The town had been extremely "wet." Those who had been responsible for securing the commission form and who had tired of their work were aroused by conditions, and the saloons were voted out by a liberal majority. Before the election the leaders of the "wet" movement started a petition to recall not the commissioners but the commission form of government. The franchise for the street railway was pending and there was a belief that the saloon and corporation interests were hand in glove. A good government league was formed with efficient business men in charge and the recall movement was defeated by a much larger majority than was rolled up in the "wet" and "dry" fight.

The campaign to retain the commission form of government was purely an educational one and the people were made to see the difference between a bad commissioner and the form. The advocates of the existing government used as a picture of the situation a man with a new automobile who had hired a chauffeur to run it. He wrecked the car, broke the speed limits, got arrested and did everything a wise chauffeur should not do with a good car. The question was then asked, what would you do, condemn the car or kick out the chauffeur. The voters then saw the distinction between the machinery and the man, and the day was saved.¹

¹ Based on a letter from Edward Amherst Ott, Waukegan, Ill.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Obligation of Street Railway Company to Pave Portion of Street Between its Tracks.—In the past few months several decisions on this important subject have been rendered. Of these the most important is that of the United States supreme court in *Southern Wisconsin Railway Co. v. City of Madison*.¹ The plaintiffs in error first operated under a franchise which provided (1) that the "said company shall keep the space between the rails and for the distance of one foot on the outside side of the rails in proper repair," and (2) that whenever a street in which were tracks should be paved or macadamized the railway company should also pave and macadamize its portion of the street. In 1892 a new franchise took the place of the old one which omitted the second of the above provisions. It added, however, that the grant was "subject to such reasonable rules and regulations respecting such streets . . . as the said council may from time to time enact. In June, 1910, an ordinance was adopted ordering the railway company to pave its portion of the street with asphalt subject to a penalty of \$50 a day for delay. The city brought suit on this ordinance and the judgment of the state court being for the city the railway company appealed on the ground that the ordinance deprived them of their property without due process of law. The federal supreme court, through Justice Holmes, held that the franchise was reasonably subject to the interpretation that the company must repair, and that, as the state court had found that repair with crushed stone was not a suitable method of repair when the rest of the street was paved with asphalt, its decision was conclusive of the obligation of the company under the franchise. The ordinance imposed no new obligation, but was simply a method of enforcing an existing one and therefore did not deprive the railway company of its property without due process of law. It would seem that this opinion establishes that "repair"

means repair with the materials used on the other portions of the street, or at least in such a manner as not to threaten the security of the remainder of the pavement.²

The case of *United Railways and Electric Co., of Baltimore v. City of Baltimore*³ presents a contrary point of view in a somewhat similar case. This case arose out of the attempt of the city to require the railway company to pay the cost of paving the portion of a certain street situated between its tracks and two feet on each side thereof under an act of the Maryland legislature.⁴ The portion of the line concerned was operated under a franchise dating back to 1859 which required the railway company to "repair" but was silent on the subject of paving and repaving. There was in this franchise a reservation of power to amend. The court held that this was not a proper exercise of the power to amend. "That power," it said, "is not unlimited, and was never intended to confer upon the General Assembly the power to deprive the citizen of his property contrary to the law of the land, or to take private property for public use without just compensation." The court reasoned, therefore, that the payment demanded was a special assessment on private property and could be justified only on the ground of benefit and that it was impossible to show any benefit to the railway company.

This decision, of course, makes it impossible in Maryland to cause a street railway to contribute to the cost of paving a street unless such contribution is required by its franchise. On the question of special assessments⁵ it is undoubtedly sup-

² Supreme court cited as among other authorities the following leading cases: *Reading v. United Traction Co.*, 52 Atlantic 106, 64 Atlantic 446; *N. Y. v. Harlem Bridge, etc., Co.*, 78 N. E. 1072.

³ 96 Atlantic 880.

⁴ Acts 1914, c. 37.

⁵ A contrary view has been taken with regard to special assessments on street railways in several states; see, for example, *Los Angeles Pacific Co. v. Hubbard*, 121 Pacific 306, where it was held that a street railway's use of the street constituted a piece

¹ 36 Supreme Court Reporter 400.

ported by the decisions in some states. On the question of amendment of a franchise under a reserved power of amendment, it is flatly in conflict with the decision of the federal supreme court in the case of *Fairhaven, etc., Ry. v. City of New Haven*¹ in which the facts were almost identical with those in the Baltimore case. The supreme court there held in substance that if the "change and increase of burden" upon the franchise grantee had proper relation to the objects of the grant or any of the public rights of the state, and "is not imposed in sheer oppression and wrong" or in bad faith, it does not violate any of the rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States. The position of the United States supreme court on this question must be admitted to be more reasonable than that of the Maryland court which has the effect of perpetuating a gravel road obligation of 1859 on the part of the franchise holder, while the city and its people are bound by the requirements of the age of concrete.

A somewhat different aspect of this question is presented by *Georgia Railway and Electric Company v. City of Atlanta*.² In this case the street railway operated on its own right of way along one side of the street. The street was improved and the right of way assessed for a portion of the cost of the improvement. The court held that the right of way is not exempt from assessment on the ground of lack of benefit. Benefit it held to be primarily a legislative question into which the court will not inquire except "in extraordinary cases presenting a manifest abuse of legislative authority." The court also upheld provision of Atlanta charter allowing levy upon and sale of such portion of a street railway for non payment of assessment.



Zone Ordinance Again.—In the case of *Curtis v. City of Los Angeles*,³ the supreme court of California established a limit to which it would not carry the doctrine or parcel of land subject to assessment under the Vrooman act.

¹ 27 Supreme Court Reporter 74, 78.

² 87 South Eastern 1058.

³ 156 Pacific 462.

trine of *Hadachek v. Sebastian*.⁴ The plaintiff had established a stable and corral for mules outside the limits of the eight districts in which at that time a permit was required for such an establishment. Later the city council amended the ordinance by creating a small new district including the plaintiff's stable. He was refused a permit although 51 such permits had been granted within the original eight districts. The court held that under the circumstances the ordinance was oppressive and discriminatory.⁵ The supreme court of Louisiana has recently gone so far in the case of *Patout Bros. v. Mayor, etc., of the City of New Iberia*,⁶ as to declare invalid an ordinance forbidding livery stables in the residential section of that city. It held that a livery stable was not a nuisance *per se*. The effect of this case upon the future of zone ordinances is minimized by the fact that the law under which New Iberia is incorporated gives the city only power "to regulate and preserve the peace and good order of the town, and to provide and maintain its cleanliness and sanitary condition." A Baltimore ordinance requiring a permit from the mayor and council in the case of buildings erected or converted for motion picture theatres was upheld as a valid exercise of the police power in *Brown v. Stubbs*.⁷ The court emphasized the danger to life and property involved in the gathering of crowds especially those made up of women and children.



Massachusetts Alternative Charter Act.—The Massachusetts alternative charter act⁸ by which cities in that state, except Boston, may adopt any one of four alternative forms of government was held to be constitutional in *Cunningham v. Rockwood*.⁹ The case arose in Cambridge which had adopted one of the alternatives.

⁴ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 324.

⁵ Cites *Dobbins v. Los Angeles*, 25 Supreme Court Reporter 18.

⁶ 70 Southern 616.

⁷ 97 Atlantic 227.

⁸ Acts of 1915, c. 267.

⁹ 111 North Eastern 409.

This case is peculiarly interesting in view of the recent opinion of the attorney general of New York that a part of the alternative charter act of that state was unconstitutional. We hope to give the readers of the *Review* a fuller discussion of this subject in a later issue.

✱

Conflict Between a City Ordinance and a Railroad Commission Order.—The railroad commissioners of Florida ordered the Atlantic Coast Line Railway to erect a wooden station at St. Cloud in a location where an ordinance of that city required a fire-proof structure. When the commissioners sought to enforce the order by mandamus the writ was refused in *State ex rel Burr v. Atlantic Coast Line Railway* because of the effect on the reasonableness of the order of the ordinance in question.

✱

Public Utilities.—Several important decisions affecting public utilities deserve more than the brief mention which can be given them here. In *McNinch v. Auburn Mutual Lighting and Power Co.*,¹ it was held that where a franchise ordinance provides for meters but, while it defines the rates to be charged for current, is silent on the subject of a charge for the meter, no such charge can be made. Following a contrary rule of interpretation the supreme court of Alabama in *Birmingham Waterworks v. Hernandy* that where in a water company franchise there is nothing said about making service connections and bringing the water to the property line, the connection must be supplied at the expense of the consumer. This is one more authority on what has been the minority side of this question. In *City of Portland v. Portland Railway Light and Power Co.*² and *City of Portland v. Portland Gas and Coke Co.*,³ it was held that a provision of a franchise for the payment of 2½ per cent of the gross receipts of the grantee to the city in lieu of all other charges, etc., was no bar to the imposition by the city of a 3 per cent gross receipt tax on all corporations. The city could not

contract away its taxing power, and the fact that certain franchises contain no gross receipt provision did not produce inequality or discrimination of a character to invalidate the tax.

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The Jitney Bus Once More.—*Huston v. City of Des Moines*⁴ upholds a jitney bus ordinance requiring license, bond, etc., passed in accordance with general law.⁵ The court held that "jitney motor busses" was a reasonable classification. Great emphasis was also laid on the plenary authority of the legislature to regulate common carriers in the streets.⁶

✱

Parking of Automobiles in Streets.—This subject, one of the most vexed problems with which our city fathers have to deal, has received thorough judicial treatment because of the obstinacy of a Des Moines lawyer. An ordinance of that city was adopted forbidding the leaving of automobiles and other vehicles on certain streets for more than a limited time. Pugh, an attorney, insisted on standing his machine before his office on one of the prohibited streets, and sought to enjoin the enforcement of the ordinance. The situation was complicated by a state statute forbidding motor vehicles to be left within twenty feet of a corner or of a hydrant. The act further provided that a city could not exclude the owner of an automobile from the free use of the public highway. Pugh contended that under this statute he had a right to leave his automobile standing in front of his office indefinitely. The Iowa supreme court in the very clear and well reasoned case of *Pugh v. City of Des Moines*,⁷ asserted the right of the city to prevent the private use of its streets and to keep them open to the public. On the question of the rights of the individual

⁴ 156 N. W. 883.

⁵ Section 754 a Supplemental Supplement, 1915.

⁶ Other recent cases on this subject are: *State v. Seattle Taxicab and Transfer Co.*, 156 Pacific 837; *Hazelton v. City of Atlanta*, 87 South Eastern 1043; *City of New Orleans v. Le Blanc*, 71 Southern 248. They all uphold the constitutionality of the regulations imposed.

⁷ 156 N. W. 892.

¹ 156 N. W. 1075.

² 156 Pacific 1058.

³ 156 Pacific 1070.

it went back to Lord Ellenborough's famous declaration in *Rex v. Cross*.¹ "No one can make a stable yard of the king's highway." The court held in conclusion that the statute must be construed "to mean that free use which is involved in

the right to come and go and drive upon the streets without let or hindrance. The idea of the free use of a street does not involve the right to obstruct the free use of the street." THOMAS H. REED.

University of California.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The Convention of the Intercollegiate Division, National Municipal League.—The convention of the intercollegiate division of the National Municipal League on April 28 and 29 was most successful, and promises well for the future of our work. Besides the secretary and the speakers at the various meetings, there were present delegates from the following universities: Ohio University, Colgate University, Emory and Henry College, Pennsylvania State College, Yale University, University of North Dakota, College of the City of New York, Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania, Reed College, and Haverford College.

After registering at the city club, the delegates met at the faculty club at Columbia University at one o'clock, and were received and welcomed by Professors C. A. Beard and H. L. McBain and Dean Keppel of Columbia, after which we had the pleasure of meeting and of hearing a short address upon the new significance of political problems by President Nicholas Murray Butler. At the luncheon which was held at the faculty club, Professors Beard and McBain and Dean Keppel made short talks in which they spoke of the value of the college civic clubs, and touched upon questions of policy with special reference to the part the faculty members should take in the work of the clubs.

Following the luncheon from 2.30 until 5.15 o'clock a business meeting of the delegates was held. The secretary made a statement concerning his endeavor to bring the clubs together since the first of the present year, and concerning the future policy for the clubs. He described the personnel of the new advisory committee, showing that all were men who

had had vital contact with community problems in various parts of the country, and who should be very helpful in offering suggestions for the future work of the clubs. He then showed the booklet on "Social Activities for Graduates" that had been printed for distribution among recent graduates, or men about to graduate. Copies of this booklet were distributed among the delegates, also copies of a chart that had been prepared by a Pennsylvania student, relating to the distribution of the budget of Philadelphia. Suggestions were made concerning possible ways by which the secretary could be of service to the clubs, in distributing literature, suggesting topics, and securing speakers for the clubs.

Following the report of the secretary, reports of great interest concerning the work of their respective clubs were made by the following men: Messrs. Hunt of Yale, Johnson of Reed College, Shorb of the University of North Dakota, Ellenbogen of the College of the City of New York, Collings of Colgate, Stevens of the University of Pennsylvania, McVey of Ohio University, and Adams of Penn State. As Williams College could not be represented at the convention at this time, their secretary, Meredith Wood, sent an elaborate statement of the activities of that very active club.

After hearing the reports from the clubs there was held an election of three members to represent the students upon the advisory committee of the intercollegiate division, the following being elected: Paul Shorb of the University of North Dakota, Clinton Biddle of Colgate, and Mr. Stevens of the University of Pennsylvania.

Much discussion was held on the question as to how to stimulate studies of local community problems and the follow-

¹ 3 Campbell 224.

ing resolution was adopted: "That students in the various clubs submit during the year studies of local community problems, which shall be judged by members of the advisory committee; and that publication of the best of these studies be made from time to time by the National Municipal League."

At 7 p.m. the delegates convened at the city club for the annual banquet. The toastmaster was Lawson Purdy, president of the National Municipal League. The speakers were Professor Howard B. Woolston of the College of the City of New York, Professor Frank D. Watson of Haverford College, Francis B. Sayre of Williams College, and F. P. Gruenberg of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research. The addresses of these gentlemen were more than usually inspiring. Professor Woolston emphasized the point that in the work of reform the crusading spirit no longer availed, but that effort should be made in the direction of a painstaking presentation of the facts of government to the masses of the people. Mr. Sayre dwelt with eloquence upon the insidious and stubborn forces of greed and selfishness that were always present in any community problem. Professor Watson dwelt at length upon the conditions of poverty, but showed that, upon the whole, there were forces of progress at work, and that among these the work of volunteer service had a definite place. Mr. Gruenberg dwelt upon the work accomplished by the bureaus of municipal research in making scientific presentations of facts for the better information of all the people. The force and significance of these addresses are but very inadequately portrayed by the foregoing statements. As a fine climax to them all, Mr. Purdy told of the marked change in attitude towards public problems that had taken place in his lifetime, stating that such a convention would not have been possible, nor such views as had been presented, when he first began his public service.

It was the unanimous opinion of the men present that the meeting had been one of rare inspiration and helpfulness,

and that it promised well for the future work of the clubs.

After the meeting a portion of the delegates including the secretary took the train for Washington, where the men spent a most enjoyable day. Visits were made to the Capitol, the White House, the Pan American Building, Arlington cemetery and the Lee mansion, and to other points of interest. At the office of the secretary of war, the Hon. Newton D. Baker cordially received us and told us of his own experiences as a leader of a boys' club in a Cleveland settlement.

Your secretary can only add that in his short experience with the clubs there appear very great possibilities for our future development and usefulness.

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD.¹



The First National Conference on Community Centers, held in New York from April 19 through April 22, continues as a permanent organization with H. A. Lipsky, chairman of the Chicago school board's committee on community centers, as president. The conference was attended by delegates from 68 cities, and was the scene of debates more heated than are usual at social service congresses.

These debates, which were of practically universal significance, grew out of the following circumstances:

Community centers, while making use of school buildings and other public properties, and while promoted by public authority, are nevertheless local in character, using the initiative of adult citizens and of special groups, and subject more or less to the control of these local groups. The community center includes all phases of recreation and, in addition, many departments of social service and medicine, and no small measure of adult education.

At the conference, there was a violent clash between the prevailing conventional standpoint, according to which public school work is administered by experts from central headquarters, and the new impulse according to which the wider education of the whole public takes the

¹Secretary, Intercollegiate Division, National Municipal League.

form of local self-expression, with a strong tendency toward local home-rule and toward the development of small administrative units.

The advocates of authority and centralization were led by Sidney A. Teller, of the Chicago west park system, and Edward J. Ward, of the bureau of education at Washington. The New York delegates, followed by the majority of the conference, advocated a limited, but progressive home rule, carried out under charter grants or licenses issued to local groups by public authority. This latter standpoint was characterized by Edward J. Ward as "syndicalism" and "I. W. W. philosophy," while Ward's point of view was described by opponents as being both archaic and socialistic.

Equally heated debates grew out of the proposition, boldly laid down by speakers on the opening night of the conference, that community center work should be partially and increasingly self-supporting. James Ford, of the department of social ethics of Harvard, drew a comparison between community centers and the industrial co-operative societies of Europe, which are wholly self-supporting. Burdette G. Lewis, commissioner of corrections of New York City, declared that public taxation was wholly inadequate to meet the growing needs of community center work, while Luther H. Gulick, the presiding officer of the conference, outlined a plan for the creation of a service corporation, which would promote community centers without controlling them, and perform wholesale and standardizing services throughout the system of centers. These propositions had been reinforced in advance through a report of the committee on the financial support of community work, which contained on its membership Samuel McCune Lindsay, Clarence A. Perry, Raymond B. Fosdick, and others. This report, after pointing out the impossibility of developing a comprehensive community center work through taxation alone, stated: "The spiritual essence of the community center is the spontaneous, self-acting, free but co-operative assemblage of the people to secure advantages

which they want or can be led to want. Such responsible self-government can be developed only under conditions of fiscal responsibility, and of control over the local fiscal policy."

The above point of view caused a cleavage in the conference, which followed almost identical lines with the cleavage over the issues between central control and local autonomy. Sidney A. Teller denounced what he termed the proposed commercialization of the movement. Edward J. Ward declared that the community movement, menaced by the methods of syndicalism on one hand, was evidently being confiscated by the designs of plutocracy on the other.

The subject of free speech in school buildings received impressionistic treatment, and the proposal to establish self-supporting community clinics, which was made by Dr. Haven Emerson, New York commissioner of health, Dr. Thomas D. Wood of Columbia University, and others, was assailed bitterly by the chairman of the legislative committee of the county medical association of New York.

The conference did a volume of work, in spite of these disputes which reverberated in the newspapers. Sessions were devoted to the following subjects in addition to the ones already mentioned: Immigration; co-operative art; the delinquent child; recreation; the demands of the community center on the city plan; the administration of local centers.

In a notable speech, Charles McCarthy, of Wisconsin, called on the community centers of the whole country to co-operate in making possible the effective distribution of immigrants. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, of the Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service, discussed the need for civic training through a debate of live issues which would, nevertheless, be promoted and more or less guided by public authority. Earl Barnes of Philadelphia criticized the commercial and public amusements alike as having a tendency to dis sever the family and to herd the people into sex groups and age groups.

The conference organized on a permanent basis with the following officers:

President, Harry A. Lipsky, Chicago, Ill.; vice-president, Mrs. Mary Van Meter Grice, Philadelphia, Pa.; secretary, John Collier, New York City; treasurer, Miss Pauline Witherspoon, Louisville, Ky.

✱

A Council of Civic Forums.—The pioneers of the National Municipal League, who have labored so long and earnestly to create and promote a better civic spirit, will be interested and heartened by the development of a movement which has already proved in many communities the agency of social and civic regeneration. The "Open Forum Movement" is less than ten years old, but starting with Ford Hall in Boston under the leadership of George W. Coleman,¹ who had caught his inspiration from the Cooper Union meetings in New York, it has spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf. Those most immediately concerned find it difficult to believe their own experiences. Eight years ago a few hundred people gathered one Sunday evening in Ford Hall without anyone, including the leader, in the least realizing the tremendous significance of the occasion.

The first forum council, held in connection with the Sagamore sociological conference, brought together a few people representing a group of forums in and about Boston. The second, held last year in Ford Hall, was attended by forumites from as far away as Rochester and Buffalo. The third national open forum council, held in Buffalo on May 7, 8, and 9, was a distinctively national gathering, with delegates from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to Florida, even including a representative of a possible forum movement in Japan and China. The three days were crowded with splendid and stimulating addresses, and with a most vital interchange of experience and opinion. Delegates were present and reports received from more than one hundred forums.

Those more or less accustomed to the ordinary conventions were greatly im-

pressed with the fact that this council was tremendously in earnest and exuberantly alive. Its outstanding characteristic was its democracy. It had no bosses, and its leaders repeatedly confessed themselves humble followers of the spirit of the movement.

"Ford Hall Folks," started originally to report the Ford Hall meetings for their own constituency, has become a national forum magazine, its forum council number being an important twenty-eight page affair and running into an edition of many thousand copies. Another striking development of the movement has been the Co-operative forum bureau, with an office at 9 Myrtle St., Boston, which is working out this year the co-operative problems of more than a hundred forums, and putting at their disposal many of the most effective and vital leaders of American democracy.

The older forums have everywhere become creators of community opinion, and many of them, such as the Melrose community meetings, have become definite leaders of community action. The third council revealed the fact that the forum movement has passed the experimental stage, and while its scope and character is not wholly defined and its best leaders hope to keep it fluid for a long time to come, it is a force increasingly to be reckoned with in the discussion of the problems of our time and an increasing inspiration to all democratic spirits.

HAROLD MARSHALL.²

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Civics at the Biennial.³—The General Federation of Women's Clubs embraces organizations of all sizes, varieties and aims. To a civic-minded person the entire program seemed to have been prepared to present a utilitarian slant, so that, when the committee conferences on education and civics or home economics and public health were scheduled for the same hour, it was a question of guessing which conference would provide the most stimulating civic pabulum.

¹ Founder of the Melrose Community Meetings.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 343.

³ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 713.

A perusal of the committees organized by the federation is suggestive: Art, civics, civil service reform, conservation, education, home economics, industrial and social conditions, legislation, literature and library extension, music, public health—not one that does not include civic features. Observe that literature is now coupled with the very practical civic problem of library extension. Glance over the program of the art conference and note the report on *civic* art and over the program of the music conference and note the talks on *community* music by Mrs. Henrietta Baker Low, on *municipal* music by Mrs. Robert McArthur and music *settlements* by Arthur Farwell and David Mannes. The civic significance of the other committees is obvious.

Monday, May 29, was "civic day." In the morning at the general session, Mrs. George Zimmerman presented her printed report. Dr. Carter Hehn Jones of Seattle spoke on the new civic idealism, laying stress on the inspirational appeal of civic righteousness and setting forth the value of prevention and permanence as against remedies and popularity.

Thomas Adams, town planning adviser of the Canadian commission of conservation, delivered an address on planning for civic betterment. After calling attention to the forty-two and a half millions of city residents in the United States and the trend of the present rate of increase in urban population, Mr. Adams made a plea for city planning. He said that the germinating slum must not be allowed to germinate; that housing is at the root of the city planning problem and that proper control of the development of land should go hand in hand with all housing reforms. He declared that one of the underlying causes of the Dublin riot was the abominable housing of the working people in that city. In Nova Scotia an act of prevention has been passed limiting the number of houses to twelve on an acre. The model garden cities of England have shown us that crowded slums and stultified child life are not necessities, said Mr. Adams. In his opinion the United States could undertake no more patriotic pro-

gram than to provide good homes for the incoming aliens. From love of home, love of country takes its rise and civic freedom can only develop unhampered when accompanied by civic foresight and civic virtue.

In the afternoon the civics committee held an important conference. After a talk on the value of co-operation with chambers of commerce, by John E. Lathrop, Clinton Rogers Woodruff of the National Municipal League spoke on the city efficient. Mr. Woodruff pointed out the new era of municipal theory. He called attention to the model city charter which the National Municipal League has lately issued in line with the best modern theory. The old idea, said Mr. Woodruff, was to put everything in a city charter. That plan was based on fear of the people. City charters were drawn for many years on the theory of checks and balances. The model city charter puts the power into the hands of a council of 5 to 15 men, according to the size of the city, elected on the short ballot principle. The men who have to do with policies are elected and they are responsible for securing a city manager charged with the responsibility of administering the affairs of the city. This means responsiveness as well as responsibility.

There should be a city plan, said Mr. Woodruff, and it should be put into effect. Too often a city plan is set forth in an illustrated pamphlet which is endorsed by the women's clubs, the chamber of commerce and the city council, and that is the end of the matter. That should be the beginning.

But, said Mr. Woodruff, a model charter, a city plan and a good administration will fail unless there is also the efficient co-operation of the whole community. Good government cannot be imposed on the people. It must be worked out by the people themselves.

Richard B. Watrous of the American Civic Association made a special plea that the club women write to their senators and representatives asking them to back the Newlands resolution to reconsider the unwise action authorizing the erection of

power houses within sight of the White House in Washington.

Mrs. Imogen B. Oakley of Philadelphia¹ said that she talked to a group of janitresses and scrub women and asked them what it was that they found most difficult to endure. They said that it was the noises—the useless noises, the screams of the street vendors, the hand organs, police whistles, the crowing of roosters and the barking of dogs. They did not say the trolley cars, because they are necessary. The hand organ man, said Mrs. Oakley, earned his money to *stop* playing and not for playing. Some cities prohibit whistles except for emergencies. London forbids all bells between 9 p.m. and 9 a.m. Mrs. Oakley concluded with the authoritative statement that every person needs quiet to keep in good health.

Much interest was aroused by the address of Cranston Brenton, chairman of the national board of review of motion pictures, perhaps, because it was evident that many of the club women did not entirely agree with him. Mr. Brenton believes that the motion picture is the greatest single potential power in the world at present. Considered by size of investment the industry has taken on enormous proportions. The order is as follows: agriculture, transportation, oil, steel and motion pictures. The national board is opposed to legalized censorship and to federal inspection. The board believes that the motion picture should have the same freedom as the pulpit, the theatre and the press.

Perhaps the most over-crowded conference of the biennial was the home economics conference held on the afternoon of May 26, where the subjects of food, shelter, the child and clothing were considered. Dr. Carl Alsberg explained the necessity for uniform food laws; Lawrence Veiller suggested ways in which women—and men—could help solve the housing problem. He laid special stress on the fact that the whole community suffered from housing evils in any part of it and said that the whole community

must co-operate to bring about better housing.

Hand in hand with good *housing* should come good *housekeeping* and this problem and its answer Miss Mabel Hydge Kirtledge, president of the association of practical housekeeping centers, presented in graphic fashion.

Miss Julia Lathrop, chief of the children's bureau, spoke of the necessity for maternity hospitals and medical attendance in the smaller towns and rural districts if we are to conserve the nation's mothers and their children.

The public health conference, held on May 30, attracted much favorable comment. Of special interest to the club women who had co-operated with the baby week campaign was the report of Mrs. Etta Goodwin, of the children's bureau, who stated that 7,000 letters had been received by the bureau from 4,600 communities. Eight hundred inquiries came from towns of less than 500 population. The campaign, said Mrs. Goodwin, had directed the attention of the whole country to the importance of conserving child life.

Mrs. Zimmerman in her report of the civics department for the biennial period of 1914-16 has followed in the footsteps of her illustrious predecessor, Miss Zona Gale. She emphasizes that most important factor in civic improvement, *continuity of effort*. A start has been made in the way of persuading school boards to introduce into the public schools training in citizenship and morals; but much remains to be done. State-wide "clean-ups" have been carried on in many states following a proclamation from the governor. The department holds membership in the American Civic Association and in the National Municipal League and has rendered "valiant assistance" to the better baby movement. "Unprecedented and widespread interest" has been shown in the problem of motion pictures. The department has assisted in compiling a set of principles as a basis of criticism to be used by censors in the selection of suitable pictures for young people.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 231.

Perhaps, on the whole, the most noticeable trend of the civic program of the biennial, in all its committees, was its humanitarianism. The federal government, the state, the city, the home, were all considered as they served to conserve human life and minister to human achievement.

HARLEAN JAMES.¹

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The Eighth National Conference on City Planning was held in Cleveland, Ohio, on June 5, 6, 7. The Cleveland chamber of commerce acted as host and entertained the delegates at luncheons, banquets and automobile trips. The attendance was the largest in the history of the conference. More than sixty cities and communities were represented by delegates. More public officials, including mayors, city engineers, and planning commissions were present, than at any previous meeting. Real estate interests were especially well represented. The prominent operators of large subdivisions in more than a dozen cities were either present in person or were represented by their engineers or architects. The large number of delegates from cities of less than 100,000 population, indicates how the interest of city planning is spreading.

The meeting was distinctly a conference on the practical questions involved in city planning. Talk and generalities about the city beautiful were notably absent. How to build and rebuild cities so as to make them convenient and comfortable was the dominant note in the several sessions. The discussions following the papers and addresses showed that delegates were seeking practical suggestions which could be applied to the solution of their own local problems.

The leading subjects for discussion were, planning of subdivisions, districting by private effort and by municipal regulations, regulating building heights, street systems and transit problems, traffic regulations, and park system and recreation grounds.

The first luncheon meeting was given over to three minute speeches by delegates

¹ Secretary, Baltimore Women's Civic League.

from all sections of this country and Canada. One session was devoted to Cleveland's needs and achievements, discussed by experts from other cities. One luncheon given by the chamber of commerce, and attended largely by business men, was addressed by Thomas Adams of Toronto, Canada.

Frederick Law Olmsted was re-elected chairman, and Flavel Shurtleff of Boston, secretary.

MAYO FESLER.

✱

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.—Detroit is the latest city to adopt the municipal research idea as a means to improving the character of its municipal government. The Detroit bureau was incorporated March 22, and began work April 15 with offices at 100 Griswold St. In addition to municipal work, the incorporators have included the county and state within the field of the new organization. The new bureau is amply supplied with funds which have been raised by private subscription, and the work has been undertaken for an initial period of three years. Freedom from partisan politics is assured by the fact that any trustee who holds office or becomes a candidate for public office or accepts any public employment shall automatically dissolve his connection with the institution.

It is also expected that the bureau will afford a large field of training for public service as arrangements have been made with the University of Michigan by which graduate students in political science wishing to obtain degrees in public service courses will be required to spend a minimum of three months with the bureau. It is likely that this period of apprenticeship will be increased to one year in the immediate future.

The director is L. D. Upson, formerly director of the Dayton bureau and lately executive secretary of the National cash register company.

✱

Municipal Publications.¹—The increase in the number of municipal publications

² See vol. iv, p. 320.

continues apace. Those issued by the cities represent a very healthy development, indicating a willingness on the part of city officials to give an accounting of their stewardship. The latest city to join the ranks is that of Asheville, N. C., which now issues a very attractive *Municipal Bulletin*. It is sent free to all taxpayers in the city.

The *Toledo City Journal* is another municipal publication published by the commission on publicity and efficiency provided for in the new Toledo charter. Columbus also provides for an official publication in its new charter.

Minnesota Municipalities is a bi-monthly devoted to municipal progress in that state, published by the League of Minnesota Municipalities. G. A. Gesell is the editor. The initial numbers are filled with interesting and suggestive matters.

Washington Municipalities represents a somewhat more ambitious undertaking, being much bulkier and containing much longer and more serious articles. It is the official organ of the League of Washington Municipalities and is edited by Dr. H. A. Brauer, the municipal reference librarian of the University of Washington.

The Public Servant is the title of the official organ of the Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service. Dr. E. A. Fitzpatrick, the secretary of the organization, is likewise editor of the organ. It is a sprightly and informing publication.

The Brooklyn Civic League is the latest local voluntary organization to issue a bulletin. Volume I, number 1, appeared under date of May 1916 under the auspices of the executive and civic secretaries. While most of the news is of local interest, it is got out in such a form as to be interesting to outside readers.

Civic Affairs is the title of a monthly bulletin to be published by the Civic League of Cleveland. The first issue is devoted largely to city manager government, containing an address on the principle by Professor A. R. Hatton, and on the practice by Henry M. Waite of Dayton.

An Emigrant Relief Fund and the Cy Press Doctrine.—A million dollar trust fund established 64 years ago for the benefit of the stream of emigrants going through St. Louis to the West has just been applied to a new use by an act of the St. Louis municipal assembly creating a Travelers' aid bureau at Union station. This fund, known for years throughout the middle west as the Mullanphy emigrant relief fund, was created in 1851 by Bryan Mullanphy, former mayor of St. Louis, as a trust fund administered by 13 unpaid commissioners appointed by the city council. The fund was restricted to the aid of "poor emigrants and travelers coming to St. Louis on their way bona fide to settle in the west." Under it \$250,000, the income, has been spent in aiding travelers. In recent years the amount spent annually for the purpose has dwindled to \$2,000 or less because of the restrictive clause in the will which has made the fund inoperative since the stream of settlers stopped.

The new use is well within a literal construction of the will although its spirit is somewhat different. The travelers' aid bureau at the union station will seek to meet all incoming travelers and immigrants, whether on their way to the west or not. It will directly aid those on their way to the west as before and will offer much needed aid, such as advice and reference to other agencies, to those who are to remain in the city. Under the new charter, the board has been reduced to three unpaid commissioners appointed by the mayor. It is the intention of the commissioners to spend most of the \$40,000 a year income in social services intended by the founder rather than as in recent years to devote it to improvements in the fund's tenement property.

✦
Baldwin Prize Competition.¹—Thirteen essays were submitted for the 1916 William H. Baldwin prize on "Efficient Billboard Regulation." The prize was awarded to Miss Bernice Brown, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass. Honorable mention

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 169.

was made of the essay submitted by Phillips Bradley, Lincoln, Mass.

Three essays were submitted from the University of Cincinnati; two from Harvard; two from the University of Texas; one from Radcliffe College; one from the University of Pennsylvania; one from the University of California; one from the University of Southern California; one from Adelbert College; one did not give his college.

The judges were Albert S. Bard, of the New York bar, member of the late Mayor Gaynor's commission on billboard regulation, Frank B. Williams, of New York, lecturer and expert on certain phases of city planning and Prof. James Sturgis Pray, School of Landscape Architecture, Harvard University.

*

A Princeton Survey has been undertaken with Arthur Evans Wood, formerly of Reed College, Portland, Oregon, now a Harrison fellow at the University of Pennsylvania, in charge.

*

Loring Day.—Minneapolis has established April 28 as Loring Day in honor of Charles M. Loring (a member of the National Municipal League), who is the founder of the Minneapolis park. On this day the school children and all other citizens for that matter are urged to plant trees, special services being held in the schools for that purpose.

*

Mayor James R. Hanna, after six years of service in the Des Moines commission, has retired. John MacVicar, formerly a mayor under the old regime and also a member of one of the earlier commissions, has succeeded him. Mr. Hanna is a candidate for lieutenant governor of Iowa.

*

Harland Bartholomew, who has been secretary and engineer of the Newark city plan commission, is now in charge of the work of the Citizens' city plan committee of St. Louis.

*

Edward W. Bemis, who was recently dropped by the mayor of Chicago as an expert for the board of street railway

engineers, has been employed by the Chicago council committee on gas, oil and electric light in its investigation of the gas company prefatory to fixing new gas rates in August. Evidently the Chicago council does not agree with the mayor in his estimate of Dr. Bemis's ability.

*

Stiles P. Jones, formerly secretary of the Voters' league of Minneapolis, has been appointed executive secretary of the Central franchise committee of Minneapolis, a co-operative citizens agency acting in the public interest, to aid in securing a fair settlement of the Minneapolis street railway franchise problem.

*

C. G. Morrison has resigned as secretary of the Seattle municipal league and has been succeeded by George B. Littlefield. In commenting on the change, the *Seattle Municipal News* says: "The league since its inception has been fortunate in the men who have represented it officially, but in none more so than its secretaries. Mr. Morrison, who succeeded Clancy M. Lewis, and was the first to give the league full time, retires knowing that the league is free from debt despite the deficit that existed when he took charge and the increased budget that his incumbency entailed, and that the membership has been increased. The *Municipal News* is on a firmer basis than ever before. The bureau of municipal research, though still a consummation of the future, represents constructive effort. Mr. Morrison retires with the good will of the officers and members."

*

Evans Clark of Princeton University has been elected director of the bureau of information established by the New Jersey League of Municipalities. It will be located in and operated under the direction of the Princeton University library.

*

C. E. Rightor has been elected director of the Dayton bureau of municipal research.

*

Miss Alice M. Holden, who has been assistant to Professor William Bennett

Munro of Harvard University, has been appointed to the staff of Vassar College, her duties to begin next September. She will organize and conduct the work in municipal government in that institution. Hitherto no independent instruction in this subject has been given at Vassar. It is a hopeful sign of the times that Vassar is taking up this field of work, and also that they have been able to secure a competent woman to handle it.

*

Frank J. Symmes, for many years a member of the advisory committee and a member of the council of the National Municipal League from 1905 to 1912, died

March 14 1916. Mr. Symmes, as president of the Merchants association of San Francisco, later merged in the Chamber of commerce, in the formation of which he took an active part, was an active civic force in San Francisco. Of a conservative type of mind, he was always friendly to new suggestions and always insisted that the interests of the community should be regarded as paramount.

*

Eugenius H. Outerbridge, for a number of years a member of the council of the National Municipal League and a contributor to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, has been elected president of the Chamber of Commerce of New York.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

THE LAW AND THE PRACTICE OF MUNICIPAL HOME RULE. By Howard Lee McBain. New York: Columbia University Press. 1916.

This book should have a cordial welcome. The constitutional right of a city to govern itself has been a theme of fluent discourse for more than forty years in this country, and it is high time that someone should take the pains to tell us what it really means. Professor McBain has done this in a volume which for comprehensiveness of research, accuracy of statement, sound reasoning and general good-workmanship is a credit to the institution which he serves and to American philosophical scholarship. He has indeed raised a standard to which the wise and honest may repair.

The term municipal home rule, as used in current political discussion, covers a wide range of appealing generalities. To the friends of good government it is a watchword for use in guarding the city's interests against the schemes of wily state politicians; on the other hand the spoils-men have invoked its aid with equal ardor against the march of civil service reform. Everyone professes to believe in home rule as a principle, but not one in ten among those who employ the term so glibly at the forum or on the hustings have any fair notion of its proper scope, its meaning, and least of all, its necessary limitations. Home rule is not merely a matter of principle; it is a question of settling many practical details and solving many difficult problems.

Professor McBain has rightly begun his narrative, therefore, with a definition of what municipal home rule expresses and implies. It is not the right of a city to be a miniature republic, wholly free from all higher control and supervision, to be a law

unto itself in matters of taxation, indebtedness, and the maintenance of public order. The right of a city to borrow its way into bankruptcy, for example, is not a self-evident right. Higher control there must be to some extent; the whole question is as to how far this control should extend, and that is a question presenting a host of knotty problems which no one can solve by waving them aside.

Municipal home rule, in its proper sense, means the constitutional right of cities to frame and adopt their own charters subject to the supremacy of the state laws in what may be compendiously called "matters of general concern." But what are matters of general concern, and what are the things in which local autonomy should be unrestricted? That is the question to which Professor McBain devotes the greater part of his book. Twelve states have adopted the home rule charter system. In each of them a body of jurisprudence relating to the respective areas of state and local control has been evolved. It has been the author's task to go through this entire body of public law with infinite care and patience, subjecting every bit of it to a critical review and scrutiny. Only by so doing, if at all, could anyone hope to discover just what the law is and what the practice has been.

Speaking broadly, the eighteen chapters of the book fall into three unequal divisions. First, there is a discussion of the basis and scope of legislative control over cities, with a summary of the attempts which were made during the latter half of the nineteenth century, notably in the states of the middle west, to prohibit special legislation. Then follows, chapter by chapter, a critical analysis of home rule procedure, practice, and limitations in Missouri, California, Washington, Minn-

esota, Colorado, Oklahoma, Arizona, Oregon, Michigan, Ohio, Nebraska, and Texas. The most illuminating experience has been that of California, to which five chapters, including in all nearly one hundred pages, are devoted. Finally, there is a cogent summary of conclusions in which the author, with a masterly grasp of his subject, spreads the whole panorama before his readers.

Seven hundred pages devoted to the special subject of municipal home rule may seem to betray a distorted sense of proportion. But every page is to the point; there is no incorporation of irrelevant matter, no prosy sermonizing, and no wasting of words. It is merely that the author has ventured to wrestle fairly with complicated questions which others have either blithely ignored or willfully evaded. To get to the bottom of this subject has been no tyro's job, and the pages of this book contain the patient labor of years. From cover to cover it bears the impress of a steady hand and sound judgment. The author has finished a task which will not have to be done again in our generation.

In a day when so much shoddy stuff is being hurled into print upon the subject of how the American city ought to conduct its business, some of it by men who have made no conspicuous success in managing their own, this serious and unpilfered discussion of a basic question is doubly welcome. We have had far too much hawking of platitudes by writers on the subject of municipal government. The temptation thereto has been great, no doubt, because almost anything which relates to this wide field of interest can nowadays find a publisher and a market. Not least among Professor McBain's services to the cause is that of pointing the way to higher standards of municipal research and writing.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

Harvard University.



PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION. By William Bennett Munro. New York: The Macmillan Company.

It is a well known fact that the members of many of the professions and quasi-

professions regard their respective fields of learning as something in the nature of occult sciences, wholly removed from the possibility of comprehension or appreciation by the uninitiated layman. It is also a well known fact that, although most of the activities of cities are technical in character and require therefore the services of professionals, the link between the people and these technical experts of the occult is the elected or appointed politician—an uninitiated layman. Couple these two facts, and you have before you the essence of the problem of municipal democracy. How can the technical services of a city be satisfactorily conducted under the generalship of an uncomprehending layman?

It would be absurd to offer a rule of thumb in answer to this exceedingly complicated question. It would seem, nevertheless, that we are certainly moving in the right direction when we lay ax to the root of the problem by rejecting its fundamental assumption. In point of fact, there is nothing inherently occult in most of the professions. An intelligent layman does not have to qualify for the bar in order to read a statute or a judicial opinion with fair understanding. Neither does he have to hold an engineering degree before he can comprehend the more fundamental and general problems of highway construction or sewage disposal. The serious student of modern government and the serious layman administrator is compelled to break at least into the barred vestibule of the technician in spite of the loud protests of the professionals. He finds that a "little learning" is not only a salutary but also an indispensable thing. His intelligence saves him from the classic warning of "danger." He does not, by reason of his dippings, conceive himself to be a trained attorney, engineer, accountant, or other expert. Nor does he acquire the notion that the highly trained can be dispensed with.

Professor Munro has in this book surveyed the field of municipal administration descriptively, with the end in view of joining the technical to the legal and political. This was no simple task.

For the student of general municipal government, whether in or out of college, it was a task that was crying for adequate performance. The author has produced a truly notable book. He has shown excellent judgment in realizing how far he should carry his discussions of the purely technical. If he has erred at all along this line, it has been in not going far enough. He shows a wide acquaintance with the important technical literature of the various branches of his subject—literature which many of us, cowed by the disdainful attitude of the professionals, have been surprised to find ourselves capable of understanding. Every chapter of his book is informative, interesting, and, as might be expected from his pen, readable.

Following an introductory chapter, which deals in an illuminating way with the relation of the citizen to the government and with some of the general problems of administrative organization (and which incidentally takes a deserved and needed rap at our growing blind respect for and reliance upon the so-called "expert" in municipal affairs), there are chapters on city planning, streets, water supply, waste disposal and sewerage, public lighting, police administration, fire prevention and fire protection, school administration, and finance. Under each of these topics are discussed the problems of administrative organization, the purposes and methods of performance, as well as many of the important aspects of the broad technical problems involved. There are brief historical résumés of much interest and numerous comparisons of American with European conditions.

The book does not purport to be all-comprehensive. It includes only a "substantial part of the entire field" of city administration. There is, for example, either no discussion at all or only brief reference to such subjects as the control of privately owned public utilities, the work of health departments proper, the administration of charities, police courts, correctional institutions, markets, and civil service as such. But obviously, as the author observes, the "subject is a

large one." Indeed there would seem to be almost room for a companion volume dealing with the subjects that are omitted from this. With apologies for the suggestion, may it not be hoped that Professor Munro will himself supply such a volume?

No book lends itself to captious criticism more readily than one which deals in survey fashion with a subject of almost limitless dimensions. Considering, however, the manifest limitations that circumscribed the author, there is in fact little if anything in this volume that merits honest criticism. Its general usefulness, as well as readableness, is doubtless enhanced rather than impaired by the fact that the author has not attempted to be encyclopedic—which does not mean that the book is not meaty with facts. Perhaps Boston and New York are over-mentioned. But where a subject cannot be exhausted, the citation of concrete examples is manifestly desirable; and there is no great fault in relying chiefly upon a few rather than upon many cities for illustration—which, again, does not mean that other cities are not frequently mentioned.

It is probably fair to say that this book is the most noteworthy contribution to the general literature of municipal government that has appeared in many a year. It has out-Munroed Munro.

HOWARD LEE MCBAIN.

Columbia University.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE CITY MANAGERS ASSOCIATION. Second Convention, November, 1915. Copies obtainable at 15 cents each from the Secretary, O. E. Carr, City Manager of Niagara Falls, New York.

The city managers met at Dayton, Nov. 15-17, 1915, and they have just published the full stenographic report of all they said and resolved in a well-printed pamphlet of 144 pages. At the first convention (in 1914) there were eight managers in attendance and the published proceedings contained considerable hot air; this time there were seventeen present and the proceedings are full of brass tacks. This

latter volume is ideal propaganda material for the commission-manager movement. It is packed with the concrete evidences of the successes of the managers and colored with their high purpose. The limp aimlessness of discussion in a typical mayors' conference is replaced by an earnest spirit of "Tell me just how you did it so I can do it, too." There was genuine interchange of ideas and experiences, and the discussions were much more technical than the year before.

The written papers comprise a somewhat midnight-oily essay on the history of municipal government by Manager Hardin of Amarillo; an entertaining review of the experiences of Dayton's purchasing agent; a lecture on municipal cost data, by Manager Mitchell of Sherman, Texas; another on budget making by Manager Cummin of Jackson, Mich.; discussions of local municipal publicity and relations to citizens by Ashburner of Springfield, O., and Waite of Dayton, indicating keen appreciation of the fact that the city manager's job not only involves the manufacture of good government, but selling it to the citizenship. The most interesting session was that at which the managers were called up in alphabetical order to tell what progress each had achieved during the past year. This brought out a most impressive array of lowered tax rates, reduced debts, improved unit costs and modernized methods.

Glittering generalities, oratory and fol-de-rol were conspicuously absent. The "address of welcome" was over with in two sentences. When the new president of the association was ushered into the chair he disposed of his address by curtly proceeding to the next item of business.

This is the time to offer one important criticism of the meeting, *i.e.*, that the papers were almost exclusively by managers. This practice has the distinguished precedent of the governors' conference, but it is a narrow and stupid precedent for either body. The managers can readily command the services of every eminent specialist in the municipal field, for their receptivity, their power to put a reform into operation and the fact that they are so

worthwhile educating, as compared with the old transient amateur executives, all combine to make them an ideal audience for the man with an advanced message. The papers the managers read to each other were technically sound and had the obvious advantage of being presented by men of the same practical standing as their audience, but the sessions will be more valuable when the managers go freely outside their own restricted ranks and summon the original authorities before them, to present their doctrines, subject to the keen questioning that always is sure to follow when the pioneer, the tested theorist and the expert meet practitioners. Contrariwise, the efforts of a practical manager of a small town to sketch out a technical theory may sometimes cause unexpected smiles.

Doubtless such things will come along in due course. The managers have missed few tricks so far. They are aware of their opportunities. They see clearly the new profession. They have found out how much more fun it is to work for public than for private corporations. Their discussions reveal an admirable tolerance.

The commission-manager movement is in good hands.

RICHARD S. CHILDS.

New York City.



REGULATION OF RAILROADS AND PUBLIC UTILITIES IN WISCONSIN. By Fred L. Holmes. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

The importance of this book to those who are seriously trying to reach conclusions on various mooted points in the problem of public control of public utilities can hardly be overestimated. So far as the writer knows, this is the first comprehensive attempt to analyze and summarize the entire work of a state public service commission. In order to have important national significance, such an attempt would necessarily be confined to a choice among the commissions of four states, namely, Massachusetts, New York, Wisconsin and California. The history of the Massachusetts commissions would be

interesting and instructive, but while covering a long period, it would be a period of divided responsibility and of incomplete and mainly advisory rather than complete and mandatory regulation. The New York commissions, created contemporaneously with the extension of the Wisconsin commission's jurisdiction to public utilities, would also yield interesting and instructive experience. But they have been greatly hampered by the ruthless interference of unintelligent partisan politics, by judicial obstructions, by the limitation of their jurisdiction to certain classes of utilities, by the absence of a constructive program in the law itself, and, in the New York City district, by the diversion of effort to the overwhelming problems of rapid transit construction which are foreign to, and almost inconsistent with, the true functions of a regulatory commission. While Commissioner Maltbie and Chairman Stevens did notable individual work on the New York commissions in advancing the theory and practice of public utility regulation, the history of the New York commissions, either or both, would not furnish a fair and satisfying test of the commission movement. California is very promising in many respects, but its experience is still too short and the jurisdiction of the state commission, at least until very recently, has been too restricted to make the story of state regulation in California up to this time conclusive.

For many reasons, the Wisconsin commission and its works are more truly representative of the movement and furnish more reliable guidance as to the probable future of state regulation than is the case with any other similar body. Here are some of the reasons:

1. The Wisconsin commission, since 1907, has had jurisdiction over all the important utilities, including utilities owned and operated by cities.

2. In Wisconsin, thanks to a reservation of power in the constitution, all perpetual and limited term franchises have been wiped off the slate, and the indeterminate permit, with full powers of municipal purchase and operation, has been substituted.

3. The Wisconsin commission fixes *absolute*, not merely *maximum* rates.

4. The Wisconsin law makes it mandatory upon the commission to find the fair value of all the public utilities within the state.

5. The courts in Wisconsin have rather cordially upheld the commission, and particularly have held that the commission, representing the police power of the state, is not bound by the terms and conditions imposed by a municipality in granting a franchise, but may override them and set them aside. This may involve increases as well as decreases in rates formerly established by franchise contract.

6. The Wisconsin commission has been manned from the beginning by men who, for the most part, have been in sympathy with the experiment they were making.

In dealing with the complex and highly technical subject of his book Mr. Holmes has had the benefit of a close observation of the workings of the Wisconsin railroad commission since its organization in 1905, two years before it was given general control of local utilities. As a member of the legislature and chairman of the assembly committee on transportation, he has certainly had opportunities of contact which are quite unusual for careful writers on such a subject as this. To his task he has brought a clear style, a comprehending mind and painstaking thoroughness.

Mr. Holmes is frankly sympathetic with the idea of state regulation and with the methods formulated and hitherto followed by the Wisconsin commission; nevertheless, his book shows no trace of blind partisanship. It is a dispassionate review and defense of the Wisconsin Idea as applied to public utilities. It puts the critics of Wisconsin theories on their mettle.

DELOS F. WILCOX.

New York City.

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THE PORT OF BOSTON. By Edwin J. Clapp, Ph.D. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$2.50.

Professor Clapp's book is a careful and painstaking study and analysis of traffic

conditions at the port of Boston. The work is not confined to Boston alone but deals in general with the traffic situation in the north Atlantic seaports. There is scarcely anything more complicated and difficult of understanding by the layman than railroad tariffs, and it is only those who come daily in contact with them and use them that are able to speak with authority on the subject; Professor Clapp's book being a careful statement of railroad tariffs, their origin and their successive stages of development is of great value and use to the student of port development and economics in general.

That portion of the book which discusses railroad rates at Boston considered the existing conditions at the time the book was written, but of course, railroad rates are continually changing under the rulings of the Interstate commerce commission, and the tariffs which existed when this book was prepared possibly do not exist even now, but that does not materially detract from the value of this study.

While this book treats primarily of the tariff situation in Boston it may well be read and studied to the great advantage of those interested in other ports and other cities. The general principles which form the basis of the railroad rate structures are brought out and described as they relate to Boston and as they relate to transportation at other points.

The book discusses the general terminal problem, the relation of the port to the hinterland, the relation of the port to the railroads and to the industries dependent on it for raw materials and for the distribution of finished products. Switching charges, switching arrangements, the belt lines, elevator and other port charges are dealt with in detail as they refer to Boston and as they refer to New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other ports.

The evolution of the zone system of railroad rates from 1877 to date, as described in this book, shows the changes through which the railroad rate structure has passed, and the study of this part of the book in particular is well worth while as it is probably as complete and concise

as anything which has been written on the subject.

Much detail is devoted to the situation at Boston, to its physical layout, to its business arrangements, to its advantages and disadvantages and various suggestions and recommendations for the abolition of the railroad "differential" which operates against Boston and for the encouragement of particular kinds of traffic is stated in a most interesting manner.

A strong argument is made of the desirability of exploiting Boston's advantages throughout the middle west and the west, and European ports and canal ports are cited as instances of what can be accomplished by judicious and intelligent advertising.

The latter portion of the book deals in general with the terminal operation in Boston and with the general principles which apply to the organization of what would be an ideal port. The value of industrial development is referred to and plans are shown for the reorganization of the Boston port facilities and the advantages to be gotten by better switching arrangements and belt lines and an extension of the lighterage service.

Professor Clapp reaches certain conclusions as to the operating difficulties in various ports and his recommendations to the port directors of Boston conclude this interesting work. Some of the conclusions which Professor Clapp arrives at seem scarcely justified, but perhaps these are matters of opinion. There are many plans and maps showing local conditions at Boston and picturing ideal terminal arrangements applicable to almost any port.

The conclusion of the reviewer after a careful study of the book is that it is primarily the most comprehensive elucidation of the structure and development of the railroad tariffs in the eastern United States that he has seen and as a general treatise on the relation of railroad rates to seaports the book is worthy of most careful study.

B. F. CRESSON, JR.

Jersey City, N. J.

ENGLISH PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION. By B. G. Bannington. London: P. S. King & son. 7s. 6d. net.

A comprehensive survey of public health administration in England, which at the same time shows many of the relationships between health and other governmental administrative units, is presented in this book.

After a general and an historical introduction the author considers sources of power and legislative procedure. He then goes into administrative organization. The two chief executives, the medical officer of health and the chief inspector of nuisances, are considered, as well as other members of the executive staff. Various branches of health work are then outlined, always from the side of administrative procedure rather than of technique. There are chapters on nuisances, foods, infectious diseases, hospitals, tuberculosis, records, town planning, sanitary services and finances. Two chapters dealing with central control are of more general interest this side of the water than some of the other parts of the book. After discussing voluntary health agencies the volume closes with a chapter on needed reforms.

In view of the agitation in this country for a federal department of health headed by a cabinet officer, it is interesting to note that Mr. Bannington is not at all convinced of the necessity of "a responsible minister of cabinet rank" in charge of health in England. One of his reasons for this is the overlapping of health and cleansing or sanitary work, both of which, together with many other matters of local administration, are now controlled to a considerable degree by that "phantom" body which never meets, the Local Government Board.

What the author does plead for in the way of national assistance in health work is "grants in aid," or the payment by the general government of a part of the expense of local health work. The power to give or withhold such grants is a more efficient means of control, the author thinks, than any more direct means of coercion that can be applied. Finally, in accord-

ance with good old British tradition, the author urges a broad public health survey as a means of determining present conditions and future needs and how to meet both.

The book has an appeal to all close students of local administration and of central administrative control as well. It contains many suggestions for those, if such there be, who have a free hand in framing local health administrative measures, but any wise man would of course go slow in attempting to fit British practice to conditions in the United States.

M. N. BAKER.¹

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CITY PLANNING. A series of papers by various authors edited by John Nolen. New York: D. Appleton & Co. (National Municipal League Series.) \$2.00.

The National Municipal League has in this work added another most convenient and useful little volume to its series of works on municipal affairs; and John Nolen as editor of this volume, in bringing together the statements of so many important men concerning some of the most vital aspects of the great field of city planning, as well as in his own interesting contributions, has rendered a valuable service to the cause of a more general popular understanding of certain of the practical aims and certain of the more important of the varied problems of city planning in this country, and has also been instrumental in supplying a very handy and readable book, of interest to all who are concerned in more technical ways with improving the conditions in American cities through more rational organization of their plans. The general reliability of the text is assured by the standing of the contributors—a marked group of men—and by the significant fact that Frederick Law Olmsted has read and criticized all of the manuscript. Mr. Olmsted has also written the introduction, which in its broad handling yet vital grasp of the general field of city planning

¹ Vice-president, New Jersey state department of health.

with special references to the conditions now obtaining in our American cities, and in its clear organization and placing of emphasis, will go down as a classic brief account of city planning in America to-day as it appears to the leading figure in it.

Among many other quotable and deeply significant passages in this introduction may be cited the following:

"The commonsense application of the city-planning ideal may be phrased thus: whether they like it or not, whether they know it or not, a collective responsibility rests upon citizens of the present generation for making or marring their city's future in countless ways. It is utterly beyond their power, or that of their agents, to discharge that responsibility with complete knowledge or infallible wisdom; but it is reasonable that they should use a moderate amount of their collective energy and wealth in a deliberate and conscientious effort to meet the responsibility as well as the available means permit."

The book is not, and does not purport to be, despite its misleading sub-title, "A series of papers presenting the essential elements of a City Plan," a comprehensive work, or to include all the important or essential elements of the plan. Thus Mr. Olmsted in his introduction points out.

"But, from the very nature of cities, there are certain classes of problems which confront them all, and certain common lines of investigation, planning, and control which are especially apt to be worth while. In the following chapters of this book *some* of the most important of these lines are discussed from varying points of view. The reader must draw from them a suggestion of how the same points of view and methods of thought might be applied to *other* aspects of the many-sided problem—aspects which might well be more important in a given city than those which are here discussed, since it is clearly impossible in a book of this compass to deal with more than a limited selection of the more important problems of frequent recurrence."

Among the lines some readers will wish might have been further developed, are the larger aspects of public health, the effects of topography, and the opportunities and obligations for securing the maximum of civic beauty, to the last of which

there are strikingly few references in the text except in the introduction which ends with a statement of the fact, impossible to emphasize too often, that "Regard for beauty must neither follow after regard for the practical ends to be obtained nor precede it, but must inseparably accompany it."

The chapters include after the introduction, "the subdivision of land," by John Nolen, in which after dividing land subdivision broadly into three main classes, namely, for industrial use, for retail and wholesale business, and for residential purposes, the chapter concerns itself chiefly with the subdivision of residential property, and includes interesting and useful tables of lot sizes in different American cities; "public control of private real estate," by Frank Backus Williams, in which the condemnation of land for public purposes and the maintenance of restrictions in the public interest upon the private ownership and use of land are both dealt with in Mr. Williams' characteristically clear and illuminating fashion; "local and minor streets," by Edward H. Bouton, in which the writer emphasizes the distinction between the functions of purely local streets and those of through streets, and the importance of determining in each case both the character and the volume of the traffic which the local street is likely to be called upon to carry, and, while advocating planning of local streets for stability rather than convertibility, points out the need in certain cases of providing for the latter; "public buildings and quasi-public buildings," by Edward H. Bennett, in which the careful location and grouping of public buildings, the provision of ample and attractive surrounding grounds, rather than the design of the buildings themselves, is taken up; "neighborhood centers," by Arthur C. Comey, in which the values, both social and economic, of centralizing certain social activities of a local neighborhood, the importance of associating certain interests with, and dissociating others from, such centers, as well as the desirable locations of different types of such centers, and the social facilities which they should offer,

are discussed; "general recreation facilities," by J. Horace McFarland, in which after setting forth the economic values and gains for public morality which come with adequate facilities for public recreation, the writer discusses various special forms of recreation for which the city should provide, the extent to which it should provide them, and something of the ways in which they have been provided by different cities; "park systems," by John Nolen, in which lands taken for park purposes are given working classification, their distribution considered in relation to the city plan as a whole, and special consideration given to the methods of payment for park lands; "water supply and the city plan," by Caleb Mills Saville, in which are particularly set forth, the obligations of utilizing in connection with water-supply plants opportunities for landscape beauty and facilities for public recreation; "non-navigable waters," by Arthur A. Shurtleff, one of the most important contributions to date in its special field, in which the general problem of reclaiming for health, recreation, and beauty the waters and shores of non-navigable streams in cities is handled in the light of the writer's experience and personal familiarity with certain very notable cases of reclamation in the Boston metropolitan district, and in which he treats the problems presented by different types of shore, and discusses the utilization of the banks for parks and playgrounds; "navigable waters," by E. P. Goodrich, a most interesting chapter in which the three-fold problem of the navigable waterway itself, the so-called "hinterland" served by the waterway, and the intermediate or "marginal strip" are respectively considered, and the ways in which they may be most efficiently organized for use in the general city economy; "railroads and industrial districts," by George R. Wadsworth, in which the difficulties of securing an efficient city plan with the usual obstructing railroad rights-of-way are recognized, and the far-reaching importance of a close functional relation between industrial districts and rail and water terminals is emphasized; "transportation and

main thoroughfares and street railways," by Benjamin A. Haldeman, in which the lack of team play between the community and the street-railway company, the fundamental and permanent importance of the street railway as the people's chief mode of transportation in the city, and the advantage of a well integrated radial scheme of main thoroughfares are discussed; "the effect of rapid transit on the city plan," by John Vipond Davies, in which the effects of increased facilities for rapid transit upon the development of city extensions are shown, a table of costs per mile for different types of construction for rapid transit service is included, and the different types discussed, and the radial plan is advocated from the point of view of rapid transit; "residential and industrial decentralization," by James Ford, a clear interesting statement of the advantages of the cottage home over the tenement home that has developed in the modern city, and of the factors in the two-fold problem of industrial and residential decentralization as a joint means of substituting the cottage home for the tenement; "fundamental data for city planning work," by George Burdett Ford, the leading American expert in this vital aspect of city planning, in which data for both remedial and preventive planning are considered, and the importance set forth of collecting data under various special heads included under the following six divisions: (a) geography and climate, (b) topography and hydrographic characteristics, (c) demographic features of the problem, (d) history of the city's development, (e) legal and administrative conditions, (f) financial status of the city; "city financing and city planning," by Flavel Shurtleff, a most interesting brief statement of the difficulties usually standing in the way of successfully financing projects for municipal improvement, and a brief discussion of the different financial methods commonly employed, including a useful short table of the borrowing capacity established for certain American cities; "city planning legislation," by Charles Mulford Robinson, in which the writer deals particularly with the

legislation establishing and empowering city-planning commissions, and states what legislation has been secured to these ends in different states, a subject on which the writer is the more qualified to speak because of the large number of American communities which have employed him as civic adviser; and finally a general bibliography at the end of the work (in addition to the special bibliography at the end of each chapter), and an effective index.

Made up as the work is of these chapters by different men on different aspects of the general field, it is hardly to be expected to have, and it has not, much unity, or indeed any very logical arrangement, and while the general standard set is unusually high, the quality of the different chapters necessarily varies, and certain ones will prove of much more permanent value than others. Nevertheless, the volume contains a great deal of permanent value, and is to be welcomed as a very useful addition to the growing literature of city planning.

The book is freely illustrated, and the illustrations all are chosen specifically to illustrate points made by the authors. The general book making, which is that of all in the National Municipal League Series, is most admirable.

JAMES STURGIS PRAY.

Harvard University.



CITY PLANNING, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PLANNING OF STREETS AND LOTS. By Charles Mulford Robinson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

To the reviewer it seems at least unfortunate that a book using as its main title the phrase "city planning" should be issued almost coincidentally with the work in the National Municipal League's series having the same title, and to which the author of the book in question had contributed an important chapter. The misfortune is hardly mitigated by the qualifying phrase found on the title-page of Mr. Robinson's book, to the effect that it is "A re-issue, revised, with much ad-

ditional material, of the work originally published under the title of 'The Width and Arrangement of Streets.' " Nor does the examination of the contents of the volume lessen the feeling of regret at the duplication of title in two publications appearing almost simultaneously, for it appears that Mr. Robinson has discussed city planning "with special reference to the planning of streets and lots," to use the words of the sub-title, and has not attempted to cover adequately those phases of community making which deal with the life of the people rather than with their immediate physical environment.

Mr. Robinson's book is, then, actually a treatise on street-planning and land subdivision, and as such is to be considered. The author's eminence as a graceful writer upon civic topics, and his practice as a municipal consultant and a civic teacher, give reason to expect in this volume much matter of value, well presented, and the expectation is fully met.

Three general heads are included in the contents: "Standardization in street platting," "functional street platting," and "city planning legislation." In the first section the origin of the defects of checker-board, gridiron or standardized street platting is interestingly set forth and discussed, with illuminative quotations and illustrations. The social relations of street designs find expression in an important chapter.

The section that handles the true functions of a street is broadly comprehensive, and includes the study of land subdivision to a considerable extent. To the writer, especially interested in any action of city planning that will give decent attention to the home surroundings and street approaches appertaining to wage-earners, the chapters on the platting of minor streets and of lots "for humble homes" particularly appeal. Appropriately, there follows a chapter on "public reservations other than the streets," which deals briefly with park and playground needs, and the like.

But it is apart from the present purpose to present a résumé of Mr. Robinson's book. It is sufficient to say that it is, including the old material and the new,

an admirable discussion of the subjects of street platting and land subdivision, with copious citations from other writers, and with many illustrations that illustrate. Considered apart from its misleading main title, it may properly be said to be a necessity for the constructive citizen as well as the capable official; for the one who, in real estate ownership, has much to do with streets and lots, needs a knowledge of what is best to do no less than does the man who is officially to do it.

Mr. Robinson's style is always delightful, and this quality makes greatly for the larger usefulness of a book that will undoubtedly be accepted as a standard in relation to certain very important portions of the broad problem of modern city planning.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

Harrisburg, Pa.

✱

TRANSACTIONS OF CONFERENCE ON TOWN PLANNING AND HOUSING, LIVERPOOL, 1914. Edited by S. D. Adshead and Patrick Abercrombie. Liverpool: The University Press.

Anyone interested in housing and town planning in Great Britain and desirous of becoming familiar with the views of those who have been associated with practical experiments in that country, will find this volume of transactions worthy of careful perusal. Many admirable points were made by the speakers at the conference, and the report shows that it was a real conference and not a mere set occasion for reading essays from the platform to an inarticulate audience.

The addresses given by the various chairmen and the discussions to which they gave rise were exceptionally practical in character and most of those who took part, both from the platform and in the discussion at large, were not only high authorities on the subjects with which they had to deal, but were identified in some form or other in the actual execution of housing or town planning schemes.

The volume is divided into parts corresponding with the conference sessions, as follows:

(1) Roads in relation to town planning; (2) Town planning schemes at Birmingham; (3) Town planning under the act of 1909 (2 sessions); (4) Legal issues under the town planning act; (5) Town planning scheme at Ruislip-Northwood; (6) Urban housing; (7) Suburban and rural housing; (8) The garden suburb; (9) The co-partnership system of housing.

The names of the men who presided over the different sessions are a sufficient guarantee of the quality and practical character of the discussions.

The volume is well illustrated with plans, and the editors are to be congratulated on turning out a report which is more readable and interesting than is usual for a conference report.

THOMAS ADAMS.

✱

STUDIES OF TREES. By J. J. Levison. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

PENNSYLVANIA TREES. By J. S. Hlick. Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Department of Forestry.

Mr. Levison's book is not so ponderous as its title might imply, being instead definite, succinct, compact and arranged for easy reference. It includes chapters on the identification of trees by their various features, including good but poorly printed illustrations; and on tree requirements, on tree selection and tree care—all admirable in their convenience and arrangement. There are as well chapters on forestry and on the common woods, with a concluding chapter entitled "An Outdoor Lesson on Trees," intended to promote interest in trees as growing objects, particularly the interest of children.

In whole, "Studies of Trees" is an admirable and compact manual for all who may need to know anything of trees. It could be wished that certain stupid and stubborn municipal authorities in Pennsylvania, at least—a state unpleasantly distinguished by its outrages upon trees on streets—were required to pass a critical examination in Mr. Levison's book at least four times each year, so that their sins might be made apparent to them.

Professor Illick's "Pennsylvania Trees" relates primarily to forestry. It is a careful survey of the trees native to "Penn's Woods," and also an adequate and forceful presentation of the value of orderly forestry to the state.

Aside from its excellent arguments and its showing of Pennsylvania's forestry progress, the feature of Professor Illick's work is its "Manual of Pennsylvania Trees," including determining illustrations of the main tree families, and the scientific data desirable in coming at knowledge of them. The illustrations are drawings of most excellent character, made by Miss Margaretta Washington. Some of the native shrubs found in the forests of Pennsylvania are also described and figured.

To any reader of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW who wonders why these books are here discussed, it is proper to say that trees in the city are worth municipal care; and that upon trees in the forest, and plenty of them, depends not only the supply of lumber, but of food for mankind, in eastern North America, according to recent scientific determination. The city man who promotes state forestry is providing against the drying up of the streams and the sterility of the regions that give us wheat and meat.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND



THE EXECUTIVE AND HIS CONTROL OF MEN. By Enoch Burton Gowin. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

To one who expects a scientific treatment of the principles relating to executive ability and deductions made from a study of great executives, this book will probably be disappointing. Beginning with the assertion that "periods of uncertainty, of transition, of struggle intensify the group needs, and in them have all 'social saviours' been born" and defining the "social saviour" as one "best able to bear the burden of a large organization, most versatile in dealing with its complexities, most adroit in pushing it at top speed and most effective in guaranteeing its members greatest returns for least effort," the author enumerates the types of men seek-

ing to meet the terms of his definition as (1) "*intellectuals*" including authors, scientists, artists, historians, theologians, and philosophers, and (2) "*executives*" including railroad presidents, governors, bishops, university presidents, trade union officials and factory superintendents. Of these two types, the latter, the "*personal leader*," is made the subject of study.

Part I deals with the executive as an individual. The chapter on source of personal power concludes "It is clear therefore that a leader is well fortified in fundamentals when, as Thomas Jefferson wrote of himself he is 'blessed with organs of digestion which accepted and concocted, without ever murmuring whatever the palate chose to consign to them.'"

Under "physique of executives" numerous charts ranking leaders according to height, weight, and both height and weight, are presented and while no definite conclusion is drawn the author says, "in noting the favorable relationship between these important executives and their size, one is led to inquire if there might not possibly be some connection between the executive's physique, as measured by height and weight and the importance of the position he holds."

In a chapter on "the energizing level" certain men of small stature who have proved themselves masterful are mentioned and attention is directed to the fact that large men may be lethargic and small men dynamic. A "stimulating environment" contributed to by wealth, position of authority and social approval, the "luminous idea" with power to draw men forward, the "will" impelled by the "luminous idea," and "emotion" are credited as the four factors upon which power depends.

"Effective effort" is made the subject of another chapter, and good use is made of that greatest of executives, Napoleon, as an example of effectiveness. The advantages of organization and the application of it and systematic personal effort are the closing chapters of part I.

Part II, "Motivating the group," is made up of chapters on stimulating and controlling men, personalty, imitation,

suggestions, emulation, art, illusion, discipline, rewards, idealism and instruction.

After dealing in part II with the group and the influence of the executive thereon, the author in part III discusses the limits upon the executive. The first three chapters in this part show how apathy, opposition and competition handicap the executive and suggest ways to overcome their effect. With other chapters on executive adaptability and assimilation, or becoming incorporated into the organization built up, part III closes.

ROSCOE D. WYATT.

Hoboken, N. J.

✱

THE IMMIGRANTS. A Lyric Drama by Percy MacKaye, with an introduction by Frederic C. Howe. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

It is a lyric drama that you may think a tragedy with a setting of wilful grotesque, or, in its lighter phases, an *opera bouffe* with a purpose. But Mr. MacKaye scorns the canons when he is about such serious and noble business as here; his work never fails in imaginative and impassioned verse, and here, too, are rare examples of his delicate and melodious lyrics.

Our immigrants come to us at the call of the well paid job and not, as we so often think, at the lure of American democracy. But for all that, there is generous dreaming among them, and this and its ruthless disillusion are the theme of the drama: To suffering peasants in Italy, patiently believing that God gives no fatherland to poverty, comes a vision of America, with its great patron saint of our New York Harbor—a pitiful Madonna of the poor, standing on the blue waves, with liberty burning on her brow. It is a new saint, this *Santa Libertá*, with a strange cry of “*hurray*,” for her ritual word of prayer and acclaim.

And as the immigrant ship glides up the bay on her way to Ellis Island, the wondrous statue is revealed, looming through golden mist. Thrilled with the sight, the peasant pilgrims cry: “We have touched the holy garments of our dream. She has

lifted up her gracious hand and blessed us at her feet.” The towers of Manhattan rise before them and are straightway transformed into the campaniles of a vast cathedral. In their enchanted sight, lesser office buildings become palaces and hanging gardens of the wave. In awed ecstasy Giovanni whispers to his sweetheart: “God gives this heavenly city for our home, where all races meet in brotherhood. In all our lives there will be no holier day than this!”

The shock of the slum shatters the dream. Crushed by heavy labor and the heat, surrounded by the squalor and vice of the great city, a voice cries: “They kill our souls!” Dramatically staged, disease and lingering death visit them. There come fevered dreams of the splashing fountain and the almond tree of the Italian village home. And at the tragic end, facing them, towering mockingly over the ruin of every hope, they see the liberty statue on an electric sign, the cold white light of her starry robe, her frosty jewelled crown.

We hear much these days of the danger to our country from the crowding alien tide. Strongly Mr. MacKaye preaches the forgotten peril—the havoc of the destroying forces of our civilization to which our immigrants are daily sacrificed. And these are some words of his moving appeal:

“O! Liberty, when will you cease in darkness to destroy the souls that seek you? Hark to these peoples crying in the mist! Here, under all, cramped in their vitals, swarm the seekers after life—the slaves of toil—with hearts of yearning. O! Remember these and feed the awful hunger of their hearts!”

JOHN FOSTER CARR.

New York City.

✱

BANKRUPTING A GREAT CITY (THE STORY OF NEW YORK). By Henry H. Klein. Published by the author, Tribune Building, New York City. 40 cents.

The only reason for dignifying this publication with a review is to forestall the possibility of any readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW spending

forty cents because of the title of the book.

The book is a florid compilation of more or less well known facts regarding extravagances in the municipal administration of the City of New York. The writer's knowledge of the facts is somewhat exceeded by his inability to interpret them or to see the relation between isolated facts and the general subject.

The book is a pot-boiling affair which if it reached the hands of some village store habitant in Nebraska might cause him to believe that New York City bonds were equal in value to shares in the Keeley motor company.

A. DE R.

✱

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH CORN MARKET. By Norman Scott Brien Gras. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

This is a carefully prepared, scientific monograph upon the development in legislation and marketing methods of the grain trade in England. From the account books from various London companies and the national customs accounts and port books the author has compiled statistics of corn prices and of the corn trade both foreign and domestic. Detailed facts of exports and imports and coast transportation have been worked out. The policy in the marketing system is followed from the marketing methods of the manor to the twentieth century metropolitan marketing system.

The work is of inestimable value as a source book. Over 200 pages in the appendix are devoted to detailed tables giving the prices of wheat for stated years ranging from 1208 to 1396-97 including general statistics of corn prices up to 1669. Tables showing the changes in duties and functions of middlemen are among the

interesting contributions made to the volume. There is a well selected bibliography of original and secondary sources and a fair index.

CLYDE L. KING.

✱

THE NEED AND PURPOSE OF THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL PHENOMENA. By A. L. Bowley. London: P. S. King & Son.

Professor Bowley's book is a collection of nine easy introductory lectures on social statistics. They cover such topics as the relation of persons to areas, the classification of population according to occupation, social position and family income, the nature of family income, standardization of living and economic progress. The volume is not for technical statisticians, but a useful, handy guide for students of sociology and social workers who may have occasion to deal with statistical measurements. As such it will undoubtedly be helpful in tending to correct the hasty generalizations of those who have not yet learned, in spite of the warnings of history, how dangerous it is to speak of human life in mathematical terminology.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

✱

LAWS RELATING TO SEX MORALITY IN NEW YORK CITY. By Arthur B. Spingarn. New York: The Century Company.

This is one of the publications of the Bureau of social hygiene, and is a carefully prepared and arranged handbook of the laws relating to sex offenses, to which the first chapter is devoted. The second chapter deals with regulations and offenses affecting sex morality; chapter three contains the provisions affecting children; chapters four and five deal with procedure and the concluding chapter with the general provisions on all these subjects. There is a good index.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

ADJUSTMENT OF SCHOOL ORGANIZATION TO VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS. By Robert Alexander Fyfe McDonald, Ph.D. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

THE AMERICAN PLAN OF GOVERNMENT. The Constitution of the United States Interpreted by Accepted Authorities. By Charles W. Bacon, assisted by Franklyn S. Morse. With an introduc-

- tion by George Gordon Battle. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.
- AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH PROTECTION. By Henry B. Hemenway, A.M., M.D. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$1.25.
- CANADA: THE COUNTRY OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Watson Griffin. Ottawa: Department of Trade and Commerce. 1915.
- THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY. By Henry Otis Dwight. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.
- THE CITIZENS BOOK. Edited by Charles R. Hebble and Frank P. Goodwin. Published under the Auspices of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. \$1.25.
- CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN CALIFORNIA. By John Richard Sutton. New York: American Book Company. \$1.
- COMMUNITY CIVICS. By Jessie Field and Scott Nearing. New York: The Macmillan Company. 60 cents.
- ELECTORAL REFORM IN ENGLAND AND WALES. By Charles Seymour, M.A., Ph.D. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. \$2.50.
- THE FINANCE COMMISSION OF THE CITY OF BOSTON. Reports and Communications. Vol. XI. 1916.
- A GIRL'S LIFE IN GERMANTOWN. By Elizabeth W. Coffin. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. \$1.
- GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY OF ROCHESTER, N. Y. General Survey, Critical Appraisal and Constructive Suggestions. Prepared for the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. 1915.
- GREAT CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES. By Gertrude Van Duyn Southworth and Stephen Elliott Kramer. Syracuse, N. Y.: Iroquois Publishing Company. 70 cents.
- THE GARY SCHOOLS. By Randolph S. Bourne. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- GENERAL STATISTICS OF CITIES: 1915. Including Statistics of Governmental Organizations, Police Departments, Liquor Traffic, and Municipally owned Water Supply Systems, in Cities having a Population of over 30,000. Washington: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. 1916.
- HOW THE PEOPLE RULE. By Charles DeForest Hoxie, Pd.M. Revised and adapted to the use of the public schools of Connecticut by B. Norman Strong. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.
- INDIANA: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY. By Frances Doan Streightoff, A.M., and Frank Hatch Streightoff, Ph.D. With a chapter on Charities and Corrections by Cecil Clare North, Ph.D. Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart Company.
- INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION. By Carl H. Mote. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$1.50.
- THE NEW PUBLIC HEALTH. By Dr. Hibbert Winslow Hill. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.
- THE NEXT STEP IN DEMOCRACY. By R. W. S. Sellars, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.
- NINETEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE LEAGUE OF AMERICAN MUNICIPALITIES, NEW ORLEANS, SEPT. 27-30, 1915. Baltimore: Day Printing Company.
- PARADOXICAL PAIN. By Robert Maxwell Harbin. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. \$1.25.
- RECLAIMING THE BALLOT. By Ward Macaulay. New York: Duffield & Company. 75 cents.
- REPORT OF THE FEDERAL PLAN COMMISSION ON A GENERAL PLAN FOR THE CITIES OF OTTAWA AND HULL. 1915.
- REPORT ON A SURVEY OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT OF NORFOLK, VA. Vols. I and II. Prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York. September-December, 1915.
- THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By Arthur Nichols Young, Ph.D. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. \$1.50.
- STUDIES IN THE COST OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION SERVICE. By F. W. Doolittle. Published by the American Electric Railway Association, 8 West 40th St., New York. 1916.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

New York City Teachers' Retirement Fund.—The veteran among teachers' pension funds in this country, the New York fund, has reached the final stage of exhaustion. Available funds are insufficient to pay pensions in full. As the report of the committee on pensions (1915) says:

It has been a common fault of retirement or pension systems that they have failed to give heed to the cost of putting into permanent effect benevolent programs. It is easy to plan generous benefits but less easy to make financial provision for them. With natural human optimism, the future cost of pension plans is generally discounted, with the result that a comparatively brief experience in applying benefits brings about an inadequacy of income such as now confronts the New York teachers' retirement fund (p. 1).

It has been approaching this condition gradually, recklessly disregarding all warnings. Reorganization was first demanded in 1910; another warning was sounded in 1912, but it was not heeded. Only after the last penny available for the payment of pensions had been used was the need for a serious investigation realized. The New York fund may serve as an important warning to other funds in this country of the fate that awaits those that do not reorganize on actuarial bases.

The report contains an analysis of the conditions which brought the fund to disaster and advances a carefully prepared plan for reorganization. It is interesting, therefore, not only to the members of the fund, but to all those who are interested in the pension problem in this country. Many pension funds are in a similar predicament,¹ or are approaching this condition; but none of them, with the exception of Boston and now New York, have been actuarially investigated.

The teachers' fund, according to the report, was launched² and conducted with-

out knowledge of cost and without any definite or adequate plan for financing the benefits. To be solvent it should now have an accumulated reserve of about fifty-five million dollars; instead, it has used up all its capital³ and income and shows a deficiency of that amount.

The report points to the unsoundness of the common practice of using miscellaneous revenues (part of excise taxes and unrefunded absence deductions) as sources of the pension fund, a practice tending to hide the real cost and therefore to delay the work of reorganization. It proves the inadequacy of contributing by members only 1 per cent from their salary roll (so commonly thought to be sufficient) as against an increasing pension charge, which in New York already amounts to more than 4 per cent and, according to actuarial forecasts, will eventually exceed 20 per cent of the salary roll, if the present pension plan be continued. It emphasizes the unfairness of a situation, where the members contribute to the fund an insignificant amount leaving the taxpayers to bear almost the entire burden of the fund.

A fundamental fallacy of the existing pension systems according to the report, is failure to realize "That the purpose of pension funds is not limited to the payment of pensions, but that such funds should be the means of increasing efficiency of service" (p. 16). Among many existing benefit provisions which "often produce a harmful effect on the service and do not result in an equitable treatment of beneficiaries," the report points to the provision for retirement on the basis of length of service regardless of age or incapacity,⁴ the retirement on half-pay regardless of longer or shorter service,⁵ the determination of the amount of pension

³ Except \$800,000 of which, according to the law, only the income can be used.

⁴ The 30 year service provision in New York permits the retirement at as early an age as 48, "which in the majority of instances means a loss of an experienced teacher" (p. 16).

⁵ "Thereby creating an incentive for a teacher to leave the service at the earliest opportunity" (p. 17).

¹ Cincinnati, San Francisco, Boston, Providence, Newport, etc.

² The New York and Brooklyn funds were established in 1894 and 1895, respectively, and were merged into one fund in 1901.

according to the last salary, and the uncontrolled disability retirements.¹

The tentative reorganization plan advanced in the report is to put the fund on a solvent basis. For that purpose an exhaustive actuarial investigation has been made. For the first time in this country the figures of the cost of pension provisions have been so clearly set before the members of a fund, the city administration and the taxpayers at large. It is proposed from now on to operate the fund on a strictly reserve or "think of the future" basis.² The deficiency is to be discharged by the city (with the help of an additional contribution by the present teaching force) by means of annual installments distributed over a period of sixty years, after which it will be wiped out. This is a novel method of liquidating a deficiency.

A definite percentage of salary is to be set aside each year during the active service of each member and is to be credited to his account to accumulate with interest a sufficient reserve, out of which a pension may be paid, when it becomes due, at the age of 65 or 60 (the importance of the age requirement is emphasized throughout the report), of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the average salary of last 10 years multiplied by the number of years of service rendered. Contributions are to vary according to entrance age of each member. One-half of each contribution is to be paid by the city, the other half by the member,³ the

¹"A certificate of the applicant's private physician is considered a sufficient proof" and "no steps are taken to compel the return to duty of pensioners whose health has been restored" (p. 17).

²The taxpayers are to provide for pension liabilities incurred in respect of current services. "It is unjust to taxpayers that they should be asked in any one year to meet the obligations for service rendered in the past. It is as financially shortsighted to fail to set aside currently the cost of an obligation currently accruing and to mature at some future date, as it would be to fail to amortize long term bonds by annual installments in the sinking fund. No method other than annual payments on an actuarial basis can be advanced for currently accruing funds to meet liabilities as they accumulate" (p. 3).

³Except of the higher contributions necessary in respect of those members who are of advanced age now: their contributions are not to exceed 8 per cent of their salaries, while the city is to supply the

teacher's share varying between 2.52 per cent and 4.53 per cent of salary in case of new entrants and up to 8 per cent in case of the present teaching force. "The share-and-share-alike principle," says the report, "appeals to logic as an equitable method for distributing the cost of a scheme from which both parties (city and teachers) are to benefit" (p. 52.). The plan also contains a novel savings feature in the way of refunds of the members' contributions any time upon their resignation or dismissal.

It is impossible to review and fairly discuss in a short statement the broad and involved questions raised in the report, and the various alternative solutions presented. The recommendations are not final. "They are submitted for purposes of discussion and are distinctly subject to change" (p. 9). They are very fully described and discussed throughout the 177 pages of the book and are well supported by charts and tables. Chamberlain Bruère, who is the vice-chairman and secretary of the Commission, in the letter of transmittal states that the descriptive and constructive suggestions contained in the report have been prepared under the immediate direction of Robert von Reutlinger, and that the actuarial work was performed by G. B. Buck with the advice of a consulting volunteer board of prominent actuaries nominated at the request of the Commission by the Actuarial Society of America and consisting of W. G. Hutcheson, R. Henderson and H. Moir.

remainder, which in some instances will exceed 50 per cent of salary.

⁴"It is conceivable, of course, that the cost of the entire pension plan may be levied upon the teachers themselves. But to do so would mean either to cut down the benefits below a point where they would seem adequate to furnish a proper basis of retirement, or to impose an intolerable burden upon the teaching force. Similarly it is conceivable that the entire cost might be laid upon the city. But if this were done, the burden on taxpayers would be so great that protest would be surely evoked, and either reduction or complete stoppage of benefits would follow. The middle course of equal division of cost is suggested with the adequate safeguard of the interest of the teachers that in case they withdraw from the service prior to retirement their contributions shall be returned to them with compound interest" (p. 4).

It is to be hoped that the report will be broadly circulated and discussed and that by dissipating harmful illusions it will help to create in this country a sound pension policy.

PAUL STUDENSKY.¹

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New Orleans Survey.—The report of the New York bureau of municipal research on the survey of municipal revenues made for New Orleans last year is disappointing and superficial. Nevertheless, it contains a number of suggestions which should be acted on—especially those which can be carried out without legislative aid.

Through administrative action, through commission council ordinance, the following reforms recommended, among others, could and should be accomplished: revision of assessments, increase in saloon licenses, taxation of sidewalk encumbrances and billboards, investigation of municipal expenditure and pensions, standardization of salaries, purchasing system, reorganization of assessors' office force, separate assessment of lands and improvements, full value assessments, increased efficiency in collections, especially in poll tax collections; and a number of other improvements in administrative efficiency in the assessors', collectors' and comptrollers' offices should be put into effect. Publicity should be given to all these detailed recommendations, and the commission council should be made to feel that they must put them into effect if they are to justify the expenditure of the money invested in the report. Three months after the report was presented to the council, no recommendations had been made by the commissioner of finance, to whom it was referred, and he admitted that he had not even read it. This indicates, perhaps, lukewarm interest in the community as well as in the council itself.

But the report, as a serious attempt to study New Orleans revenues and conditions, and prescribe a remedy, is very inadequate. It contains serious errors—as, for example, the statement on p. 101 about the city's overdraft, which is ob-

viously wrong. Commissioner E. E. Lafaye declares that this error was noted in the first draft, and that the correct figures were sent on by Commissioner A. G. Ricks. At any rate, anybody at all familiar with the history of municipal finances here knows that the figures as given, drawn from the published records, do not represent the facts, as the investigators might have seen from the figures themselves had they made even a casual comparison of them. Evidently they took the statistics in the Comptroller's report without even checking them against each other. Figures supplied by commissioner of finance A. G. Ricks indicate that the system of bookkeeping in use prior to the inauguration of the commission-council, with the budget methods, effectually concealed items amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars of indebtedness. These facts, laid bare in the audits of Wermuth and Lloyd, expert accountants, made in 1908 and 1912, caused the council to revise its bookkeeping system; and the data in these two audits should have been at the disposal of the bureau, as these documents are on file at the city hall and their existence was a matter of common knowledge here.

This sort of carelessness and the fact that no study has evidently been made of such obvious problems as the market collections, and the comptroller's report itself (which, though improved since three years ago, is still far from showing all it ought to show, *e.g.*, it does not give a complete account of the reserve fund), makes one doubt the competency of the experts. This doubt is increased by the fact that while some of the recommendations—as those for full value assessments, land value maps, prepayment audits,—are excellent, there are one or two others which are as poor as the investigating work done.

For example—while stating that the need of the state is for “a revenue system equitable as between city and state, between different classes of property, and between different property owners within the city,”—they ignore the fact that it is also demanded that the system

¹ New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

shall be equitable between the different parishes, and between property of the same class and value in different parishes. So the method of apportioning the state taxes among the parishes, which is recommended, is simply to *fix and make legal the present inequitable practice*,—by dividing the state levy according to the amount raised by each parish for all local purposes. This would penalize the progressive localities, exactly as the present practice does. It is hard to conceive of such a proposition being seriously made by anybody who had made a genuine study of the way it actually works. It is said that it is being tried in Oregon and Connecticut; but in Oregon the law is drawn so as to be unjust, and in Connecticut it has only just been passed,—so there is little evidence presented as to how it would work. But we know—because that is what we have here now,—only we do it illegally.

Another questionable recommendation is to "increase personal property taxes" by changing the classification. This seems reactionary.

ETHEL HUTSON.

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Illinois County Institutions and Relief Agencies.—The summarized results of a comprehensive inspection of local institutions are embodied in a recent report of the Illinois state charities commission.¹ The chief subjects discussed are jails, almshouses, probation, outdoor relief and mothers' pensions. The criticisms of the jail system are grouped under three or four heads. The problem of sanitation and the physical cleanliness of the prisoners is held to be of primary importance. At present the solution of this problem is impossible, owing largely to the construction of the jail buildings. They are poorly ventilated, without proper means of sewage disposal, equipped with filthy bedding and lack facilities for disinfecting clothing and linen. The fee system of feeding is a source of excessive profit to the officials and irritation to the prisoners. Enforced idleness adds de-

moralization to the prisoners. It is impossible to estimate the amount of expenditure upon jails because of inadequate systems of accounting. A complete reorganization of the jail system is recommended. Nothing less would alter conditions satisfactorily. Medical examination upon entrance, classification of prisoners, detached hospital room, standard air and window space, facilities for bathing and disinfecting and the abolition of the fee system of feeding are among the specific changes advocated. Workhouses and penal farms like those at Occoquan, Virginia, and Guelph, Ontario, are put forward as possible substitutes for the present jail. State administration and supervision are suggested as a method for bringing about some of the desired changes.

There are 101 almshouses in Illinois having 7,019 inmates in 1915. For these almshouses there is an approximate expenditure of \$1,150,000 annually. They are operated under two systems, the salary system and the contract system. Twenty-three almshouses are operated under contract. Three criticisms are urged against this system: first, lack of care of the inmates; second, ignorance of conditions on the part of the county board; third, deterioration of the county farm. Lack of care of the inmates arises from the desire and necessity of the contracting superintendent to make a profit. The county board feels no responsibility for the almshouse after a superintendent has been selected. The incentive for profit has influenced the superintendent to strip the land of its value by producing the greatest possible immediate returns without giving attention to the repairs and the restoration of the soil. The report urges the elimination of the children, the insane and the feeble-minded from the almshouse and the specialization of almshouse care upon the normal men and women who are unable to care for themselves. Hospital equipment is necessary for the care of the sick who are now neglected. At present there is utter lack of almshouse standards in regard to equipment and methods of management. This is shown very noticeably in the

¹ Published in *The Institution Quarterly*, March 31, 1916.

entire lack of relationship between expenditure and methods of management. The costliest are likely to be the worst and the best the least expensive.

Although an annual expenditure of about \$1,500,000 is made on outdoor relief, little detailed information is collected by the officials regarding its administration. The supervisors and the overseers distribute this fund. Lack of details also prevents any accurate idea of the conditions of adult probation. The newness of the mothers' pension system leaves the question of its administrative success still in doubt. In some counties it is considered very successful and in others a flat failure.

JAMES G. STEVENS.

University of Illinois.

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General Statistics of Cities.—The United States census bureau has issued a report for the departmental year 1915 relating to the governmental organization, police departments, liquor traffic and municipally owned water supply system in cities of over 30,000 population.

Part I on governmental organization gives data as to the city councils, commissions, mayors and other executive officials. Of the 204 cities covered by the report, 81 had commission government, 95 others had single chambered councils and 28 had two branches of the council. Of the cities with single chambered councils, 11 elected all the members at large, and 40 elected some of the members at large. In the cities with two houses, 6 elected all the members of the upper council at large, and 3 elected some of the members at large. Nearly half of the cities have thus done away with the ward system for electing the council, and 49 others elect part of the members at large.

The statistics as to mayors and other executive officers cover only the length of term and salaries.

In the police data wide variations are shown in the number of police in proportion to population and in the ratio of officers to the total number of police. Cleveland, Pittsburgh and most of the southern cities have a relatively small

police force, but Washington has nearly twice the number in New Orleans. The proportion of officers ranges from 5.1 per cent in Grand Rapids, Mich., to 22.8 per cent in Oakland, Cal.

The liquor traffic was prohibited in 35 of the 204 cities, which included 6.7 per cent of the aggregate population of the cities covered. In all the cities included the number of retail liquor dealers decreased 16.6 per cent from 1905 to 1915; and in a considerable number of cities there has been a higher rate of decrease. The number of dealers in proportion to population ranged from 1 to 194 in East St. Louis, to 1 to 5,286 in Colorado Springs.

Municipally owned water supply systems were reported by 155 of the 204 cities, of which 73 employed purification processes. The average amount of water supplied was 139 gallons per capita per day. In Chicago the per capita daily supply was 236 gallons, in Pittsburgh 252 gallons, in Buffalo 352 gallons and in Tacoma 430 gallons. The New York supply was 102 gallons per capita each day; that of New Orleans 74 gallons, and Minneapolis 81 gallons.

These statistics furnish data for analysis and study in relation to a number of important municipal problems. The policy of the census bureau has been to compile and publish such information on a few branches of city government every second year, supplementing the regular reports on finance statistics. It is to be hoped that the scope of the general statistics may be extended, so as to cover most of the fields of municipal enterprise within a short period of time.

✱

Educating Public Opinion.—One of the most difficult problems in the movement for municipal reform, as of other reforms, is that of making known to the great body of citizens the results of the work of those engaged in the systematic study of present conditions and in the development of constructive plans for the improvement of public affairs. Several publications recently issued serve to illustrate different methods of aiding in the work of popular

education in the field of municipal problems.

The town planning committee of Walpole, Mass., has issued a pamphlet of 24 pages on the various forms of municipal government in the United States, giving special attention to the actual working of the city-manager plan. This pamphlet also calls attention to the work of the National Municipal League committee on municipal program; and the Walpole committee has postponed its final report and recommendations for changes in the local government until the "model charter" can be studied.

A report to the Pittsburgh chamber of commerce by Mr. Oliver McClintock, one of its delegates to the Dayton meeting of the National Municipal League, and printed by the chamber, gives a valuable summary of the proceedings of that meeting, with special reference to municipal home rule, the commission manager form of government and Dayton as an example of both.

The Gospel of the Kingdom, a monthly publication devoted to studies in social reform, takes up the subject of home rule for cities in the number for April, 1916. This consists of a series of short articles on municipal problems, one for each Sunday, followed by two more general articles and suggestions for further reading. It is surprising to note that no mention is made of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW or the work of the National Municipal League, although a number of much less important publications are listed.

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The District of Columbia.—In the district appropriation act for 1915, provision was made for the appointment of a congressional committee to inquire into the question of the proper division of the expenses of the district between the federal and the local governments. A joint citizens' committee undertook the task of presenting the case for the district. Resort was made to the census statistics for material which would throw light upon the question as to how the tax burdens of Washington compare with those of other cities. Elaborate tables, prepared under

the direction of La Verne Beales, have been prepared which demonstrate by per capita comparisons that the burden in Washington is not lighter than that in most other cities of similar size and circumstances.¹

In the brief of the committee, it is vigorously contended that the contribution of the United States treasury should be a fixed proportion of the total expenses, and that the proportion should be not less than one-half. The most interesting feature of the brief is an historical account of the financial relations between the district and the United States government since the very beginning. This is presented in an effort to prove that the act of 1878 fixing the half-and-half rule of division was of the nature of a contract and that "any proposed change . . . should receive the same consideration as is always given to proposed alterations in the constitution of the United States."

An extended argument before the congressional committee presented by Theodore W. Noyes on behalf of the citizens committee has also been published,² with extracts from the report of the congressional committee. The latter body finds:

That there is no reason for any arbitrary rule of proportionate contribution for the expenses of the District of Columbia by the residents thereof and by the people of the United States . . . ; that the correct rule should be that the responsibility in taxation of the residents of the District of Columbia be as fixed and certain as the responsibility of residents of other American cities comparable with the city of Washington.

The question of the political status of the District of Columbia and its residents has been reopened by the introduction of a resolution in the U. S. Senate proposing an amendment to the constitution of the United States giving the District representation in congress and in the election of

¹ Comparisons of municipal tax levies and receipts, expenditures and valuations (Washington, 1915, 59 pp.); and brief on behalf of the joint citizens' committee of the District of Columbia, July, 1915 (99 pp.).

² Argument of Theodore W. Noyes before the joint select committee of Congress . . . on the fiscal relation between the United States and the District of Columbia. Extract from S. Doc. 247, 64th Congress, 1st Session (1916).

president. An argument of T. W. Noyes in favor of this amendment, and the report of a committee of the Washington board of trade have also been published.¹

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New York State Bureau of Municipal Information.—The State bureau of municipal information of the New York State mayors conference has during the first five months of its activity studied and gathered data on more than one hundred subjects affecting municipal problems and government. It has compiled information and issued reports, some of which have been printed for general distribution among city officials and reference libraries and the state municipal leagues. These reports are available only to the officials of the cities of New York state and a selected mailing list consisting of public and private organizations throughout the United States, with which the bureau has established co-operative relationship.

The most comprehensive reports issued by the bureau have dealt with refuse disposal. One, which has had general distribution, describes the different methods of collection and disposition of ashes in American cities and the unit cost of the systems. The other report, which has just been compiled by the bureau, describes the methods and cost of collecting and disposing of garbage in all New York state cities and fifty of the largest cities of the United States outside New York.

Among the other subjects studied and upon which reports have been prepared by the bureau at the request of one or more New York state cities which the bureau is serving are the following: Municipal regulation of bonfires, police data, including blank forms used by departments in large cities, regulation of street traffic, methods of keeping track of criminal resorts and disorderly houses, preventive work and methods of apprehending criminals, sterilization of water by liquid chlorine, public charity department; in-

vestigators—forms—per capita cost of poor relief in large cities, water rates in New York state cities.

J. R. CARPENTER.

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Council and Commission Cities.—The bureau of the census has issued a small pamphlet containing an interesting comparison of the financial statistics of cities under the council and commission forms of government. Twenty-four cities in all are compared—eight which had the council form in 1913 and in 1915, eight which had the commission form in these years, and eight which had the council form in 1913 and the commission form in 1915. The three groups were roughly comparable as to the size of the cities included, but the average size of the council cities was larger than that of the commission cities, while the latter were larger, on the average, than those of the third type. The comparisons are made altogether in the form of per capita figures. This method does not put the three classes of cities upon a wholly comparable basis because of the well-known tendency for municipal expenditures to increase faster than the population. The data are submitted with a reminder of this fact.

The report presents a comparison of the property tax levies, the governmental cost payments, indebtedness and assets. In the case of property tax levies, revenue receipts and governmental cost payments, the volume of expenditure per capita followed the grouping by population. The council cities led, with the commission cities second, though the tax levies of the latter were but little above those of the third type of city. In this there is a suggestion of the relatively greater efficiency of the commission form of government. But the figures showing debts and assets are evidence on the other side. The commission cities had by far the largest average per capita debt—\$56.94 in 1915, as against \$46.00 for the council cities and \$39.16 for those which have changed since 1913. Likewise, the average per capita assets are lowest for the commission cities. It seems a reasonable inference that the commission cities as a whole owe

¹Argument of Theodore W. Noyes before the subcommittee of the [Senate] Committee on the District of Columbia in S. J. 32 (1916); Report of Special Committee of the Washington Board of Trade on the Political Status of Residents of the District of Columbia (1916).

their favorable showing in the comparison of tax levies to a more liberal policy in the use of public credit.

H. L. LUTZ.

✱

Chicago Social Service Directory.—“The best governed are the least governed” is rapidly losing its potency as a political phrase with which to conjure, and nowhere is the change that has come and is coming over the ideals and aims of city government more clearly to be seen than in the great metropolitan city of Chicago. The modern trend is clearly towards a socialized individualism—the responsibility of the body for the member—and students of political science will be interested in the signs of the times portended by the formation in Chicago of a department of public welfare and by its recent publication of a social service directory. This is a compilation and brief summary of all the existing social service agencies in that city; for the preface states “that one of the functions of the department is to furnish working tools and facilities for the social service profession.”

The listing is alphabetically arranged under fifteen principal heads ranging from “child welfare” to “thrift and loans,” and these are further divided into 83 sub-titles, so that, as it may be imagined, the number of agencies enumerated is legion. One is interested to find a sub-division entitled “community churches,” containing 35 names, under which heading “are included only such religious organizations as maintain as their chief function social service activities for the neighborhood, in a church building or other neighborhood headquarters, or that employ regularly a paid social worker.”

EDWIN S. LANE.

✱

Legal Rights of Policemen and Firemen.—George H. Stover, assistant corporation counsel of the city of New York, has rendered a service of distinct importance to the members of the uniformed police and fire forces and to those professionally or theoretically interested in municipal government by the preparation and publica-

tion of his treatise on “The legal rights of civil servants in the city of New York.”

This treatise contains a clearly expressed and well arranged exposition of the legal principles governing the appointment, removal, reinstatement, compensation and pensions of policemen, firemen and other civil employes in the city of New York. By means of its unusually excellent arrangement of text and full citation of cases in the footnotes, it constitutes a reference book for desk use which will enable every member of the rank and file to understand his legal rights and every officer to know what the law requires of him in his dealings with employes. Although the practising lawyer and student of municipal science will not feel the want of an index to this volume acutely because of the logical arrangement of its text, the value of this treatise as a handy book of reference would have been materially increased by the addition of a well prepared guide to its contents.

Every policeman, fireman and civil servant in the city of New York should read this volume carefully in order that he may fully understand his legal rights and be at all times in a position to protect them. Every administrative officer in the city service should not only master its contents but also have it at all times conveniently at hand in order that he may overlook no necessary legal procedure in his dealings with his employes. And every municipality should seek to obtain at the earliest practicable date an equally well written treatise on the legal rights of its own civil servants, since there are few factors of greater importance in maintaining the efficiency of policemen, firemen and civil servants than a clear understanding by officers and employes of the legal rights of all.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.

✱

Billboard Advertising in Springfield, Mass.—A new municipal report on the ubiquitous billboard problem, followed closely by the decision of Judge Landis, on March 14, declaring the associated bill-posters of the United States and Canada a

combination in restraint of trade, gives publicity and a new impetus to the widespread war upon our great national nuisance even should the dissolution of the billposters organization cause a temporary aggravation of that nuisance by removing centralized authority desirous of placating the public.

The first impression given by the report of the city planning commission of Springfield is slightly disappointing because a report in detail of the substantial and important progress in legislation and court decisions since the New York report of 1913 is needed and has been eagerly awaited by those who have learned that the billboard evil is entirely a legal problem. A more careful study of the report, however, shows its wisdom in centering energy upon the awakening of local public sentiment against billboards. Legislation and court decisions quickly reflect public opinion and the continuance of any form of advertising, moreover, depends upon public attitude toward it. The unexpected reverses met in the courts by the pioneer opponents of billboards arose partly from the fact that no widespread public sentiment had been awakened and the consequent specious pleas of "class legislation" were not satisfactorily answerable.

Those early reverses due to arguments based upon aesthetic considerations have been followed in the past few years by successes and increasingly encouraging progress since entirely utilitarian arguments have been advanced. For much greater progress only stronger public sentiment is needed. Consequently, in touching but briefly upon the legal aspects, which have now grown too complex and technical for the layman, and in attempting by its array of photographs to create against disfiguring signs civic sentiment which can be translated into a drastic ordinance, the city planning commission has displayed much acumen. Its efforts should be followed by an ordinance which will mark a step even beyond those of St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee.

JESSE LEE BENNETT.

Baltimore, Md.

Municipal Statistics of British Columbia.—Hon. Robert Baird, inspector of municipalities of British Columbia, has recently issued a condensed statement of the assessed valuations, tax levies and debenture indebtedness of the cities and certain districts of his province. The figures relating to real property assessments are of special interest to all interested in the partial or complete exemption of real property improvements. These statistics show that about one half the so-called cities or incorporated places now tax real property improvements at from 25 to 50 per cent of their value, while land is taxed at full value. The largest city thus assessing improvements is one of 6,000 inhabitants. The cities of larger populations with over four fifths of the real property tax improvements the same as the land. The report of assessed valuations has the very commendable feature of giving the value of exempt property as well as that of the taxable.

The statistics of indebtedness, if compared with those of the municipal indebtedness of the neighboring states of Washington and Oregon, show that the burden of indebtedness in the province is at least three times as great as immediately south of the boundary line. The cities of the province have a reported population of 258,750, as compared with 442,251 for the cities of Oregon and 840,355 for those of Washington. The debenture debt of the cities of the province, by which is meant its funded and special assessment debts, aggregate \$72,525,180, as compared with the debts of the cities of Oregon of \$40,529,494 and of the cities of Washington of \$72,745,116. The per capita debts of the three are as follows: British Columbia, \$282.95; Oregon, \$91.64; and Washington, \$86.56.

L. G. POWERS.

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Minneapolis Municipal Statistics.—Minneapolis is one of the few American cities maintaining a city statistician who has the ability to present statistical data in an attractive and intelligible form. His publications, whether such brief statistical sheets as that issued each year under date

of January 31, or the more pretentious pamphlet issued each year under date of July 15, are true publicity statements, such as the officials of the National Municipal League have long advocated. The publication last mentioned aims to present in a condensed form for a series of 25 years statistics concerning the most important branches of the city government and for that government as a whole. It also presents more detailed statistics with reference to the last or current year.

In presenting his financial data, the statistician has striven to show the relation of the costs of government to the average taxpayer. In most particulars he has succeeded. From the given standpoint, the Minneapolis reports would be improved if its debt statement was so analysed as to show the amount of indebtedness that has to be met from the general taxpayer as distinguished from that which is to be met from special assessments, water revenues and revenues of other productive enterprises if such there are.

L. G. POWERS.

✱

Rate Research.¹—This publication, while of prime interest to those who are concerned with electric light and power rates, also has a general interest for all students of public utility regulation. *Rate Research* publishes new schedules of lighting and power rates put into effect from time to time in various communities by the companies furnishing the service; abstracts of decisions of public service commissions and courts affecting rates, service and extensions, and the principles of valuation upon which rate decisions are based; and references to important court decisions on these matters, and to articles and published addresses and reports relating to them. Such subjects as discrimination, rate of return, depreciation, revision of contract rates, protection from competition, flat rates, public ownership, going value, working capital, and overhead expenses, receive particular consid-

eration. The publication is edited by William J. Norton, formerly assistant secretary of the public service commission of New York. The matter is presented in convenient form and the abstracts and summaries are intelligently made and apparently with fairness to the public interest.

DELOS F. WILCOX.

✱

Unmarried Girls with Sex Experience.²—

No doubt the general confusion and lack of real knowledge which prevails in the thinking on all questions regarding sex, prompted this attempt to apply the methods of science to a study of one phase of the subject. Inasmuch as the bureau for social research of Seybert Institute did not undertake a study of the whole problem of immorality, it chose well when it determined to lay a better foundation for the treatment of that group in society which now suffers the greatest possible stigma for its failure to adhere to accepted standards.

This study consists of a somewhat scattering statistical analysis of record of girls in certain institutions, some conclusions drawn from that analysis and some recommendations based on those conclusions. The laboratory material, so to speak, is made up of 147 records of girls committed in 1909 to the Pennsylvania girls' house of refuge, 68 of which commitments were for sexual immorality and 79 for other causes; 392 records of immoral women—almost all prostitutes—in the Philadelphia house of correction in 1914, half of whom had been or were married at the time of their arrest; 55 records from the Magdalen home, which are admittedly inadequate and 22 records from the midnight mission. In the treatment of the subject, the statistics and discussion of each institution form a unit.

While there is no intention to criticise this piece of work in detail, its character as a contribution to existing knowledge on its subject may be judged from the reasoning applied to one point. One of

¹ Published weekly by the Rate Research Committee of the National Electric Light Association, 111 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.

² Bulletin 1, Bureau for Social Research of the Seybert Institute, Philadelphia, Carol Aronovici, Director, 48 pages.

the main theses of the study sets forth (p. 31) "The evidence we have been able to gather shows that the majority of the girls come from abnormal family surroundings; the main problem, therefore, is to deal with the family and the girl through three distinct lines of service." These consist of family rehabilitation before, during and after institutional care of girls. There are probably few people who would be inclined, on a *præ* *ori* grounds, to quarrel with this conclusion. But as a finding based on the evidence submitted in this report, it is open to question. It is founded on the conditions discovered in selected cases. Of all the so-called immoral girls in the community, those receiving institutional care are, of course, singled out by some method for this special attention. Can these selected cases which should, to quote the report, "be considered only as a manifestation of a far-reaching social and biological problem" be taken as typical, so far as family conditions are concerned, of all cases of immoral girls? Should not some account have been taken of the tendency in "normal" homes to conceal a weakness of one of the members of the family and to use every means to prevent public disgrace? Should there not have been some allowance also for the tendency, in cases where family conditions make it difficult to conceal such a matter, as with orphans or where the responsible members of the family are in some way incapable of the usual protection, to consider sexual immorality as cause for the gravest action—institutional treatment—on the part of the community? Finally, do not these same unsatisfactory family conditions in themselves operate in the selection of these cases for institutional care? In fact, is it not very largely the girls from "abnormal homes" who are committed? Is there not, therefore, danger of fallacious reasoning when general conclusions are drawn from compilation of the statistics of these cases?

Since we know nothing about the other side of the shield—cases of "abnormal" family life where the daughters have remained chaste—the recommendation that "All girls should be removed from their

homes during a critical period in the life of the family, or of the girl, and such girls should be placed temporarily in a suitable home and at suitable work while the adjustments are being made in the family" seems like a venture on a dangerous way as yet unlighted by knowledge.

Other questions arise as to the reliability of the records, the sufficiency of data, the character of psychological tests, and the extent to which individual judgment is exercised in determining what constitutes "normal" or "abnormal" conditions. One cannot help having a feeling of disappointment, too, that there is nothing in the report which throws any light on the very interesting question suggested in the opening paragraph:

In dealing with the subject of the unmarried girl with sex experience, it is imperative that we discriminate between the immoral girl, who, because of a desire for gain, sells her body for immoral purposes, and the girl who, through a strong sex instinct, or because prompted by a genuine sense of the romantic, yields to the man who consciously or unconsciously makes himself responsible for her moral downfall and its attendant consequences.

In general the service of this contribution consists of raising questions rather than answering them. The usefulness of the bulletin is considerably lessened by the omission of index, outline, table of contents or any other means for locating references, and its rather unattractive physical appearance further detracts from its effectiveness.

NEVA R. DEARDORFF.

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Studies of the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy.—Shall the benefits of the "mothers' aid" law be extended to women with illegitimate children?

Are communities effectively organized to cope with this pressing social problem, to interpret it to legislative bodies and to provide for its prevention and relief?

It has remained with Boston social workers, long pioneers in advanced methods of social amelioration, to attempt to answer these and kindred questions with a thoroughness of research entirely satisfying. The Boston conference on illegiti-

macy is made up of a group of workers who deal personally with unmarried mothers, "and who have joined together with the purpose of more clearly defining the problems met during their care of these women and girls."

The method used has been: first, by discussion and criticism of actual cases; second, by forming groups of workers for special study. This special research promises to be of incalculable value in formulating plans for methods of treatment and an effective community program.

These study groups, six in number, are three of them for research. The objects of the groups on legislation, on feeble-minded and on syphilis, is to get light on the handling of individual problems, and thus at once to raise the standard of care for the mothers and to prepare the workers for the study of general problems later. The work of the research committees, those on present conditions in Boston, on normal girls, and on public opinion, has looked towards the more precise defining of problems that a small group can fairly attempt.

These are: (1) the problems of so assembling the facts amassed in the case—investigations of thirty odd societies and hospitals, as to disclose recurrent causal factors that otherwise would be lost in the details; (2) the problem of fixing upon certain handicaps, other than mental defects, predisposing to unchastity; and (3) the problem of appraising the stigma attaching to illegitimacy.

At the present stage of its work "the conference feels its positive achievement lies not so much in conclusions upon the matters of its study as in contributing something, in a peculiarly intricate field, towards a sound critical method."

The first year's work is exhaustively reported (September 1914) under each group heading, and while the findings bear specifically upon conditions in Boston, they are capable of a wider, even a national application.

Of special interest is the report of the group on public opinion:

"Believing that the conference seeks to know what is the just and right atti-

tude of society toward persons directly affected through illegitimacy, and would wish to take any possible action to help bring about this attitude, and that as a preliminary it is important to learn whether the traditional beliefs about society's treatment of such persons are actually true; and assuming that these common beliefs are—that an illegitimate child is severely handicapped, that an unmarried mother is permanently disgraced, and that a man who is known to be the father of an illegitimate child is not disgraced, a circular was prepared.

"This circular was sent to one thousand persons chosen at random from all parts of the state from five representative groups, doctors, lawyers, overseers of the poor, manufacturers, and women's club officers, 200 of each. Four hundred and eighty-one replies were received, divided as follows: from the officers of women's clubs 117, doctors 108, lawyers 98, overseers 86, manufacturers 72. Nearly half of the circulars were returned, the usual rate of returns from a questionnaire being from one-fourth to one-third. This exceptionally high rate of return seems to indicate a widespread interest in the subject."

JANICE S. REED.

✱

Annual Report of Chief Magistrate McAdoo.—The annual report of William McAdoo, chief city magistrate of the city of New York for 1914, is the first official report that has come to our hands which has been prepared in such a manner that it will be found as interesting by the non-professional citizen as it will be found valuable and helpful by those who are professionally engaged in public safety work. This report contains in simple, non-technical language a clear exposition of the manner in which the magistrates perform their duties, and an explanation of the machinery of probation. For the professional reader it discusses the problems, connected with the issuance of summonses, the administration of an effective system of probation, the administration of the laws with reference to prostitution in the night court for women, and in the penal institutions of the city, the finger-printing of convicted persons and the treatment of pickpockets and drug users. The recommendations of the chief magistrate for the improvement of the court procedure and the

efficiency of the city's control of the criminal classes include giving to the magistrates the power to dispose of minor criminal offenders instead of being obliged to hold them for trial by a higher court; providing custodial care for an indeterminate period for incorrigible women offenders instead of short-term workhouse confinement; simplifying the procedure for the conviction of prostitutes in tenement houses by an amendment to the law, which will make the certificate of the tenement house commissioner *prima facie* evidence of the fact that a building is a tenement house instead of requiring this fact to be proved by the testimony of respectable tenants; and the establishment of a central city statistical bureau which will collate, render uniform and make readily available the criminal statistics of the various departments and courts of the city. Even in the presentation of the statistics of which the report contains more than 270 pages, an effort has been made to interest the general reader as well as to instruct the professional reader. Graphic diagrammatic presentation of the most important statistics accomplishes the first result and a critical analysis of the action of each magistrate in each class of cases, as well as a careful subdivision of those statistical groups which are so large as to be unwieldy for purposes of critical analysis assist in accomplishing the second result. The report also makes mention of the death of Chief Clerk Philip Black, to whose genius for administrative work the city magistrates' courts of New York owe their present excellent court routine.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.

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Philadelphia Art Jury.—The third and fourth annual reports of the Art Jury of Philadelphia, covering the years 1913 and 1914, contain in their illustrations, which are many and excellent, a striking evidence of a municipal art commission's value to a city. The fact that the illustrations in these reports especially emphasize light standards and the bridges by which steam railroads are carried over streets, is a reminder that the protective

criticism of such a commission safeguards the city not only from atrocities of its own production, which would be a considerable matter, but from those of the corporations.

That the value of the art jury is more and more appreciated in Philadelphia has been shown by an Act of Assembly, approved July 24, 1913. This greatly extended the jury's jurisdiction and consequent opportunities for service. As a result of that extension, the president of the jury is able to say, in the 1914 report: "The jury was first appointed October 7th, 1911. By the end of the year 1913, 121 submissions had been made to it. During the year 1914, 182 submissions were made to it, fifty per cent more in this one year than had been made in its previous existence." As the illustrations bear witness to the artistic gain to the city from the art jury's criticisms, it is interesting to read that the required revisions of design have meant "generally a net decrease of cost."

In its reports the jury states its dislike of illuminated overhanging or projecting signs, its belief that it is undesirable to permit private lighting along the curbs, and its feeling that the construction of marquees and metal awnings is being much overdone. It has recommended "that all private lighting and advertising fixtures shall be hereafter limited to such as can be affixed to the walls of buildings and will not project more than four feet beyond the building line or descend below ten feet above the sidewalk"; that the ordinances requiring supports at the curb for all marquees be repealed, and finally that only theatres, hotels, and railroad stations be permitted to erect them and then in front of only one entrance.

CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON.

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Increased Living Costs in Canada.—On December 20, 1913, the royal commission was appointed in Canada to investigate the increase in the cost of living in Canada. The investigation covers the dominion. Sitings were held in all important centers and inquiry was made in each case as to the

increase in commodity prices, in rents and in service. On February 16, 1916, the commission made its report. Nine causes are assigned for the increased living costs. Chief among these are: the increase in the gold supply; extravagance and waste, public and private, individual and social; restricted supply due to disproportionate urban and rural development; uneconomic methods of marketing and distributing farm products; higher standards of living for rich and poor; insufficient service and lack of vocational training; uneconomic household expenditures; and the effect of trusts and combines. Among the remedies suggested are: the encouragement of land settlement; more attention to mixed farming; increased production; standardization and improvement in the quantity of farm products; coöperation and distribution; the extension of the parcels post system; the making of good roads; cheaper and more accessible working capital especially for western farmers; a more comprehensive system of vocational training, and a better

understanding for the fundamental principles of production, marketing and purchase. The report advocates public ownership of all utilities in cities and towns such as electric light, water, gas and street railways.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.



Comparative Salary Data.—This is the title of a pamphlet issued by the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research. It contains comparative salary data obtained from the payrolls of 14 cities in the United States, 48 private establishments in Philadelphia, and salary standardizations of 7 American cities for 128 positions in municipal service. The pamphlet contains 76 pages and is for sale at 75 cents a copy. It is dated March 1, 1916, although not issued until June 1. Its chief purpose is to give some idea of the market value of the various services commonly rendered by public employees, and thus serve as a guide to appropriating bodies and standardization agencies in fixing salaries.

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"Stated briefly, our criticism is that, with the possible exception of Manhattan, your districting in its allowance of height and area is so liberal as to fail to accomplish the results which your report, your entire attitude and the frame work of your plans themselves show that you wish to obtain" (Cover-title).

Central Heating Systems

MERTENIS (JOHN V.). Data on central heating in thirteen Minnesota cities. (Engrng. and Contracting, Apr. 12, 1916: 356-357.)

Prof. Mertenis is professor of heating and ventilating in the University of Minnesota. The tables were compiled by Prof. Mertenis for the

Municipal Reference Bureau of the League of Minnesota Municipalities.

Charters

BUFFALO, N. Y. Charter operative Jan. 1, 1916. 330 pp.

CITIZENS NEW CHARTER COMMITTEE OF LOS ANGELES. The new charter or the old? 2 leaves. 4°.

Setting forth advantageous changes in proposed new charter which was voted on June 6th, 1916. The charter was decisively defeated.

LOS ANGELES, CAL. Board of Freeholders. Statement of the board submitting new charter. Dec. 2, 1915. 96 (1) pp.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE. Committee on Municipal Program. A model city charter and municipal home rule as prepared by the committee. Final ed. March 15, 1916. 59 pp.

Citizenship

CINCINNATI, O. Board of Education. Cincinnati public schools. Civic and vocational service, 1915-16. 8 leaves.

COWLEY (C. O'C.). Guide for applicants for citizenship. 1915. 80 pp.

Issued by Wm. F. Schneider, County Clerk for New York County, N. Y. C.

GILL (WILSON L.). Children's civic activities. (Annals Amer. Acad. Polit. and Soc. Science, Mch., 1916: 197-203.)

City Growth

BIDWELL (PERCY W.). Rural economy in New England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. (Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences, Apr., 1916: 241-399.)

Chap. I. Inland towns and their village settlements. Chap. II. The coast and river towns. Chap. VI. Home and community life in the inland town. App. B. Emigration from inland towns in southern New England, 1720-1820.

City Planning

ABERCROMBIE (PATRICK). Study before town planning. (Town Planning Review, Jan., 1916: 171-190. illus.)

ALDRIDGE, H. R. Compulsory town planning. (Garden Cities and Town Planning, Feb., 1916: 25-32.)

CINCINNATI MUNICIPAL REFERENCE BUREAU. City planning. List of references to material in Cincinnati Municipal Reference Bureau. 1916. Typewritten. 9 folios.

Prepared for use of students competing for Cincinnati prize offered by National Municipal League. Copies may be obtained from Public Affairs Information Service, White Plains, N. Y., for 45 cents each.

COCKRILL (J. W.). Town planning: its development and utility. (Surveyor and Municipal and County Engr., Apr. 14, 1916: 398-399.)

FORD (GEORGE B.). City planning by coercion or legislation. (American City, Apr., 1916: 328-33. illus.)

HERSHEY (JOHN L.). City planning for small cities. (Amer. Municipalities, Apr., 1916: 17-21.)

KIMBALL (THEODORA). What to read on city planning. (Amer. City, May, 1916: 466-467.)

NETTLEFOLD (JOHN S.). Economics of town planning. (Garden Cities and Town Planning Mag., Jan., 1916: 1-6.)

WHITE (W. E.). State aid for housing and town planning schemes. (Surveyor and Municip. and County Engr., May 12, 1916: 482-483.)

BATH

ANON. Bath improvement scheme. (Building News (London), Mch. 8, 1916: 248. illus.)

— City planning [in] Bath, Engl. (The Builder, Mch. 24, 1916.)

Plates illustrating proposed Bath Improvement Scheme.

— Proposed Bath improvement scheme. (The Builder (London), Mch. 10, 1916: 199. plans.)

CEBU, P. I.

HARDMAN (R. C.). City planning at Cebu, Philippine Is. (Engrng. News, May 11, 1916: 882-883. illus.)

DONCASTER

MORRIS, (PERCY). Town planning, with special reference to the Doncaster district. (Surveyor and Municipal and County Engr., Apr. 7, 1916: 377-379, 387-390.)

Mr. Morris is town planning surveyor of the Doncaster Rural District Council.

FALL RIVER

SNOW (WALTER B.). City planning for industrial development in Fall River. (American City, Apr., 1916: 335-338. illus.)

FRANCE

AGACHE, AUBERTIN, REDOUT, ARCHITECTS. Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites: notions d'urbanisme s'appliquant aux villes, bourgs et villages. Préface par M. Georges Risler. Paris: Colin, 1916. 257 pp. 6 frs.

DE COURMELLES (FOVVEAU). La reconstruction des cités détruites. (La Revue, Mch. 1-15, 1916: 494-504.)

M. De Courmelles is president of the Société Française d'Hygiène. The author considers among other things the Adické zoning system and the Cornudet plan embodied in the French law of May 28 and June 1, 1915, for the regulation of all French cities of over 10,000 population.

GERMANY

ANON. Der Aufbau der durch den Krieg zerstörten Gebiete. (Der Bauin-terressent (Vienna), Dec. 10, 1915: 75-76; Dec. 17, 1915: 83-84.)

NASHVILLE

See also Fires.

ANON. Nashville's plans for rebuilding. (Manufacturers' Record, Apr. 6, 1916: 61.)

A fire swept over a large part of Nashville on Mch. 22, 1916.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY CLUB OF NEW YORK. Committee on City Planning. A plea for the preser-

vation of our small parks as neighborhood centers. 1916. 16 pp.

PINCO (C. N.). Plaza improvement of Manhattan Bridge, N. Y. C. (Cornell Civil Engr., May, 1916: 426-437. illus.)

TAYLOR (GRAHAM R.). "How shall we save New York?" Building up a metropolitan city plan block by block. (The Survey, Mch. 25, 1916: 752-754.)

ANON. Some crazy city planning [Oklahoma City]. (Engrng. News, Mch. 16, 1916: 499.)

OTTAWA

CANADA. FEDERAL PLAN COMMISSION. [Review of rept. of commission presented to Parliament in Mch., 1916.] (Canadian Engr., Apr. 20, 1916: 461-464. illus.)

ST. LOUIS

CITIZENS' CITY PLAN COMMITTEE [OF ST. LOUIS]. Bulletin no. 2, 1916. 11 pp. 4°.

Contains address by Mr. Harland Bartholomew, of Newark, N. J., on "The basic principles of a city plan as applied to St. Louis."

WASHINGTON, D. C.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS. An appeal to the enlightened sentiment of the people of the United States for the further development of the capital of the nation. Mch., 1916. 10 leaves. illus. 4°.

COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF WASHINGTON. A short history and facts on "The Park Commission Plans." ed. 6, Mch., 1916. 2 leaves. Address: 806 17th St., Washington, D. C.

Civic Surveys

See also School Surveys.

COMEY (ARTHUR C.). A schedule of civic surveys. 16 pp. May, 1916.

Mass. Homestead Commission. Bulletin 5.

TOWNSEND (C. HARRISON). The civic survey. (Journ. of Roy. Inst. Brit. Architects, Apr. 1, 1916: 177-180.)

Civil Service

ANON. Civil service school for New York firemen. (Fire and Water Engrng., Mch. 29, 1916: 204.)

COLORADO. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION. Citizenship and residence requirements. Civil service commissions, states and principal cities. 1916. Typewritten. 6 folios.

MOSKOWITZ (HENRY). Old and new problems of civil service. (Annals Amer. Acad. Polit. and Social Science, Mch., 1916: 153-167.)

SEATTLE, WASH. CIVIL SERVICE DEPT. Examination and cost statistics including graphic charts [1896-1915]. chart.

Clean-up Campaigns

ANON. Clean-up campaigns active. [Review of activities.] (Paint, Oil and Drug Rev., Apr. 26, 1916: 8-9.)

BLODGETT (HAROLD G.). How you can help make your hometown a better hometown. 1916. 64 pp. illus.

An exposition of cleanliness, thrift and civic pride as the essentials for homes and towns beautiful. Issued by the "National Clean Up and Paint Up" Campaign Bureau, Kinloch Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

—. National "clean-up and paint-up" campaign. (Kansas Municipalities, Apr., 1916: 1-4. illus.)

KOELKER (E. S.). Clean-up campaigns. (The Municipality, Apr., 1916: 75-82. illus.)

STATE BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL INFORMATION OF THE NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE OF MAYORS AND OTHER CITY OFFICIALS. Municipal clean-up campaigns. Various methods and plans adopted by American cities. 11 folios. Mch. 1, 1916.

Cleveland, O.

CIVIC LEAGUE OF CLEVELAND. Civic Affairs. A bulletin published for the information of citizens. No. 1, Mch., 1916. 8 pp. 4°.

Five cents per copy. The entire number is given over to two addresses made at the annual meeting of the Civic League on Feb. 29, 1916, viz., City Manager Government in Principle by A. R. Hatton, professor political science, W. R. U., and City Manager Government in Practice by Henry M. Waite, city manager of Dayton, O.

Community Music

SURETTE (THOMAS W.). Community music. (Atlantic Mo., May, 1916: 658-667.)

Coroner

WADSWORTH (W. S.). The coroner and the physician. 1916. 3 leaves.

Read before the Northern Medical Assoc. of Phila., Dec. 10, 1915; repr. from N. Y. Medical Journ. for Feb. 26, 1916; issued from Office of the Coroner, Phila.

County Government

NEW YORK CITY. COMMISSIONER OF ACCOUNTS. Statement submitted to the Mayor, of facts in relation to the cost of county government and the city budget. Mch. 6, 1916. 5 folios.

Reply to alleged misrepresentations contained in pamphlet issued by sub-committee of county officials entitled "The Truth about the City's Debt."

Courts

COLLINS (HON. CORNELIUS F.). The children's court of the City of New York. (Legal Aid Review, Apr., 1916: 1-9.)

Address: Legal Aid Socy., 239 Broadway, N. Y. C.

DAINOW (DAVID). Jewish court of arbitration [in Montreal]. (Canadian Municipal Journ., Apr., 1916: 125.)

PHILADELPHIA, PENN. Municipal Court. Annual rept., 2 d, 1915. 320 pp. 8°.

This is the first full year of operation of this court. The reports are notable for the excellence of the display of the social statistics.

Debt

CITY CLUB OF CINCINNATI. Should the city borrow \$1,250,000? 16 pp., obl. 12°.

Vigorous protest against proposed loan. "An expert economy and efficiency investigation should be instituted immediately."

Elections

KEITH (THEODORA). Municipal elections in the royal burghs of Scotland from the Union to the passing of the Scottish Burgh Reform Bill in 1833. (Scottish Hist. Rev., Apr., 1916: 266-278.)

NEW YORK SHORT BALLOT ORGANIZATION. Proposal for a constitutional amendment providing for the state short ballot. 1916. 15 pp. 4°.

Engineering

ANON. Co-operation in engineering societies. (Power, Apr. 25, 1916: 600-601.)

Enumeration of various ways in which co-operation in engineering has produced gratifying results in civic affairs.

SADLER (FREDERICK). The duties of a municipal engr. and surveyor in connection with factories and workshops. (Surveyor and Municipal and County Engr., Mch. 31, 1916: 346-349.)

THOMPSON (W. B.). The debt of New Orleans to the engineer. (Journ. Amer. Socy. Mech. Engrs., May, 1916: 394-396.)

Excess Condemnation

MASSACHUSETTS. COMMISSION TO REPORT UNIFORM METHODS AND PROCEDURE FOR TAKING LAND FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES. Supplementary report of the tax commissioner, the attorney-general and the chairman of the homestead commission relative to uniform methods and procedure for taking land for public purposes. 1916. 78 pp.

House document, 1916, no. 1750.

SWAN (HERBERT S.). Excess condemnation in street improvements. (Amer. City, Mch., 1916: 258-62. illus.)

Ferries

SMITH (R. A. C.). History of [N. Y. City] ferries. (Municipal Engrs.' Journ., May, 1916: 305-308.)

Filing Systems

FEE (ROBERT J.). Filing correspondence in a municipal department. (Engrng. News, Apr. 27, 1916: 786-788.)

Mr. Fee is indexer of the records of the Bd. of Water Supply, N. Y. City.

Finance

HOUSTON, TEX. Tax and Land Commission. Financial statistics regarding Houston, Texas, compiled by J. J. Pastoriza. 1916. bdside.

Fire Departments

BOSTON [MASS.] CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. Committee on Municipal and Metropolitan Affairs concerning the proposed "one day off in three" schedule for the Boston Fire Department. Mch. 6, 1916. 10 folios.

DAUNTLESS CLUB OF THE BUFFALO FIRE DEPT. Statistics of fire departments. 1915. 39 pp. 12°.

Ninth issue. Published by permission. Tables showing, for each grade of service in 118 American cities, the salary and time off, allowances made for

equipment and sickness and injury, size of department, etc. Price per copy, 25c. Address J. F. Flood, President Dauntless Club, 1195 Niagara St., Buffalo, N. Y.

Fires

TENNESSEE INSPECTION BUREAU. Rept. on conflagration at Nashville. (Fire and Water Engrng., Apr. 26, 1916: 257-258.)

See also under City Planning.

Flood Protection

ANON. Flood protection in Indianapolis. (Municip. Engrng., Apr., 1916: 124-27. illus.)

CONRAD (CUTHBERT P.). Flood protection plans for Dayton. (Wisc. Engr., Mch., 1916: p. 274-283.)

Gary Schools

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Education Committee. Modern schools for New York City. May 30, 1916, 40 pp.

Woman and the City's Work. v. 1, no. 30. Issued wkly. at 25 cents per year. The foregoing rept. was compiled by Agnes De Lima, chrm. of the education committee. A good list of "What to read on the Gary plan" accompanies the report.

Government

DUNAWAY (JOHN ALLDER). Some efficiency methods of city administration. (Annals Amer. Acad. Polit. and Social Science, Mch., 1916: 89-102.)

GAFFNEY (JOSEPH P.). Address at the annual banquet of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, Apr. 6, 1916. 7 pp., obl. 12°.

Citizens' business no. 204.

GUILD (J. M.). Citizen co-operation in municipal affairs. (Amer. Socy. Municip. Improvements. Proc. 22 ann. convention, 1915: 335-338.)

KIRKPATRICK (F. A.). Municipal administration in the Spanish dominions in America. (Trans. Roy. Hist. Socy. (London), ser. 3, v. 9: 95-109.)

NEW YORK CITY. Mayor. Speech of Hon. John Purroy Mitchel at the dinner of the Committee of 107 at the Hotel Astor, May 2, 1916. 104 pp.

"Your committee constitutes the only responsible medium through which this administration, the product of non-partisan fusion, can account to the electorate. . . . This annual meeting of your committee offers the single opportunity to present to the people of the city, in a comprehensive way, the aims and purposes as well as the accomplishments of those in whom this great public trust of government has been reposed for a little while."

TRIBUS (LOUIS L.). The city at work. (Amer. Socy. Municip. Improvement. Proc. 22 ann. convention, 1915: 353-367.)

UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU. Comparative financial statistics of cities under council and commission government. 1913 and 1915. 1916. 15 pp.

CITY MANAGER PLAN

ANON. Increasing water works efficiency under city manager government. (Engrng. and Contracting, May 17, 1916: 446-447.)

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF PITTSBURGH. Report of Oliver McClintock delegate to annual conference of the National Municipal League. Feb. 24, 1916. 24 (1) pp.

Municipal home rule; commission manager form of government; Dayton as an example of both.

KING (LYMAN M.). The city manager plan. (Pacific Municipalities, Apr., 1916: 144-150.)

QUIRE (JOSEPH H.). Notes on the city manager plan of municipal government. 1916. 3 leaves.

Mr. Quire is secy. of the Bureau of Municipal Reference University Extension Division, University of California.

SHERMAN, TEXAS. Report of the city manager [Karl M. Mitchell] for the eight months ended Feb. 1, 1916. 16 pp., obl. 8°.

WAITE (HENRY M.). The Dayton plan of government. (Amer. Socy. Municip. Improvements. Proc. 22 ann. convention, 1915: 327-334.)

WALPOLE, MASS. Town Planning Committee. Preliminary report on town government. Mch., 1916. 24 pp.

Useful data on actual workings of city manager plan, p. 9-19.

COMMISSION PLAN

NATIONAL SHORT BALLOT ORGANIZATION. Certain weaknesses in the commission plan of municipal government. Why the commission-manager plan is better. 1916. 15 pp. 12°.

Grade Crossings

ANON. An interesting track elevation project. (Rwy. Age Gaz., Mch. 31, 1916: 755-759. illus.)

A descr. of work involved in 3½ miles on the Evanston Branch of the C. M. and St. Paul Rwy.

—, Extensive grade separation at Spokane, Wash. (Rwy. Age. Gaz., Apr. 28, 1916: 948-952. illus.)

—, Track elevation and station at Fort Wayne, Ind. (Engng News, Mch. 16, 1916: 492-495. illus.)

BROOKLYN GRADE CROSSING COMMISSION. Preliminary rept. of the work of eliminating grade crossings, covering the work during 1914 and 1915 and up to Feb. 1, 1916. Typewritten. 10 folios.

Housing

ANON. Städtische Siedlungspolitik nach dem Kriege. (Ztschr. d. oesterr. Ingenieur-u. Architekt. Vereins, Mch. 10, 1916: 195-196.)

—, The housing problem after the war. (The Builder (London), Apr. 21, 1916: 297-299.)

BROWN (FRANK C.). Workingmen's housing at Hopedale, Mass. (Archit. Rev., Apr., 1916: 64-67. illus.)

DAVISON (ROBERT L.). The problem of low-cost housing. (Architect. Rev., May, 1916: 79-80. illus.)

DOYLE (DANIEL S.). Housing. (Journ. Stat. and Soc. Inquiry Socy. of Ireland, Dec., 1915: 255-268.)

FREELAND (W. E.). New housing development at Worcester. Norton Company's plan under which its employes may own homes in an unusual environment. (Iron Age, May 18, 1916: 1187-1190. illus.)

GOECKE (THEODOR). Arbeitersiedlung der Bergwerksgesellschaft Hermann m. b. h. bei Bork. (Der Städtebau, Dec., 1915: 113-114.)

HILDER (JOHN). The housing of wage-earners. (Architect. Rev., Mch., 1916: 37 passim.)

KILHAM AND HOPKINS, ARCHITECTS. The houses for the Salem Rebuilding Trust. (Architect. Rev., Apr., 1916: 68. illus.)

NATIONAL CONGRESS ON HOME PROBLEMS AFTER THE WAR. Proceedings. (Building News (London), Apr. 19, 1916: 376-379.)

Synopsis of proc. of the congress held in Westminster from Apr. 11-14, 1916.

NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION. What our cities do not know. 29 pp.

Rept. on replies to a questionnaire sent out to 128 cities of the U. S. concerning sanitary conveniences, dark rooms, underground living rooms, housing accommodation, etc. There is a list of limited dividend companies in the U. S. and Canada which have undertaken improved wage-earners' dwellings and a list of state and municipal as well as volunteer housing commissions or departments.

PETERS. Wettbewerb zur Bebauung eines städtischen Baublocks an der Königsstrasse in Magdeburg. (Städtebau, Oct.-Nov., 1915: 97-100. illus.)

Dr. Peters is Stadtbaurath of Magdeburg.

PHILLIPS (R. RANDAL). An English housing scheme. Duchy of Cornwall estate at Kennington, London. (Brickbuilder and Architect, Mch., 1916: 69-74. illus.)

PRUSSIA. Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Förderung der Ansiedlung. (Techn. gemeinde blatt, Feb. 20, 1916: 332.)

Synopsis of law presented to Lower House of the Prussian Diet on Jan. 14, 1915. Provides for an apprn. of 100 million marks to be used in promoting home sites, housing, etc., in both urban and suburban territory.

SHAWCROSS (HAROLD). Housing schemes after the war. (Arch. and Contract Reporter, Apr. 28, 1916: 307-309.)

SFAHR (ALBERT H.). The town of Midland, Pa. A new development in housing near Philadelphia. (Architect. Rev., Mch., 1916: 33-36. illus.)

STEINBRÜCKER (FRANZ). Wohnungsmangel u. Wohnungselend. (Der Städtebau, Dec., 1915: 114-116.)

Voss. Bebauungsplan für ein städtisches Gelände an der Uellendahler strasse u. Kohlstrasse in Elberfeld. (Techn. gemeindeblatt, Mch. 5, 1916: 341-345. illus.) To be cont'd.

Jitney

NASH (L. R.). History and economics of the jitney. (Stone and Webster Journ., May, 1916: 361-377.)

PENNSYLVANIA. PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION. Penn. jitneys are common carriers. Synopsis of opinion in Scranton case. (Electr. Rwy. Journ., Mch. 25, 1916: 627.)

Kingsport, Tenn.

STONE (WILLIAM H.). Remarkable industrial development under way at Kingsport, Tenn. (Manufact. Rec., Apr. 20, 1916: 46-48. illus.)

Licenses

CHICAGO, ILL. Municipal Reference Library. Ordinances of four cities in the U. S. governing the licensing of newsboys and news-stands. Dec., 1915. Type-written. 4 folios.

New York City (1915); Detroit ([1904?]); Newark (1913); Providence (1914). Copies may be secured from Public Affairs Information Bureau, White Plains, N. Y., for 20 cents each.

Liquor Traffic

CITIZENS' LEAGUE OF HENNEPIN CO., MINN. How a wet majority was made to dry Minneapolis. Nov., 1915. 15 pp. Issued by the Executive Committee of the League.

FORBES (W. T.). Liquor censorship at Mason City. (Amer. Municipalities, Mch., 1916: 213-214.)

Lockport, N. Y.

LOCKPORT (N. Y.) BOARD OF COMMERCE. The Lockport Leader. Vol. 1, no. 1. Apr., 1916. 4°.

Published monthly. The Board announces the following as among the things of most importance to be taken up, viz., freight station, freight interchange, public market, industrial survey, credit bureau, employment bureau, traffic bureau, systematic illumination, systematic protection of shade trees, renumbering of houses, standardizing a sidewalk grade, playground system.

London, Engl.

ANON. Westminster: an interpretative survey. I. Method: the non-national unit. II. The mediæval city, its survivals and tendencies. (Sociological Rev., Oct., 1915-Jan., 1916: 252-284.)

Manchester, Engl.

HEMM (GORDON). Some Manchester (Engl.) sketches. (The Builder, Mch. 24, 1916: 235-236.)

Illustrations of some of the principal public bldgs. of Manchester with hist. notes by the artist.

Markets

ANON. Die Berliner Grossmarkthalle. (Der Eisenbau, Mch., 1916: 68-71. illus.)

—. Electric roads to serve large market. (Electric Rwy. Journ., Apr. 22, 1916: 782-783. illus.)

Newly formed company announces immediate start of construction of union market terminal in the heart of Los Angeles.

HILESHEW (JOHN C.). Carlisle [Penn.] municipal market. (Municipal Journ., Mch. 30, 1916: 431-432. illus.)

Milk Supply

ANON. Das Kopenhagener System der Milchversorgung. (Kommunale Praxis, Feb. 19, 1916: 113-118.)

Municipal Bonds

SHANKS (SANDERS). Selling municipal bonds in 1916. (Amer. City, Mch., 1916: 234-235.)

Municipal Research Bureaus

ANON. Why the Bureau of Municipal Research should be continued in Dayton. Mch., 1916. 4 leaves. 24°.

Issued by a committee of citizens interested in reorganizing and refinancing the Dayton Bureau of Municipal Research. On back cover is a list of other American cities having bureaus.

DETROIT BUREAU OF GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH, INC. [Announcement.] 1916. 4 leaves. obl. 12°.

Municipal Service

See also Civil Service.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Rept. of the committee on municipal service survey. Dec. 31, 1915. 39 pp., 1 foldg. chart.

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, N. Y. CITY. Standardization of municipal employments. Nov., 1915. 117 pp. Municipal Research, no. 67.

—. Training for municipal service. Dec., 1915. 51 pp., 1 foldg. chart. Municipal Research, no. 68.

—. Legal rights of civil servants in the City of New York. Oct., 1915. 202 pp.

Municipal Research, no. 66.

FULD (LEONHARD FELIX). Improved discipline for city employes. (Survey, Apr. 29, 1916: 122-123.)

Maintenance of discipline by fining system; regulation of dismissals by a joint trial board.

ROBINSON (FREDERICK B.). Our [i. e. City College of New York] municipal courses. (City College Quarterly, Mch., 1916: 18-30.)

Prof. Robinson is Director of Evening Session and Division of Vocational Subjects and Civic Administration.

Official Journals

BOSTWICK (ANDREW LINN). Report on city official journals. (Journ. of the Bd. of Aldermen of St. Louis, reg. sess., May 5, 1916: 47-52.)

Pageants

COPELAND (JENNIE F.). The pageant of Boston. (New England Mag., Mch., 1916: 115-126.)

Ordinances

For ordinances on special subjects see Plumbing. For electrical codes see Public Utilities.

Parks

See also Amusement Parks.

KERFOOT (L. S.). Oakland's parks and the Lake Merritt improvements. (Architect and Engr. of Cal., May, 1916: 65-70. illus.)

LOHMAN (KARL B.). The park development problems in the hard-coal region. (Coal Age, May 27, 1916: 914-917. illus.)

LYLE (WILLIAM T.). Parks and park engineering. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1916. 130 pp. illus.

The author is professor of municipal engrng. in Lafayette College.

RASCH (EDGAR). Zur Beschaffung u. Unterhaltung öffentlicher Grünanlagen. (Der Städtebau, Dec., 1915: 117-120.)

Pensions

NEW JERSEY. Commission to Investigate Pensions for State and Municipal Officers and Employes. Report. 1916. 14 pp.

NEW YORK CITY. PENSIONS COMMISSION. Report on the pension funds of the City of New York. Part 1. Operation of the nine existing pension funds. 1916. 6 p. l., 171 pp., tables. 4°.

Piers

See also Recreation Piers.

STANFORD (CHARLES W.). Two-story shed for New York's forty-sixth street pier will be 969 ft. long. (Engrng. Record, Mch. 27, 1916: 708-709. illus.)

Mr. Stanford is chief engr., Dept. of Docks and Ferries of N. Y. City.

Plumbing

PORTLAND, ORE. Ordinances. Plumbing code, 1916. 67 pp., obl. 12°.

Issued by the Dept. of Public Works.

Port Development

ALASKA
WHITHAM (PAUL). Planning of Alaskan ports. 1916. 24 pp., 13 pls. 4°.

Published by the U. S. Interior Dept.

CORPUS CHRISTI
BARTLETT (TERRELL). Corpus Christi causeway. (Engrng. Record, Mch. 18, 1916: 390-392. illus.)

GALVAN
TRERY (CHARLES A.). Galvan port, Bahia Blanca, Argentine. (Indian and Eastern Engr., Feb., 1916: 66-67.)

Abstr. of paper read before Inst. of Civil Engrs., London.

GLASGOW
MASON (SIR THOMAS). The improvement of the River Clyde and harbour of Glasgow, 1873-1914. (Minutes Proc. Inst. Civil Engrs. (London), v. 200: 101-175.)

JACKSONVILLE
ANON. Modern port facilities under way at Jacksonville. (Manufac. Rec., May 4, 1916: 66-67. illus.)

MELBOURNE
ANON. The port of Melbourne. (Indian and Eastern Engr., Feb., 1916: 58.)

MOBILE
ANON. A few reasons why Mobile is not a coal port. (Black Diamond, Apr. 15, 1916: 316-317. illus.)

MONACO
CHAUVET (R.). Les travaux du port de Monaco. (Le Génie Civil, Feb. 26, 1916: 129-134. illus.)

NANTES, FRANCE
KAUFFMANN. La Loire et le port de Nantes. (Annales de Ponts et Chaussées. Pte. Technique. 1915, no 5: 164-267. illus.)

NEW ORLEANS

ANON. New Orleans position in the export coal market. (Black Diamond, Mch. 25, 1916. illus.)

NEW YORK CITY

ANON. First unit of Jamaica Bay improvement completed. (Engrng. Record, Mch. 18, 1916: 392-393. illus.)

UNITED STATES

ANON. Southern ports the salvation of the nation's commerce, foreign and domestic. (Manufacturers' Record, May 25, 1916: 46-51.)

Improvements under way at Mobile, Fernandina, Jacksonville, Miami, Tampa, Brunswick, Savannah, New Orleans, Baltimore, Southport, N. C., Wilmington, Charleston, Aransas Pass, Freeport, Galveston, Houston, Newport News.

Psychopathic Clinics

BISCH (LOUIS E.). A police psychopathic laboratory. (Journ. Amer. Inst. Crim. Law and Crim. Psychol., May, 1916: 79-88.)

Refers to the N. Y. City laboratory.

PATON (STEWART). The city's need of a psychopathic clinic. (Journ. Amer. Medical Assoc., Mch. 11, 1916: 808-810.)

Public Comfort Stations

GERHARD (WM. PAUL). Public comfort stations. (Amer. City, May, 1916: 449-457. illus.)

Public Health

BOLDUAN (CHARLES F.). Over a century of health administration in New York City. Mch., 1916. 40 pp.

Monograph ser. 13. New York City Health Dept.

Public Utilities

See also Water Supply.

ANON. Compromise of Philadelphia rate case. (Electr. World, Mch. 18, 1916: 638-639.)

Substance of compromise agreement and history of case.

—. Cost of operating city lighting plant in Detroit. (Electr. World, Apr. 29, 1916: 997.)

—. Electric service to interconnected Illinois towns. (Electr. World, May 20, 1916: 1146-1153. illus.)

—. Intimate relationship between any municipality and the local railway system. Both progress or stagnate together. The B. C. E. R. and the Vancouver district. (Electr. News (Toronto), May 15, 1916: 32-34.)

—. Plainfield, N. J., gets free lighting privilege. (Power, Mch. 21, 1916: 422.)

Summary of facts surrounding decision of N. J. Court of Errors and Appeals of Mch. 6, 1916, holding that agreement between city of Plainfield and Public Service Electric Co. for free lighting service for municipal buildings is valid.

—. Power development at Fort Dodge, Ia. (Engrng. and Contracting, May 10, 1916: 21 illus.)

After being twice defeated during the past four years, a bond issue for the construction of a municipal dam and hydro-electric plant on the Des

Moines River was approved on Nov. 8, 1915, by the citizens of Fort Dodge.

BEMIS (EDWARD W.). Final summaries on Dallas utilities. (Electr. Rev. and Western Electrician, Mch. 18, 1916: 494.)

BERKELEY, CAL. Ordinances, rules and regulations governing electrical work in the city of Berkeley. 1916. 27 pp.

CHICAGO, ILL. Department of Gas and Electricity. Electrical code. Rules and regulations of the Dept. of Gas and Electricity. Edition of 1916. 238 pp. 12°.

CHRISTIE (A. G.). Calgary's municipal power plant. (Power, Mch. 24, 1916: 352-357; to be cont'd.)

—, **Lethbridge (Alberta)** municipal power plant. (Power, Apr. 4, 1916: 462-466. illus.)

—, **Municipal electrical utilities of western Canada.** (Power, Mch. 14, 1916: 378-387.)

—, **Municipal power plant operated by Saskatoon, Can.** (Power, May 2, 1916: 606-609. illus.)

CORN, CHARLES M. Phases of new Baltimore gas rates. (Gas Industry, May, 1916: 307-308.)

FIEDLER (L. K.). Städtische gemeinnützige Anlagen in Polen. (Elektrotechn. Ztschr., Feb. 17, 1916: 90.)

Survey of proposed utility development in Poland. Of the 121 cities of Poland, 18 have more than 20,000 inhabitants. There is a table showing the nature of the various utility services.

MARYLAND. PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION. In the matter of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Co. of Baltimore City. Investigation of the rates and charges, property and affairs. Case no. 690. Opinion filed March 8, 1916. 104 pp.

ROGERS (WARREN O.). Danville (Va.) municipal lighting plant. (Power, Apr. 25, 1916: 572-577. illus.)

SCOTT (ARTHUR C.). Growth of a combination utility in a small city. (Electrical World, May 6, 1916: 1039-1041. illus.)

Developments at Cameron, Tex., with a pop. of 5,000, in supplying electrical service, water and ice.

VICHNIAK (J.). L'usine génératrice d'électricité de Moscou. (La Revue Electrique, Feb. 4, 1916: 69-80. illus.)

Publicity

AMERICAN CITY BUREAU. Summer school for commercial organization secretaries. 2d year announcement. 1916. 8 leaves. 4°.

Address: American City Bureau, 87 Nassau St., New York City.

REDDING (LEO L.). The Redding idea. 4 leaves. obl. 8°.

Address: 440 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City. Leo L. Redding & Co. are promoters of organization campaigns. The co. managed the Newark Anniversary campaign.

Raleigh, N. C.

RALEIGH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, RALEIGH, N. C. Who's who in business in Raleigh. Apr. 25, 1916. 40 pp. 24°.

Recreation Piers

ANON. The new Chicago municipal recreation pier. (Electr. Rev. and Western Electrician, May 20, 1916: 905-907. illus.)

Refuse Disposal

BACOM (GEORGE R.). Five ton garbage reduction plant yields profit to city [of Pontiac, Mich.] (Engrng. Rec., Apr. 22, 1916: 541-542.)

BARLOW (J. E.). Garbage disposal in Dayton, O. (Amer. Socy. Municip. Improvements. Proc. 22 ann. convention, 1915: 1-6.)

EWINGER (M. I.). The collection and disposal of city refuse. (The Iowa Engr., Mch., 1916: 226-233.)

MACKIE (GEORGE D.). Refuse removal and disposal in Moose Jaw, Sask. (Canadian Engr., Mch. 23, 1916: 371-373.)

MILLER (B. F.). Garbage collection and disposal. (Amer. Socy. Municip. Improvements. Proc. 22 ann. convention, 1915: 7-15.)

Safety First Campaign

WOOD (W. E.) and B. T. LONGINO. Methods and results of "safety first" campaign at Jacksonville, Fla. (Stone and Webster Journ., Apr., 1916: 307-316.)

Sanitation

BOSTWICK (ANDREW LINN). Co-operation between the police and health authorities, especially in the matter of sanitary inspection. Dec., 1915. Typewritten. 6 folios.

Copies may be secured from Public Affairs Information Bureau, White Plains, N. Y., for 30 cents each.

Savannah, Ga.

BOOKER (ROY G.). Southern progress typified in activities at Savannah. (Manufacturers' Record, Apr. 27, 1916: 48-50. illus.)

School Clinics

BERKOWITZ (J. H.). Free municipal clinics for school children. Feb., 1916. 16 pp.

New York City, Dept. of Health. Reprint ser. no. 41.

School Surveys

—, **Sanitary school surveys as a health protective measure.** 1916. 9 pp. illus.

Repr. from The Modern Hospital, Mch., 1916.
BOBBITT (FRANKLIN). Rept. of the school district no. 1 in the city and county of Denver. Pt. 1. General organization and management. 1916. 116 pp.

Schools

See also Gary Schools.

CAHILL (B. J. S.). The city of Berkeley's new public school buildings. (Architect and Engr. of Cal., May, 1916: 39-54. illus.)

JOHNSON (WILLIAM T.). An open-air school in California [Francis W. Parker School, San Diego]. (Journ. Amer. Inst. Architects, Apr., 1916: 162-164. illus.)

Sewage Disposal

HOUSTON, TEX. City Engineer. Annual report on sewage disposal, 1st, 1916. 59 (1) pp., 2 ll., diagsr.

On Nov. 15, 1914, the people of Houston voted \$1,000,000 for the extension of sanitary sewers and the building of a disposal plant. More than 81 per cent of the ballots were in favor of the bonds. At the present time approximately 70,000 people, or one half the population, are served by the sanitary sewer system of the city of Houston.

Skating Rinks

ANON. Duquesne Garden (Pittsburgh) ice skating rink. (Ice and Refrigeration, Je. 1, 1916: 353-357. illus.)

Smoke Abatement

ANON. La suppression de la fumée par la précipitation électrique. (La Nature, 20 Avril, 1916: 282-285. illus.)

Goss (W. F. M.). Smoke as a source of atmospheric pollution. (Journ. Franklin Institute, Mch., 1916: 305-338.)

Especially Chicago conditions.

HILL (HALBERT P.). Electrical precipitation of smoke and dust. (Electr. World, May 13, 1916: 1097-1099. illus.)

MILLER (E. J.). Smoke abatement. (Universal Engr., Apr., 1916: 334-337; to be cont'd.)

Social Centers

CHICAGO, ILL. Department of Public Welfare. Catalogue of contributions available for community and social center programs. Jan. 3, 1916. 16 pp.

A classified list of volunteers, individual or organizations, who will contribute lectures or music, etc.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY CENTERS AND RELATED PROBLEMS. Call for a conference to be held in New York City, Apr. 19 to 22, 1916. 10 pp.

WILSON (MARGARET WOODROW). The schoolhouse as a community center. Mch., 1916. 7 pp.

Amer. Civic Assoc. ser. 2, no. 9. Address: Union Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Social Evil

BUREAU OF SOCIAL HYGIENE, NEW YORK CITY. Commercialized prostitution in New York City. Nov. 1, 1915. A comparison between 1912 and 1915. 15 pp.

GOLER (GEORGE W.). The municipality and the venereal disease problem. (Amer. Journ. of Public Health, Apr., 1916: 355-359.)

SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE OF BALTIMORE CITY. The abolition of the red-light districts in Baltimore. 1916. 23 pp.

Includes article by Dr. Abraham Flexner on the regulation of prostitution in Europe, p. 15-23.

Social Service

CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY, N. Y. CITY. Improving social conditions in New York City. Jan. 5, 1916. 58 pp. Its Bulletin no. 105.

Street Lighting

ANON. Boston street lighting arbitration. (Electr. World, Apr. 29, 1916: 1011-1012.)

— Milwaukee's extensive street-lighting plan. (Electr. World, Mch. 18, 1916: 645-648. illus.)

— The new street-lighting system of Milwaukee. (Electr. Rev. and Western Electrician, Apr. 1, 1916: 579-582; to be cont'd. illus.)

CITIZENS' BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL EFFICIENCY [OF MILWAUKEE]. Street lighting reports—a pamphlet of reference. Mch., 1916. 136 pp.

— The street lighting question. A summary. Mch., 1916. 14 pp.

HALVORSON (C. A. B.), JR., S. C. ROGERS and R. B. HUSSEY. Arc lamps for street illumination. (Trans. Illum. Engrng. Socy., May, 1916: 251-268. illus.)

MAHAN (H. E.). Street lighting. (Pacific Municipalities, May, 1916: 171-177. illus.)

PHILLIPS (CHARLES T.). Street lighting. (Pacific Municipalities, Mch., 1916, p. 91-96.)

ROLINSON (W. H.). New types of incandescent lamps and their relation to street lighting. (Trans. Illum. Engrng. Socy., May, 1916: 269-281.)

SWAN (SAMUEL B.). Modern street lighting at Providence, R. I. (Lighting Journ., May, 1916: 94-98. illus.)

TALLANT (C. H.). The lighting of business streets. (Pacific Municipalities, Mch., 1916: 106-109. illus.)

VAN DERZEE (G. W.). Street lighting on a cost-of-service basis. (Electrical World, Apr. 1, 1916: 758-760.)

VAUGHN (F. A.). A practical application of principles of scientific street lighting. (Trans. Illum. Engrng. Socy., May, 1916: 282-314. illus.)

Street Pavements

ADAMS (H. W.). Beloit's experience with open paving specifications. (Wisc. Engr., Apr., 1916: 317-331.)

Mr. Adams is Mayor of Beloit.

DOVEY (J. THOMAS). Pavement near car lines heaves during cold spell. (Engrng. Rec., May 13, 1916: 640-642. illus.)

Freezing water between rails and blocks damages streets in Seattle and other Pacific Coast cities. Mr. Dovey is president of the Seattle Engrng. Co.

Street Planting

MAASZ (HARRY). Strassenbaum und Baumgang. (Der Städtebau, Okt.-Nov., 1915: 101-103. illus.)

WATSON (T. W.). Municipal tree planting and lot clearing [in Glendale, Cal.] (Pacific Municipalities, Apr., 1916: 153-155. illus.)

Mr. Watson is city mngr. of Glendale.

Streets

ANON. Practical street construction—street widths. Sidewalk widths. (Municipal Journ., Mch. 30, 1916: 433-436. illus.)

CONANT (W. B.). Street rwy. obligations to repair and maintain public ways. (Municip. Journ., Apr. 13, 1916: 509-510.)

MASSACHUSETTS. Highway Commission. Report relative to the maintenance of safe surfaces for horses and horse-drawn vehicles. Jan., 1916. 49 pp.

House documents, 1916, no. 1755.

Swimming Pool

ANON. Swimming pool in a Pasadena park. (Concrete Age, May, 1916: 12-13. illus.)

Taxation

BANNISTER (J. C.). How buildings were appraised in revaluation of real property of Los Angeles. (Engrng. Record, Apr. 8, 1916: 472-475. illus.)

GEMÜND (WILHELM). Welche Umstände verteuern das städtische Bauland? (Ztschr. für Sozialwissensch., 1916, Heft 1: 11-26.)

LINDEMANN (HUGO). Schätzungsämter. (Kommunale Praxis, Mch. 4, 1916: 147-149; 162-164.)

Concerning the valuation of real property apropos of a valuation law under consideration in the Prussian diet.

REAL ESTATE BOARD OF NEW YORK. The unequal burden of taxation borne by New York City real estate. 1915. 23 pp. 4°.

Questions submitted by the Joint Legislative Committee on Taxation and replies made by the board. Address: 115 Broadway, N. Y. C.

—. Why the single tax experiment should not be tried on New York City. 1916. 15 pp.

Questions submitted by the Mayor's Committee on Taxation, City of New York, on the proposal to differentiate between the direct taxation of land and buildings by reducing in whole or in part the tax rate on buildings as compared with that on land and replies thereto made by the Real Estate Board of New York through a sub-committee of its Committee on Legislation and Taxation.

Terminal Facilities

ANON. Newark \$6,000,000 terminal project an accomplished fact. (Electr. Rwy. Journ., Apr. 29, 1916: 817. illus.)

—. Electrification of freight yards in New York City. (Electr. Rwy. Journ., Apr. 29, 1916: 815-816. illus.)

—. "Soo Terminal" type of station, being built by Lackawanna at South Orange, nears completion. (Engrng. Record, Mch. 18, 1916: 378-382.)

BUSFIELD (J. L.). The design of large passenger terminals. (Rwy. Age Gazette,

May 5, 1916: 989-993; Canadian Engr., Mch. 23, 1916: 373-377.)

Discussion of principal features which must be considered when planning a large modern station.

GOETZ (HENRY A.). A less-than-car-load clearing house. A suggested solution of the problem of handling l. c. l. traffic at Chicago. (Rwy. Age Gazette, Apr. 14, 1916: 828-834. illus.)

MCCARTER (THOMAS N.). Address upon opening of Newark's public service terminal. (Amer. Gas Light Journ., May 15, 1916: 305-309.)

Mr. McCarter is president of the Public Service Commission of New Jersey.

WHITHAM (PAUL). Industrial development. Importance of the railway and water terminal factors. (Pacific Northwest Socy. of Engrs., Dec. 1915: 23-31.)

Traffic

ANON. Street Traffic signal in San Francisco. (Electric Rwy. Journ., Apr. 22, 1916: 776. illus.)

CROSBY (W. W.). The traffic census and its bearing on the selection of pavements. (Amer. Socy. Municip. Improvements. Proc. 22 ann. convention, 1915: 308-312.)

GRIFFIN (JAS. P.). Developing inter-urban traffic. (Electr. Rwy. Journ., May 22, 1916: 993-996.)

HUTCHINS (H. C.). Systems of traffic control. (Municip. Journ., May 25, 1916: 715-719. illus.)

LOS ANGELES, CAL. Ordinance no. 29, S26, new series, amended to Jan. 23, 1916. Ordinance regulating travel and traffic upon the public streets. folio sheet.

MCGRATH (D.). Determining the actual length of ride. Description of a traffic count on urban electric rwy. service. (Electr. Rwy. Journ., Mch. 25, 1916: 595-598.)

SHURTLEFF (ARTHUR A.). Traffic control and its application to the re-design of Copley Square, Boston. (Landscape Architecture, Jan., 1916: 61-71. illus.)

Revision of an article by Mr. Shurtleff in Stone and Webster Public Service Journ. of Mch., 1915.

WOODS (ARTHUR). Keeping city traffic moving. (World's Work, Apr., 1916: 621-632. illus.)

Mr. Woods is police comr. of N. Y. City.

Transportation

ANON. Vienna tramways semi-century. Some features of an important municipal system that before the war obtained great success. (Tramway and Rwy. World, Mch. 9, 1916: 185-187. illus.)

BIRNEY (C. O.). The one-man car and its adaptability to street rwy. service. (Stone and Webster Journ., Mch., 1916: 214-221. illus.)

BUSBY (LEONARD A.). Regulation of public utilities [particularly street rwys.] (Journ. Western Socy. Engrs., Jan., 1916: 33-54.)

Mr. Busby is president of the Chicago Surface lines.

BOSTWICK (ANDREW LINN). Report to the Board of Public Service, St. Louis, Mo., Dec., 1915. Steam and electric railways in public parks. Typewritten. 6 folios.

Copies may be secured from Public Affairs Information Bureau, White Plains, N. Y., for 30 cents each. Compiled on behalf of the Municipal Reference Library, St. Louis.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF PITTSBURGH. Report [on] new street railways ordinances [by the] joint committees on municipal affairs and city transit of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh. Jan., 1916. 12 pp.

This joint committee was appointed to draft a communication to be presented to the City Council on the subject of the twenty-two so-called "traction ordinances" before that body.

— A communication of the subcommittee of the joint committees on municipal affairs and city transit of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh, made to the Committee on Public Service and Surveys of the City Council of Pittsburgh. Jan. 26, 1916. 11 pp.

COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED. Whitney-Harkness report on rapid transit for central Brooklyn to the chairman of the Public Service Commission. Dec., 1915. 13 pp. 4°.

Address: Secy's Office, 135 Broadway, N. Y. C.

DOOLITTLE (F. W.). The Cleveland street rwy. situation. (Journ. Engrs. Club of St. Louis, Mch.-Apr., 1916: 112-125.)

FOX (JOHN P.). A study of Reading street car service and preceding reports of the transportation committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Reading, Jan., 1916. 82 pp. illus.

PHILADELPHIA, PENN. Department of City Transit. A study and review of the problem of passenger transportation in Philadelphia by a unified system of lines. An analysis of the plans proposed for its solution with suggested methods for their improvement by William S. Twining, director. Mch. 29, 1916. 97 pp., tables, diagrs., maps. 4°.

ST. LOUIS, MO. Board of Public Service. Report on the question of public transportation within Forest Park. Made to the Conference on Transportation to Art Museum, St. Louis, Mo. Feb. 17, 1916. Typewritten. 5 folios.

Copies may be secured from Public Affairs Information Bureau, White Plains, N. Y., at 25 cents each.

SEALEY (D. A.). Rapid transit work in 1915, New York City. (Engrng. News, May 4, 1916: 843-849. illus.)

Unemployment

NEW YORK CITY. Mayor's Committee on unemployment. Report. Jan., 1916. 109 p. illus. 4°.

Water Front Improvement

ANON. Proposed improvement of New York's Hudson River Front. Eliminating r. r. operation at street grades. (Sci. Amer., May 6, 1916: 467. illus.)

— West Side improvement plans of N. Y. Central R. R. in New York City. (Engrng. Record, May 6, 1916: 612-614. illus.)

NEWLANDS (FRANCIS G.). The treatment of waterfronts. (Journ. Amer. Inst. Architects., Apr., 1916: 154-158.)

Water Supply

ANON. Increasing water works efficiency under city manager government. (Engrng. and Contracting, May 17, 1916: 446-447.)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

SHERMAN (W. J.). The reconstruction of the municipal water works, Cambridge, O. (Boston Socy. of Civil Engrs., May 1916: 189-201.)

IOWA CITY

DUNLAP (JOHN H.). Water meter rates of Iowa City. (Water and Gas Rev., Mch., 1916: 20-23.)

JOLIET

ANON. Water for Joliet, Ill. (Practical Engr., Jc. 1, 1916: 483-487. illus.)

The river of water raised from 1600 ft. wells by air valves is city's most important question.

MELBOURNE, AUSTR.

GIBBS (GEORGE A.). The water supply of Melbourne. (The Engr. (London), Apr. 7, 1916: 291-292; May 5, 1916: 374-375. illus.)

Mr. Gibbs is secy. of the Metropolitan Bd. of Works of Melbourne, and this article is an extended review of a recent book by Mr. Gibbs on the water supply systems of Melbourne.

MELBOURNE, VICT. Board of Works. Water supply systems of the Melbourne and metropolitan board of works. Compiled from official documents by George A. Gibbs, secy. of the board. 1915. 83 pp. illus., map.

MILES CITY, MONT.

PRUETT (G. C.). Experiences in operating the Miles City, Mont., water system during forty-five consecutive days below zero. (Engrng. and Contracting, May 10, 1916: 437-438.)

Mr. Pruett is city engr. of Miles City.

NEW YORK CITY

SLATER (GEORGE A.). Argument in favor of the bill in relation to the use of water supplied to the municipal corporations in Westchester Co. from the water supply of New York City, before Gov. Whitman, April 26, 1916. 11 pp.

SPEAR (WALTER E.). City tunnel of the Catskill aqueduct. (Journ. Amer. Water Works Assoc., Jc., 1916: 514-528. illus.)

Refers to New York City's new water supply system. Mr. Spear is dept. engr. of the Bd. of Water Supply of N. Y. City.

OMAHA, NEBR.

METROPOLITAN WATER DISTRICT OF OMAHA, NEBR. Notice of sixth reduction in water rates. *Mch.* 21, 1916. 2 leaves.

With a chart showing the average cost of water per service before and after public ownership in Omaha, 1909-1916.

ST. JOHN, N. B.

ARMSTRONG (R. FRASER). Water supply of the city of St. John, N. B. (*Canadian Engr.*, Apr. 6, 1916: 415-416. *illus.*)

ST. JOHN'S, N. F.

LONGLEY (F. F.). Improvements to water supply of St. John's, Newfoundland. (*Journ. Amer. Water Works Assoc., Jr.*, 1916: 415-422.)

SALEM, MASS.

JOHNSON (WILLIAM S.). The water supply of Salem, Mass. (*Bost. Socy. of Civil Engrs.*, Jan., 1916: 1-22.)

SEATTLE

WEINZIRL (JOHN). The Seattle water supply. (*Journ. Industr. and Engrng. Chemistry*, Apr., 1916: 369-371.)

WILMOT (JAMES M.). Seattle water shortage. (*Stone and Webster Journ.*, *Mch.*, 1916: 222-229.)

WACO

SLEEPER (W. M.). History of the water plant at Waco, Tex., under a water commission. (*Fire and Water Engrng.*, May 17, 1916: 308-309.)

WHEELING

WHEELING, W. VA. Board of Control. Report on proposed well system of filtration for Wheeling. 1916. 40 pp.

Weights and Measures

BUREAU OF STATE AND MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, BALTIMORE, MD. Report no. 1. The inspection of weights and measures in Baltimore City. Jan. 31, 1916. 30 pp.

A revision of original report issued in 1912.

Zoning

See also under City Planning; France.

ANON. City planning by the zoning system in the Bronx. (*Engrng. News*, Apr. 13, 1916: 700. 1 plan.)

Prelim. discussion by the Comm. on Building Districts and Restrictions of New York City.

WHITTEN (ROBERT H.). Building zones for New York City. (*Municip. Engrs' Journ.*, N. Y. City, Apr., 1916: 280-289.)

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FRENCH CITIES IN WAR TIME

BY GEORGES BENOIT-LEVY¹

Paris, France

IT IS in exceptional times one can recognize the full value of individuals and of collective bodies. This war has been a demonstration of the possibilities of French cities as well as of their vitality. The limitation of such an article is an obligation to take only a few instances. I have made my choice of Paris and Lyons, the two more largely populated communities of France, with Marseilles.

To deal first with Lyons, a city of more than a half million inhabitants, nobody would think that we were at war, as we go along its well kept, animated streets, with surface cars running a part of the night and the cinemas open till 11 p.m. Nothing in the sweet smile of the Lyonnaise nor in the activity of the workshops and factories would disclose the sorrows of many a family. They are all good fighters, indeed, not only at the front, but in the heart of the city; and the following words of the mayor are typical to show how in other circumstances than war time, a more complete political union for municipal activity would be desirable.

Said Herriot, the great mayor:

I cannot express how grateful I am to you for the complete understanding with which we have treated, during such a difficult period, the affairs of the city. If these affairs have been well managed, co-operation stood for much in the result. If we have arrived at this feeling, at this model unity, it is because all of us here are men of responsibility one to another. The population, besides, shows admirable traits in its gravity and intelligence. Anyone is as no one. Our ideas are dear to us, we guard them, but we know how to subordinate them to our different duties. After twenty-two months of war, when possibly the others are weary, we have the feeling that we owe all to our city, which is one of the essential forces of the country, of France herself. It is the city and the country, at this moment, which ought to dominate all in our thoughts and acts.

¹General secretary, French Town Planning and Garden City Association, 11 rue Malebranche, Paris.

M. Benoit-Levy's manuscript was written by him partly in French and partly in English. The French portions were translated by Mrs. Walter Waring Hopkinson. The English portions of the manuscript have not been changed.

The budget of Lyons for 1916 was thus established:

ORDINARY EXPENSES

1. General expenses of the administration.....	Fr. 901,800
2. Expenses of exploitation and administration.....	1,333,515
3. Justice, police and public hygiene.....	1,254,069
4. Fire service.....	236,500
5. Interments and cemeteries.....	391,800
6. Public buildings.....	1,420,280
7. Water works.....	2,177,375
8. City road commissioners.....	3,399,000
9. Parish road commissioners.....	408,272
10. Small farming and walks.....	243,380
11. Public instruction.....	3,297,240
12. Letters, sciences and arts.....	395,880
13. Public assistance.....	2,865,595
14. Subsidies.....	523,181
15. Odd expenses.....	555,379
16. Endowments.....	207,001
Total.....	Fr. 19,610,267

EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSES

1. Loans and debts of long terms.....	Fr. 4,280,613
2. Sundry expenses.....	2,029,770
Total.....	Fr. 6,310,383
	Fr. 25,920,640

ORDINARY INCOME

1. Grants on different taxes of the state, dog taxes....	Fr. 911,000
2. Taxes of the substitutes of the city toll.....	10,103,600
3. Slaughter houses, markets, warehouses.....	1,509,900
4. Water service.....	3,305,100
5. Interments and cemeteries.....	736,000
6. Product of properties of the commune, rents and interest of landed property.....	1,956,630
7. Rights of the road commissioners and rents for occupation of the public domain.....	1,823,441
8. Property of concurrence, subsidies and reimbursements.....	1,326,703
9. Different rights and products.....	82,102
10. Endowments.....	207,001
Total.....	Fr. 21,961,477
<i>Extraordinary income</i>	3,961,593
Total.....	Fr. 25,923,070
Excess of income.....	Fr. 2,430

Three million, one hundred fifty-nine thousand, nine hundred and fifty-six francs have been expended from the outbreak of war until December, 1915, in social and municipal activities. Herewith are some of these remarkable undertakings:

On August 2, municipal soup was installed in all the quarters of the city and distributed to the poor at two meals a day. The number of meals served in the seven wards of Lyon exceeded 10,000,000 and the expenses increased on this day to 2,430,026 francs.

To supply the needs of the women, not benefited by allowances, the city of Lyons has opened charity workshops. They work there from two to half past five o'clock, and receive a recompense of one franc a day. The total expense to May 30 amounted to 1,214,508 francs.

The product of these workrooms was used especially for the municipal hospitals; the work of the consignments for the fighting soldiers, and the mail work for the prisoners of war.

MUNICIPAL HOSPITALS

In the month of September, 1914, the manager of the bureau of health asked the city of Lyons to please establish and manage a certain number of hospitals intended for the wounded soldiers. In a short time thirty representative hospitals, with places for 2,600 beds, were installed, some in places graciously offered by their proprietors: boarding houses, stores, private apartments, etc.; the others in places arranged specially for this usage: academic halls, assembly rooms, factories, etc. These municipal hospitals receive from the board of health an indemnity of 2 francs 50, by day and by the patient; this sum actually suffices for their maintenance, but all the expenses of installation, operating rooms, rooms for dressing, bath rooms, kitchens, heating, etc., have been supported by the work fund of the municipal hospitals.

One of the principal expenses has been the furnishing of the linen necessary for these hospitals: house linen, sheets, towels, aprons, dusters, etc., and body linen for the wounded: shirts, socks, flannels, handkerchiefs, slippers, pajamas, etc. The different things have been made in the workshops of the city and put in the hospitals which continue to provide themselves with the linen installed for this purpose in the big room of festivals in the city hall.

WORK OF CONSIGNMENTS FOR THE FIGHTING SOLDIERS

At the approach of the bad season, the mayor started to send clothes and garments parcels to soldiers at the front. The important workmanship furnished by the workshops of the city was not able to find a better occupation; along with the linen furnished the hospitals, the linen needed for the soldiers at the front was provided. An appeal made to the Lyonnaise population resulted in the gathering of many gifts of one kind

or another. Thanks to them the workshops were able to dispatch every Saturday, through the co-operation of the management, warm clothes for the troops.

Here are some data concerning the quantity and the price of objects sent to the troops:

1,200 blankets.....	Fr. 8.00	Fr. 9,600
28,500 pairs of drawers.....	3.50	99,750
36,000 pairs of stockings.....	1.50	54,000
34,000 shirts.....	2.50	85,000
1,100 belts.....	3.00	3,300
3,500 comforters.....	2.00	7,000
700 pairs of snow shoes.....	6.00	4,200
5,000 sheets.....	5.00	25,000
2,700 pairs of gloves.....	2.00	5,400
12,000 knitted flannel vests.....	3.50	42,000
28,000 handkerchiefs.....	0.40	11,200
2,200 pass-mountains.....	2.00	4,400
4,500 slippers.....	2.00	9,000
		<hr/> Fr. 359,850

and a large quantity of knives, pipes, matches, tobacco pouches, different kinds of odds and ends, etc.

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS FOR THE WOUNDED

"We have installed," says the Mayor of Lyons, "on the landed property of the city, two professional schools to give a trade to the wounded who are rendered incapable of practicing their regular profession. Our two schools are able to receive every one of a hundred pensioners and are in full working order. The results obtained are very encouraging and our dear wounded are able to learn one of the following trades or professions, according to their aptitudes: accounting, shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry (small carpentering and toys), bookbinding, nursery and seed work, and photography.

We give them thus the triple autonomy, moral, intellectual and professional, which they are able to acquire by work. A registry office for the wounded is connected with this work. Real estate and the installation of necessary workshops costs us close to 20,000 francs.

THE MAIL OF THE PRISONERS OF WAR

Since the beginning of December, 1914, Lyons has been sending to war prisoners parcels of clothing, linen, and, above all, provisions. Fifteen thousand parcels have already been sent and more will be dispatched to the needy prisoners of the two great camps of Friederichsfeld and Ohrdruf.

These two camps contain above all the prisoners of the invaded regions, who are not able to give any help to their families. This service demands the daily consignment of 200 articles for these camps and of 70 parcels for the indigent prisoners of Lyons and of Rhone. The expense amounts to 1500 francs a day. Besides the linens, the quantities of provisions sent by the month are:

15,000 K. war biscuit
2,500 K. special bread
1,000 K. chocolate
1,500 boxes of jam
8,000 boxes of different kinds of preserves, sardines,
tunny, liver, meat, vegetables, etc.
4,000 pieces of soap
1,000 complete sewing bags

Care was taken of 250 children of those in active service who were either widowers or divorced.

To suppress the sweating system and allow the workmen a remuneration, the city herself watches the distribution of works for the military intendance.

Two existing works have already received a greater development in consequence of the war:

1. The restaurants of wet nurses receive all the mothers nursing their children, without their being held to make known their situation and their home. They have seen their clientele triple itself.

2. The infant's home where children in their infancy are guarded and taken care of. They had distributed to them an average of 460 litres ($1\frac{3}{4}$ pints) of milk a day. This figure is now raised to 1500.

PARIS

The social, municipal and economic life of Paris has been splendidly dealt with in the 600 pages of M. Louis Dausset, general reporter of the budget, creator of the town planning commission of Paris. You will find in an appendix table the comparative statement of the 1914, 1915 and 1916 budget and you will notice the clear classification in 42 articles, one page for the expenses, the other for the income.

The largest source of extraordinary income during the war has been the emission of short bonds (six or twelve months). Said M. Dausset:

At the time of the last issue, the total of bonds was able to be easily tripled; a large number of subscribers was not able to be served; although the bank of France may not have made on these securities the same advances as on the bonds for the national defense, they are readily negotiable at par, except at the Bourse. The city of Paris owns property which increases in value daily. Even during the war it does not cease

to keep up its public streets, to better its paving, to pursue the great work of its public service department, of its tramways, of its underground (the Metropolitan). It meets its liabilities; it meets its obligations; it has paid its share in a troubled time when its citizens, even the most confident, did not hope they would be able to pay it. Its credit stands as always, one of the first in the world. One can then be assured regarding the future issues of its municipal bonds, of whatever character they may be.

Here are some of the doings of Paris during war times. Before any assistance given by the state, the city had already given 2,000,000 francs to families of soldiers in need. From August 14, 1914, the municipal council voted 1 F.25 for an adult and half franc for a child of families out of work. Forty million francs short term bonds have been issued for the purpose of securing 400,000 tons (hev.) of coal in case of need. A great part has been distributed to the indigents and the remaining sold at cost price to the people.

To prevent speculation in wheat and bread, flour has been delivered to the Parisian *boulangers* on the condition only that bread shall not be sold to the consumers at more than 0 F.90 (15 cents) the 4 pounds. In fact we have always had a whole meal and wholesome bread in France since the war. An ordinance of November 9, 1915, makes it compulsory for retailers to post in their shops both their price list and the cost price as established by the municipal bulletin of the week.

The corporation of Paris has bought from the ministry of war 600 tons (hev.) of frozen meat to be retailed through the Parisian co-operative stores. Meat of the best quality, from Australia or from Illinois, is sold 30 per cent cheaper than the other. Absinthe and all similar poisons have been prohibited and this helps to keep down the cost of living.

Social intercourse is still going on in Paris: In October 1915, there were 805,765 tickets delivered in theatres and 1,604,519 in cinemas. In the same month the special tax on theatres and cinemas netted the *assistance publique* 220,000 francs.

Workmen's houses are still built by the city. Some curious statistics show that in Paris of 1,034,782 apartments, 752,900 are under 500 francs of rental value, and have to pay no tax at all.

Thanks to the joint action of all friendly and disinterested persons, to the vigorous assistance of M. le prefect of the Seine, of M. Cacaud, director of public works, all difficulties were overcome. The works of Paris are running at full capacity, and some figures will give an idea of the activity of municipal affairs. The repairs on stone ballasted roads, amounting to 73,200 square metres, have been made in 35 streets and boulevards; the project of paving in stone according to the plan laid out in 1914 has been almost entirely achieved; during the same time they

carried out operations under the plan laid out in 1915. From January 1 to October 31, about 76,700 square metres of paving repairs were made in 50 streets and 4,600 square metres more were in course of construction at the same time; besides, improvements have been effected on 22,500 square metres which were previously stone ballasted, particularly in the neighborhood of Vincennes. The improvement of stone ballasting has been made likewise on wood-paved streets; without counting the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne, which has 26,000 square metres and which was almost entirely completed in 1914, the last 25,700 square metres being finished October 31, 1915. The total amount of wood paving was over 166,600 square metres, among others on the Avenue des Champs-Elysees, allowing for considerable repairing from the Place de la Concorde to the Place de l'Etoile of 59,200 square metres of paving.

They have asphalted 56 streets, representing 89,800 square metres. There were in course of construction on October 31, 6,700 square metres; the plan of improvement laid out in 1915 for 35,000 square metres has been completed in 37 streets out of 57.

Other works of less importance have been accomplished in great number: minor traffic operations, alterations of paving, remaking of roads following close upon the completion of tramways; building and repairing the sidewalks in bitumen: these works cover over 300 public streets. Besides which all the traffic companies have done the work in 99 streets.

From August 1, 1914, up to October 1, 1915, the Paris electric company installed 377 new lines for the motive power. The amount of current used, which was 2,060,002 K.W. in July, 1914, and had fallen in the month of September to 883,588 K.W. per hour, increased in September, 1915, to 2,856,183 K.W. per hour, an increase over the month of September 1914 of 223 per cent.

On construction in the underground (Metropolitan) in spite of the particularly unfavorable conditions for delivery of materials, they were able to maintain a satisfactory activity and to show good progress. Line No. 7 was completed between Rue des Petits-Champs and the Palais-Royal and the work was turned over to the company December 22, 1914; the extension of this line under Rue Saint-Honore, between the Palais-Royal and Rue de Marengo, is equally well advanced; also the extension of the line Trocadero-Porte de Saint Cloud, to l'Opera, unfortunately held back by the sinking of the ground under Place de l'Alma and the extension of line No. 3 as far as Porte des Lilas. Finally, the junction between lines 1 and 8, at Place de la Concorde, has been finished and opened to the public January 31, 1915, and the company has undertaken the construction of numerous station entrances. The connection between Place de l'Opera and Place du Palais-Royal is now accomplished.

The service of walks, on its side, has followed the execution of a certain number of operations, decided by the municipal council and covered by general or special funds, notably: improvements made on the south slope of the hill of Montmartre; the doing over of the dock of La Place d'Italie; the excavation and reconstruction of a new part of the Arena de Lutece; the fitting up of a garden at the entrance to the library Le Peletier Saint-Fargeau; and finally, they have pushed forward the work of clearing out the charnel-houses of St. Severin, which permits the making of a public square and a private garden.

Even in the most sombre days of 1914, the city has never ceased to be kept up as in times of peace. It will be to the honor of the prefectural administration to have managed to assume the sweeping, the sprinkling, the clearing of streets and roads, the removal of dirt, in such a fashion that the former critics of the filthy condition of Paris have remained quiet. As for the trees and flowers and our public gardens and squares, which have been the objects of the most assiduous care, nothing is more reposeful, in these times of atrocities and sorrows, than the sight of these Parisian flower-beds, where the most fresh and varied colors mingle in a harmony that is truly French. As for private efforts, the Association Le Arnis de Paris have never ceased their civic work, their weekly lectures and conducted tours in Paris, and are still publishing their illustrated magazine.

All these items will be more representative than big considerations to show what our cities have done and what they are going to do.

Of the war itself, of course I should mention nothing, although writing these lines, underground, amidst the noise of torpedoes and big guns. Was he not an American who said "Never apologize. Your friends do not need it. Your enemies will not believe you."

Brethren, are we your friends?

MUNICIPAL UNIVERSITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

PROF. JOHN L. PATTERSON ¹

Louisville, Ky.

THE term "municipal university" is applied specifically to universities and colleges that are partly supported by taxation in the municipalities in which they are located. They are intended to complete the local public educational systems, and to give the opportunity of advanced education to the citizens in general and especially to the large class of young men and women who cannot go to college elsewhere on account of the expense of tuition and of living away from home.

Some of our modern municipal universities aim to bring about a similar result in college training, together with results broader and more important,² by means of a system introduced a few years ago by Dean Herman Schneider, of the University of Cincinnati. This system is called "the co-operative method." According to the co-operative method the students attend lectures and recitations in the university and during alternate fortnights, under the supervision of the staff, they work for pay in the city at the application of their special subjects. The students are divided into two sections and relieve one another in the class rooms and the shops, so that the work of the college and of the employers is uninterrupted. In this way practice is taught co-ordinately with theory. The co-operative method has been used especially in engineering, but it suggests wider applications and broader fields of usefulness. The system has proved successful in the University of Cincinnati, and is being gradually adopted by the Municipal University of Akron (and by others).

All municipal universities aim to meet the increasing need of citizens trained for civic usefulness. They study the special wants of the city in which they are located, and aim to fill them by offering appropriate courses. They aim to co-operate with the various municipal departments and institutions by rendering them expert service, and by receiving corresponding benefit. They endeavor also in many other ways to bring the students and the citizens face to face with the principles taught in college and the results produced by them. At the same time, the municipal university has not abandoned loftier ideals and still offers theoretical, cultural, and artistic instruction as the frame-work of a liberal education.

¹ Dean, College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Louisville; president, Association of Colleges and Universities of Kentucky.

² Consult "The University and the Municipality," U. S. bureau of education, Bulletin 1915, No. 38.

After being invited by the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW to write an article on the municipal universities and colleges of the United States, the writer decided that in the special accounts of these institutions it would be well to have them speak for themselves. Letters were accordingly sent to them with the invitation to contribute to this symposium. The contributions appear below, but in two cases where no statements were submitted by the colleges themselves a brief description of their history and work has been prepared in the University of Louisville.

President Parke R. Kolbe of the Akron municipal university, defines a municipal university as "an institution of higher learning supported in greater part by municipal taxation, requiring graduation from a first-grade high school for entrance, and maintaining a four-year course in arts and letters, around which a greater or less number of other schools or departments may be grouped. Its participation in technical, professional, and graduate work or in civic co-operation will naturally vary with city and institution."³ Under a strict application of this definition according to President Kolbe, there are seven municipal universities or colleges in the United States: the University of Cincinnati, the College of the City of New York, the Municipal University of Akron, Hunter College of the City of New York, Toledo University, the College of Charleston, and the University of Louisville. In the following individual accounts of the various municipal universities or colleges stress is placed on their work in its relation to the affairs and institutions of their respective municipalities. They offer in addition the usual curricula of most universities or colleges.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI⁴

Buildings, bonds, and endowments have their place in the history of the University of Cincinnati, but the dominating factor in its progress has been an idea. This idea, around which the institution has grown, is that a university should be an integral part of the community life; that the citizens should think of their university along with their railroad terminals, park systems, and commercial exchanges, as part and parcel of the life and work of the municipality. This thought, always present in the institution's career, has been given conscious and energetic development during the past ten years under the present administration of the university. The aim has been to place the university in intimate relationship with the governmental, social, and industrial activities of the city, and thus, while testing and vitalizing the class-work of students and teachers, to aid in the various phases of urban life.

So, before considering the usual facts as to foundations, appropriations, and other biographical data, it may be well to instance the operation of

³ Article 2, the U. S. bureau of education, Bulletin 1915, No. 38.

⁴ Quoted from a member of the University of Cincinnati faculty.

this central and co-ordinating idea which President Dabney of the university terms "co-operation in service." For example, take the work of the teachers college: this college not only sets for itself the customary task of training teachers, but also that of acting as an advisory board to the superintendent of the city schools and the board of education. The faculty examines and recommends teachers for appointment and promotion, plans courses of study for the grades, and gives instruction in pedagogic methods to acting as well as to prospective teachers.

The co-operative course of the college of engineering is perhaps the most widely known phase of the university's work. Under this plan the student's time is divided between college theory and its application in various engineering establishments of the city. The students assigned to each shop are paired so that one boy works in the shop for two weeks while his companion is taking class work in the college; then, during the next two weeks, the boys exchange activities, and thus the alternation is continued throughout the session. In this way the student has training in the principles of engineering, the practical application of these principles in shop work, and an opportunity to earn in wages enough to pay a large part of his expenses. The manufacturers are emphatic in their praise of this co-operative plan, and each year there come from every section of the country twice as many applications for admission to the college as can at present be accepted.

The medical college has close connections with many departments of the city's work. It conducts a free dispensary in which over 21,000 cases are treated annually; the children's clinic of the college maintains milk supply stations and sends nurses to the tenement districts to train mothers in the care of their infants. Members of the faculty do most of the medical surgical work in seven hospitals and care for the sick and infirm at several settlements and asylums.

Other phases of co-operation which may be mentioned in this brief survey are: the work of the departments of zoology and botany with the bird reserve, grammar-school gardens, and city zoological gardens; the activities of the psychological department in diagnosing the deficiencies of backward children in the primary schools; the conduct by the political science department of a municipal reference bureau in the city hall; the service of the bureau of city tests at the university in examining all materials submitted by the city engineer and by the purchasing agent. The college of commerce holds its sessions in the late afternoon and evening, so as to serve best the young business men of the city; and the evening classes of the college of liberal arts are open to non-professional students who are unable to leave their work during the day. In addition, various classes known as external courses are held in many sections of the city. If the University of Cincinnati were to choose a word to inscribe over its entrance portals, its word of all words would be "co-operation."

The university was established on a municipal basis in 1870; but the records of the institutions out of which the university grew go back to the very early years of the nineteenth century. In 1858 Charles McMicken gave to Cincinnati his estate of about a million dollars for founding two colleges for white boys and girls. Owing to a decision of the supreme court of Louisiana, a large part of this estate was lost to the city, and it was not until 1870 that the municipality incorporated the University of Cincinnati and issued bonds for the erection of a building. In 1893 the city began to tax itself to meet the current expenses of the school by levying a university tax of three tenths of a mill, which in 1906 was increased to five tenths of a mill. The citizens of Cincinnati, moreover, have supplemented the official support of the school by private endowments, which now total over a million dollars. In this connection, public spirited Cincinnatians have organized the endowment fund association, which administers many of the private gifts to the university and undertakes to make known the needs of the institution.⁵

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK⁶

The College of the City of New York, originally called "The Free Academy," was established in 1848 by the board of education of New York in pursuance of an act of the legislature of the state passed on May 7, 1847, and ratified by a vote of the people of the city on June 9, 1847. It is governed by a board of trustees composed of nine members appointed by the mayor. The president of the board of education is an additional member *ex-officio*. The appointed members serve for nine years each.

The college is supported by the city. Tuition is absolutely free. The budget for 1916 was \$696,119.07. During the past term from October 1915 to February 1916 there were 2,699 students in the college who were doing work credited for degrees. There were also 5,165 students taking extension courses, making a total of 7,864 students who are meeting full college entrance requirements. One thousand seven hundred and twenty-one students were enrolled in the preparatory department; 338 students were enrolled in the "municipal evening session"; and 227 were enrolled for custom house courses. The grand total of students receiving organized instruction under the college was, during this term, 10,150.

The college has no graduate department, although many college graduates as special students avail themselves of its facilities for higher work. The degrees of A.B. and S.B. are granted, and graduates of the college are admitted to all higher institutions requiring the A.B. or the S.B. degree for entrance.

⁵ See article entitled "A Study of the Student Body of the University of Cincinnati." A Municipal Institution by Pres. Charles W. Dalney, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 68.

⁶ Frederick E. Breithut, College of the City of New York.

The most recent development of work at the college has been along the line of correlation with the needs of the municipal service, both in preparing students for entrance to the service and in improving the efficiency of those already in the city's employ. Thus the department of education supplies many of the city's teachers, and credit for work done or courses taken at the college is granted by the department of education. The department of chemistry gives work in direct co-operation with the city's laboratories. The principles embodied in such co-operation are now being extended to other city departments and other college departments. It is thus hoped that among its functions the college will become to some extent a training school for public service.

THE MUNICIPAL UNIVERSITY OF AKRON⁷

The nucleus for the Municipal University of Akron, which began its official existence on January 1, 1914, was Buchtel College, an institution of higher learning founded under the joint auspices of an Akron citizen, John R. Buchtel, and of the Ohio Universalist convention in the year 1870.

Statistics given in the catalogues of earlier years show that Buchtel at first drew her students largely from denominational sources, but the rapid multiplication of educational institutions in all parts of the country gradually brought about at Buchtel, as well as elsewhere, a falling off in the number of non-resident students and a corresponding increase in local attendance.

While the character of the student body was thus gradually changing from a denominational to a local predominance the financial condition of the institution was far from encouraging. Denominational support had almost entirely ceased during the last decade. At the same time the people of Akron had never come to look upon the college as entirely theirs; hence ample support from local sources was also denied. Meanwhile the constant and steady increase in the number of local students rendered the necessary financing of the college budget a more and more difficult problem for the trustees and the president to solve.

At a meeting of the Buchtel trustees, held on April 14, 1913, a proposition was laid before the board to turn over to the city of Akron the entire plant and endowment of the college, with the proviso that the purposes of all original bequests be carried out and the college be supported and administered by the city in accordance with the provisions of the state code. On August 25, 1913, the council of the city of Akron unanimously accepted by ordinance the offer of the trustees of Buchtel College and established a municipal university. The final transfer was executed on December 15, 1913.

In organization the university has very frankly copied the methods of the University of Cincinnati and accepted aid from it not only in methods,

⁷ Parke R. Kolbe, the Municipal University of Akron.

but also in securing from it one or two competent men for carrying out certain parts of the work planned.

When the institution was turned over to the city it consisted simply of a liberal arts college. This has been kept intact and enlarged to a considerable extent. There are two new schools. One is the college of engineering, on the co-operative plan, as introduced by Dean Schneider, of Cincinnati. Professor Ayer, who had been at Cincinnati for eight years, was appointed dean of this college. The other school is the school of home economics, with the regular four-year course and the regular fifteen-unit entrance requirement in force. The first class contained twenty women.

The students come very largely from the city itself. Out of one hundred high school graduates in Akron who entered college for the first time in the fall of 1915, 75 went to the city university.

The university is trying to co-operate in various ways with the city departments. The city's testing work is carried on entirely in the laboratories of the university under the direction of a department called the bureau of city tests. Here is done the chemical testing of supplies purchased by various departments, bacteriological testing for the Board of health and local physicians, and physical testing of paving brick, cement, and so forth.

The department of political science and sociology is co-operating with the board of health and the charity organization society in using students as workers and investigators in the city; also with the bureau of municipal research in the study of city departments. One of the fields now in prospect is that of training for public service. It is hoped eventually to establish a co-operative course for this purpose in connection with the department of political science, the engineering college, and the bureau of municipal research.

A step in advance has been taken by the establishment of a combination course, in co-operation with the board of education, between the university and the city normal school for the training of teachers. Graduates of this course will receive preference in appointment to positions in the city school system.

Akron, being the center of the rubber industry, offers opportunity for specialization in the chemistry of rubber at the municipal university, which possesses the only fully equipped college laboratory for this purpose in the country.

The college of engineering is co-operating with nearly a dozen factories of the city where its students work in alternating two-week periods—also with various contracting firms and railroads. The college has also been active in the investigation of paving conditions in the city and has published a detailed report on the subject at the request of the city council.

Extension work is being carried on by means of a course of six lectures offered by the university faculty to a number of clubs and organizations in the city. Late afternoon and evening classes recently organized offer the opportunity for college work to teachers, employed persons, and citizens in general.

HUNTER COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK⁸

Hunter College of the City of New York was established on February 1, 1870, and received its charter from the State in 1888. It is a college for women and is supported by public funds. It receives as students all applicants who are residents of any of the boroughs of Greater New York, and who can meet the requirements for admission. Tuition, text-books, and other such supplies are furnished without cost to the students.

The college provides a four-year academic course which is based upon a four-year high school course and leads to the degree of A.B. One of the chief purposes of the institution is to encourage young women having a liberal college education to engage in the work of teaching in elementary and secondary schools. To this end there are provided optional courses and training in pedagogies covering the requirements for licenses to teach in the schools of both the city and the state. The degree of A.B. is conferred upon all graduates of the college. The state commissioner of education will issue to any holder of this degree who has pursued in college the prescribed course of study for the training of teachers the college graduate certificate, or temporary license to teach in the elementary or secondary schools of the state without further examination.

The history of Hunter College shows the development of free education for women in the city of New York. Beginning with a small group of elementary school graduates in one of the public schools, under the direction of Miss Lydia F. Wadleigh, the numbers increased until the Normal College of the City of New York was established in 1870 with Dr. Thomas Hunter as president. In April, 1914, eight years after the retirement of President Hunter, the name was changed from Normal to Hunter College.

At first the girls were admitted directly from elementary schools upon passing an entrance examination in algebra, arithmetic, geometry, geography, history, reading, and spelling, and the course occupied only three years. As time went on the length of the course was extended until it reached the present four-year college course based upon a four-year high school course.

Including the class of January 1916, the total number of graduates from Hunter College is 13,195. Statistics compiled from the records of several years show that 78 per cent of the graduates of Hunter College are teaching in the elementary schools of New York. Fifty per cent of the women principals in the boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx are

⁸ Lillian M. Snow, Hunter College of the City of New York.

Hunter College graduates, and the number teaching in the city high schools is increasing every year. The number of students in attendance at the college on February 18, 1916 was 1,627.

TOLEDO UNIVERSITY⁹

The University of Toledo was first established on a municipal basis in 1884. It embraces at present the following schools: the municipal college of arts and sciences, of commerce and business, the graduate college, the college of industrial science, the college of law, and the college of pharmacy.

The various colleges of the university co-operate with the city of Toledo through the bureau of public service, the purpose of which is twofold: first, to discover the opportunities of the university for most efficient service to the community; secondly, to aid the city in offering to the university the advantages or opportunities for performing its public service most effectively. Through this bureau information is secured which enables the university to use the funds at its disposal to the best advantage.

In several departments definite efforts have been made to make the work of the university fit the needs of the city. The college of arts and sciences in its courses in education is of material assistance to the teachers of the city in their endeavor to increase their teaching efficiency. The instruction in both economics and political science aims to deal with problems arising in civic affairs. "The Government of Toledo," a course in political science, is concerned particularly with the local government. The work given in the industrial department is confined entirely to evening work and is given primarily to those men and boys who are employed during the day. The colleges of law and of pharmacy aid in securing outside employment for students who are partially dependent on their own efforts for support.

Arrangements have been made with the public library whereby the university library has been made the university branch of the public library. Students of the university have all the privileges of the main library, and the city public library maintains an excellent reference library in the university building. The library of the Lucas County court house is also open to the students of the college of law. Both the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. offer certain gymnasium privileges free to full time university students.

The college of arts and sciences is a vital part of the university. For the benefit of young people who are unable to complete a four-year course, the college is divided into two courses—a junior and a senior. The junior college work is almost entirely a required course, each subject of which is intended to contribute directly to increasing the social and civic

⁹ Ruth Rose, University of Louisville.

efficiency of the students. In the senior college the requirements are a junior college arts diploma and a major of eighteen hours and two minors of twelve hours each. The characteristic of the major is this; that the individual in addition to doing the eighteen hours of work shall also do a constructive piece of work for the municipality or shall complete a task which shall be of interest and value to the citizens of Toledo.

THE COLLEGE OF CHARLESTON¹⁰

The College of Charleston was founded in 1785 as an endowed institution, supported by donations from private citizens. The general assembly of South Carolina granted the college a charter and about nine acres of land in the central part of the city for its buildings. Throughout the early years of the history of the college there was a constant struggle for funds, which came in only through subscription and bequest. In 1837 the city of Charleston decided to assume responsibility for the necessary expenses of the college and has since that time made an annual appropriation for the college. On a board of trustees consisting of sixteen members the city has a representation of five, the alumni of the college have three representatives, and the other eight members are a part of the original self-perpetuating body which formerly governed the institution.

The College of Charleston offers annually four scholarships which carry free tuition to graduates of the high school (of Charleston) and one scholarship to some resident of each county in the state. In addition there are about fifteen paying scholarships, provided for by endowment, which are awarded on the merits of competitive examination.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE¹¹

The University of Louisville, Kentucky, was founded in 1837 by a decree of the city council, and was chartered in 1846 by an act of the legislature. Owing to local conditions, only the schools of medicine and of law were put immediately into operation. The medical department is the second oldest school of medicine now in existence west of the Alleghanies. By the coalition, under the name "University of Louisville," of the schools of medicine of Louisville, embracing the medical department of the University, organized in 1837, the Kentucky School of Medicine, 1850, the Louisville Medical College, 1869, the Hospital College of Medicine, 1873, and the Medical Department of the Kentucky University (now Transylvania College), 1898, new property, greater prestige, and wider influence were added to the University of Louisville, thus making it a strong one of its class, and promising for the future the maintenance of increasingly higher standards to satisfy the increasing

¹⁰ Mary Campbell Kahn, University of Louisville.

¹¹ In this description of the University of Louisville the writer has copied freely from articles which he has written on other occasions.

requirements demanded by the state medical boards. Substantial additions have also been made recently to the laboratories and clinical facilities.

A new hospital was completed a few years ago by the City of Louisville at a cost of a million dollars. It has been made a teaching hospital under the advice of one of the best hospital experts in the country. The medical management of the hospital has been placed by the mayor in the hands of the board of trustees of the University of Louisville. They select the staff and recommend it to the mayor and board of public safety for appointment. The medical department has again (1916) been placed in Class A by the council on medical education of the American Medical Association.

The law department of the university is, with one exception, the oldest law school in the South. It has graduated about 1,400 students, many of whom are practicing their profession or filling offices of public trust in most of the states of the union. Recently the corps of instructors has been increased, and the mode of teaching has been supplemented by the best modern methods employed at Harvard, Columbia, and other universities of prominence.

The college of arts and sciences was added to the university in 1907 to carry out the founders' original design of establishing "departments for the promotion of science, literature, and the liberal arts." The attempt is being made to develop the university as a municipal institution which will co-operate in due time with the various departments and public institutions of Louisville, and offer the opportunity of advanced education to the sons and daughters of its citizens. The university has been influenced in this work by the example of the municipal universities in England and in this country, and especially by the brilliant one of the University of Cincinnati.

The college of arts and sciences co-operates with the board of education of Louisville, and offers the S.B. degree in education for a prescribed course of study pursued in the college, together with complementary technical work done in the public normal school. An arrangement was made in 1914 with the Board of Education by which graduates of the university (of Louisville), under the conditions mentioned, in regard to appointments are entitled to "the same privileges accorded to a holder of a diploma from the Louisville normal school." The college further co-operates with the board by giving this year a series of free lectures on educational psychology, mathematical pedagogy, the history of mathematics, and the history of the drama to large classes of public school teachers.

In the second place, the college co-operates with the Baptist and the Presbyterian theological seminaries, which are located in Louisville, by offering to their students free tuition in the undergraduate courses. The seminaries extend similar privileges to undergraduate students in the

college of arts and sciences. The college stands ready to co-operate in the same way with any local religious institution of collegiate grade. It co-operates also with the various religious orders of the city without discrimination of creed, and offers to their members free tuition toward the baccalaureate degree.

In the third place, the college co-operates with the Louisville chapter of the American Institute of Architects by offering courses in architectural design and the history of architecture to young men who are employed in the offices of the local architects, and so gives them the opportunity of becoming more than draughtsmen. In the fourth place, the university co-operates with the hospitals in Louisville by offering at a minimum tuition fee to the nurses from time to time night courses in physiology, hygiene, and bacteriology. In the fifth place, the college co-operates with the associated charities of Louisville, and offers also at a minimum tuition fee instruction in theoretical and practical sociology to those engaged in the work of charity and social service in the city. In the sixth place, with the co-operation of certain business houses, the college has secured this year employment for a part of their time for a few young men and women who are pursuing their regular studies in the university and who could not continue their work without financial aid. The administration expects to extend its plans of co-operation as rapidly as may be.

The college of arts and sciences has grown from a college of about 75 students to a college of 406 students at the present time—an increase of 440 per cent in eight years. The trustees, as soon as the accommodations are adequate and the funds sufficient, will offer free tuition in the college to all graduates of the local public high schools. The free tuition at present is limited to about forty scholarships. The university has a total enrollment this year of 614 students.

With the endorsement of the present mayor, John H. Buschemeyer, the public spirited administration, the representatives of Jefferson county, the board of trade, the board of education, the commercial club, the public library, members of the press, the clergy, and other clubs and organizations of Louisville, a bill has just been passed by the state legislature enabling the general council of the City of Louisville to levy a tax annually with a maximum rate of three cents for the support of its university. The bill was passed unanimously by both houses and became a law by the signature of Governor Stanley on Friday, March 24, 1916.

The ultimate authority of the university is vested in a body appointed by the city council on the recommendation of the mayor. These men are among the most prominent citizens of Louisville, and under their direction it is reasonable to expect that the university will develop more and more successfully. At the same time the successive city administrations of Louisville, without regard to politics, have taken an increasing

interest in the home institution, and with the influence and support of a great city behind it, the university has a promising outlook for the future.

From the above accounts of American municipal universities, it will be seen that they are proceeding on the principle that if education is a public utility, it is undemocratic for any part of it to exist in the nature of a monopoly. The modern movement in this country and abroad to develop municipal universities offering the full benefit of advanced education to all classes of citizens alike marks a new era of wider training, and therefore, of more efficient citizenship, sounder morality, and a more certain civilization.

INSTRUCTION IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF THE UNITED STATES

BY WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO, CHAIRMAN¹

Harvard University

ON SIX occasions during the past sixteen years the National Municipal League's committee on instruction in municipal government has undertaken an inquiry as to the progress of this subject in American educational institutions. Reports based on these inquiries have been published from time to time and have proved of much interest, particularly to teachers of political science.² During the present year the field has been once more surveyed. Circular questionnaires were sent by the committee to all the more important universities and colleges in the country, and replies were received from one hundred and sixty-two of them in all. Information was particularly sought on the following points: (1) the number of courses devoted wholly to the subject of municipal government; (2) the number of courses devoted partly to that topic; (3) the student enrolment, including both undergraduates and graduates, in these courses; (4) the methods of instruction; and (5) the opportunities afforded for practical contact with municipal affairs.

¹ The committee consists of Prof. W. B. Munro, chairman, Harvard University; Prof. W. B. Bailey, Yale University; Prof. C. A. Beard, Columbia University; Prof. R. C. Brooks, Swarthmore College; Prof. J. A. Fairlie, University of Illinois; Prof. H. J. Ford, Princeton University; President H. A. Garfield, Williams College; Prof. H. G. James, University of Texas; Prof. Isidor Loeb, University of Missouri; Prof. C. E. Merriam, University of Chicago; Prof. T. H. Reed, University of California; Prof. L. S. Rowe, University of Pennsylvania; Prof. W. A. Schaper, University of Minnesota; Prof. B. F. Shambaugh, University of Iowa; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.

² The active interest of the National Municipal League in promoting collegiate instruction began in 1900 when a special committee on this subject was appointed. Under the chairmanship of the late Thomas M. Drown, who was then president of Lehigh University, a study was made of the amount and quality of the instruction in municipal government then offered by the various American colleges and universities. Three reports on the subject were made and these may be found in the *Proceedings* of the National Municipal League for 1901, 1902, and 1905. They are of a rather general nature because the amount of instruction was at that time relatively small. In 1908 a more elaborate tabulation was prepared and published in the *Proceedings* of that year, followed by a shorter discussion in the volume for the year 1909. An entirely new survey was once again undertaken in 1912, and its results may be found, in condensed form, in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for July, 1913 (vol. ii, pp. 427-438). The present investigation brings together the facts as they have been found at the present time.

The detailed results of the investigation, so far as they can be reduced to exact figures, are summarized in the appended table; but there are certain outstanding features which the committee's investigations have disclosed, certain things which seem to show general tendencies in the development of instruction, and these ought to be singled out for emphasis.

1. *The steady increase in the quantity of instruction.* Twenty years ago it is altogether probable that not more than three or four of the largest educational institutions in the United States provided any independent instruction in municipal government. In the great majority of American colleges and universities this subject was either not touched upon at all or was dealt with as a small part of some general course in political science. But this situation began to change about 1900 and during the next half-dozen years or more many colleges began to recognize municipal government as a subject worthy of separate recognition. In 1908 it was found that 46 institutions offered independent instruction in municipal government; in 1912 the number had risen to 64; and in the course of the present inquiry the committee finds a further increase to 95. In eight years, accordingly, the number of institutions offering one or more courses devoted wholly to the study of municipal government has more than doubled. That affords significant testimony to the development of popular interest in the subject. And this development is all the more worthy of remark when it is pointed out that nothing akin to it has taken place in any other country. The curricula of English and continental European universities do not indicate anything of the kind. Instruction in political science has been greatly increased everywhere abroad, but the expansion has been along the lines of new courses in colonial government, world-politics, constitutional law and political theory. It is not improbable, therefore, that the course of development in this country has been influenced by the increased earnestness with which the popular mind throughout the land has directed itself to the solution of our own municipal problems.

Among the American institutions two, namely New York University and the University of Cincinnati, each provide five courses devoted wholly to various branches of municipal government; the University of Wisconsin maintains four courses, while Columbia, Harvard, Pennsylvania, and Texas have three each. These do not include courses in the law of municipal corporations, or in municipal engineering, or in the various branches of sociology which are closely related to municipal administration, such as housing, poor-relief, etc. Eighteen colleges and universities provide two independent courses, while more than seventy maintain one course only.

2. *The improvement in methods of instruction.* The few teachers of municipal government who began their work fifteen or twenty years ago

had perforce to use the lecture method. There was nothing else to do. There were no text-books, at any rate none suitable for class-room use. College libraries had next to nothing relating to any phase of the subject. A haphazard collection of local histories, stray municipal reports, old charters, and reform pamphlets, was the usual equipment. To-day all this has changed. The teacher of municipal government now has his choice of several text-books, while the output of reference works in all branches of the subject has become so large in these latter years that the chief difficulty is now to find shelf-room for it. Other things have come within the last two decades to help the teacher. The census bureau's annual *Statistics of Cities* has become indispensable to him. Bibliographical apparatus has improved. Publications like the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, the *Municipal Journal*, and *The American City*, nowadays simplify the task of keeping in touch with what is going on. A *Municipal Encyclopadia* is now in preparation under the National Municipal League's auspices. Bureaus of municipal research and allied institutions are providing much excellent data for study. And the official publications of the cities themselves have undergone notable improvement during these intervening years. Two decades ago it would have been sheer futility to send a college student to the usual city reports in quest of information. He would find much to bewilder and little to inform. That is not so to-day, although the official publications of many American cities even yet have large margins for improvement. At any rate the result of all this is that the teacher no longer expects his students to get a grasp of municipal problems by listening to a "course of lectures." Recitations, conferences, discussions, reports, and practical investigations of which more will be said presently, are now used as agencies for imparting instruction. Of the 95 institutions offering separate courses in municipal government only three now report the exclusive use of the lecture system. It has practically become obsolete. Not only lectures, moreover; but text-books appear to have been relegated to a subsidiary place. The text-book forms merely a syllabus as it were, affording a thread to guide the student along straight general lines. The details he must get for himself and get elsewhere. The trend is distinctly in the direction of making the student get his knowledge from many sources and particularly by working on assigned problems which will take him over a wide range of reading.

This is a significant and highly desirable trend. The subject of municipal government can gain a respected place in the college curriculum by demonstrating its value as a subject of study, and in no other way. Appeals in its behalf as a means of making "good citizens" or "developing a civic conscience" and so on, will avail little in the long run. If it develops merely into what undergraduate vernacular calls a "snap course," the days of instruction in this subject are numbered. But if

young men and young women obtain quite as good mental discipline from the study of municipal government as from the study of physics or mathematics or languages, then the subject will stand unaided upon its own feet. The study of municipal government can afford this discipline if rightly taught, and the committee's inquiries show that the right methods are everywhere coming into use. This, even more than the increased quantity of instruction, is a hopeful sign.

3. *The use of the research bureau as an agency of instruction.* Although the first municipal research bureau was established in New York City only ten years ago and notwithstanding the fact that it had, at the outset, no special relation to the methods of college instruction, this experiment has had the most far-reaching results in the latter field. As evidence of this one need only mention that no fewer than 46 universities and colleges report that they maintain some sort of research bureau or workshop in connection with their courses in municipal government. In some cases the equipment is rather elementary, it is true, but substantial beginnings have been made, while in some others the collections of data are already of great value. Among the largest and best equipped of such bureaus are those used by the students at Wisconsin, Harvard, and the University of Cincinnati. Figures concerning the detailed equipment of all these various bureaus, their methods, personnel and available appropriations have been gathered for the committee and a summary will be published later. For the present it is sufficient to lay stress upon the fact that something in the way of a research bureau or workshop or laboratory is to-day regarded by most teachers of municipal government as a virtual necessity. It is essential to the best methods of instruction. Fortunately these laboratories are not expensive. To bring together a working collection of municipal data sufficient for general undergraduate instruction requires good judgment, some industry, and much patience, but not a large outlay in money. The collection of reports, pamphlets and charters will not of itself, however, provide instruction. The students must be taught how to use data of this sort and this instruction costs money. Yet instruction of this sort is the best of all and well worth what it costs.

4. *The endeavor to bring students into contact with actual machinery of government.* During the past half dozen years a good deal has been accomplished in the way of obtaining for students, especially for post-graduate students, some opportunities to get an understanding of municipal affairs through actual contact with them. In colleges and universities which are situated in small municipalities this is not an easy thing to arrange; but in the large cities the opportunities are numerous. To devise a plan whereby the student can do work which will be profitable to him intellectually, which will be worth counting towards the fulfilment of requirements for his degree, but which will not take too much time

from his regular studies,—that is always difficult and sometimes impossible. To make any such arrangements for undergraduate students is practically out of the question except on a very small scale. The average undergraduate would be a nuisance at any city hall. But the young man who has obtained his bachelor's degree, who has mastered the methods of studying a municipal problem, who can give his undivided attention to outside work for weeks or months at a time,—for him the university and the city administration may well be brought into contact. At any rate the reports which have come to the committee from many universities and colleges show marked progress in this direction. It is assumed that work which a postgraduate student does in any field of public service connected with his subject of special study should receive credit towards the degree of doctor of philosophy or other postgraduate degree; but as yet there seems to be no consensus as to the basis upon which this work should be rated for credit.

These are the most significant deductions to be drawn from the data which the committee has gathered in reply to its questionnaires. The amount of independent instruction in municipal government has greatly increased and to all appearances is likely to increase still further. The methods of instruction have greatly improved. The equipment for teaching the subject is far better than it has been, and the establishment of research bureaus, reference libraries and similar workshops of study has helped to make the teaching of municipal government more effective than ever before. Finally there is the effort, in spite of great and obvious difficulties, to bring the postgraduate students into actual touch with municipal affairs by having them serve for a time at least in some piece of constructive public work. Putting all these things together we have had notable progress during the last four or five years.

Institution	Where located	Courses devoted wholly to Municipal Government				Courses devoted partly to Municipal Government			
		Number	Amount of time given Hours	Number of students		Number	Amount of time given Hours	Number of students	
				Under-graduates	Graduates			Under-graduates	Graduates
1. Amherst College.....	Amherst, Mass.					2	90 (a) each	40	2
2. Allegheny College.....	Meadville, Pa.	1	90	57					
3. Baldwin Wallace College.....	Berea, Ohio					(b)			
4. Barnard College.....	New York City					1	90	41	
5. Bates College.....	Lewiston, Me.	1	45	14					
6. Boston University.....	Boston	1	60						
7. Bowdoin College.....	Brunswick, Me.	1	45	10		1	90	50	
8. Brown University.....	Providence, R. I.	1	45	48	3				
9. Bryn Mawr College.....	Bryn Mawr, Pa.	1	90	(b)		2	75 each	75	
10. Butler College.....	Indianapolis, Ind.	1	45	19	1				
11. Capitol University.....	Columbus, Ohio					2	75 each	33	
12. Carroll College.....	Waukesha, Wis.	1	45	(b)					
13. Clark College.....	Worcester, Mass.	1	15	10					
14. Colgate University.....	Hamilton, N. Y.					1	75	12	
15. College of the City of New York.....	New York City	1	45	75		2	45 each	50	
16. College of Wooster.....	Wooster, Ohio					1	45	26	
17. Colorado College.....	Colorado Springs, Colo.					1	45	15	
18. Columbia University.....	New York City	3	60	(d)	22	2	90 each	268	(f)
		(e)	60	(d)	14			35	(f)
			30 (e)	69	10				
19. Concordia College.....	Fort Wayne, Ind.	2	45 each	11		1		160	100
20. Cornell University.....	Ithaca, N. Y.	1	90	20		1	90	140	
21. Dartmouth College.....	Hanover, N. H.					(n)			
22. Delaware College.....	Newark, Del.								
23. Denison University.....	Granville, Ohio	4	45	60	3				
24. DePaul University.....	Chicago	1 (w)	75	25					
25. De Pauw University.....	Greencastle, Ind.					1	60	75	
26. Des Moines College.....	Des Moines, Ia.	1	60	40		1	60	25	
27. Dickinson College.....	Carlisle, Pa.	1	60 (z)			4	90 each		
28. Doane College.....	Crete, Nebr.					(l)			
29. Ellsworth College.....	Iowa Falls, Ia.	1	45	5					
30. Elmira College.....	Elmira, N. Y.					(n)			
31. Elon College.....	Elon College, N. C.					1	90	87	
32. Emory College.....	Oxford, Ga.					1	45	30	
33. Fargo College.....	Fargo, N. D.	1	45	21		4	60	9	1
							45	40	
							45	20	
							45	25	
34. Georgetown College.....	Georgetown, Ky.	1	45	25		1	45		
35. George Washington University.....	Washington, D. C.	1 (h)	15	18					
36. Johns Hopkins University.....	Baltimore, Md.	(j)				(n)			
37. Hamilton College.....	Clinton, N. Y.					(n)			
38. Greenville College.....	Greenville, Ill.					1	60		
39. Gustavus Adolphus College.....	St. Peter, Minn.					2	45 each	25	
							15		
40. Harvard University.....	Cambridge, Mass.	3	90	48	5	2	90	467	
		(u)	90	54	10		each	40	
			(y)	1	14				
41. Heidelberg University.....	Tiffin, Ohio					3	105	51	
42. Hiram College.....	Hiram, Ohio	2	60 each	18		1	45	12	
43. Hunter College.....	New York City	1	45	15		1	90	75	
44. Illinois College.....	Jacksonville, Ill.	1	45			2	45 each		
45. Indiana Central University.....	University Hgts., Ind.	1	60	8		1	60	(h)	
46. Indiana University.....	Bloomington, Ind.	1	45	9	1	1	45	12	
47. Iowa State Teachers' College.....	Cedar Falls, Ia.	2 (i)	60	20		2 (i)	60		
48. James Milliken University.....	Decatur, Ill.					(l)			
49. Kentucky State University.....	Lexington, Ky.	2	30	6	1	(l)			
50. Kenyon College.....	Gambier, Ohio	1	45	(b)		1	45 (k)	18	
51. Knox College.....	Galesburg, Ill.	2	60	35		1	60	70	
			30						

Institution	Where located	Courses devoted wholly to Municipal Government				Courses devoted partly to Municipal Government			
		Number	Amount of time given Hours	Number of students		Number	Amount of time given Hours	Number of students	
				Under-graduates	Graduates			Under-graduates	Graduates
52. Lafayette College.....	Easton, Pa.	1	45	(h)		1	45	30	
53. Lawrence College.....	Appleton, Wis.	1	90	16					
54. Leland Stanford Junior University.....	Stanford University, Cal.	2	45 (m) 30 (y)	10 1	4 3				
55. Lombard College.....	Galesburg, Ill.					1	45	5	
56. Louisiana State University.....	Baton Rouge, La.	2	30	14		2	30 each	42	
			45	8					
57. McKendree College....	Lebanon, Ill.	1	90						
58. Maryville College.....	Maryville, Tenn.	1	50	36					
59. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.....	Boston	1	45	35		2	30 each	400 each	
60. Middlebury College.....	Middlebury, Vt.	1	48-50	11-16					
61. Mills College.....	Mills College, Cal.	1 (h)	30	9		2 (h) 5 (l)	30 45	8 100	
62. Mount Union College..	Alliance, Ohio								
63. Muskingum College....	New Concord, Ohio	1	45	7					
64. New York University..	New York City	5	60 60 60 30-60(y)	23 2 22 15		2	60 60	67 150	
			30	4	2				
65. Northwestern University	Evanston, Ill.	1	90	4		1	90	50	
66. Norwich University....	Northfield, Vt.	1	45	10					
67. Oberlin College.....	Oberlin, Ohio	1	45	40		(n)	125		
68. Ohio State University..	Columbus, Ohio	2	45 each	11	6	1	90	91	
69. Ohio Wesleyan University.....	Delaware, Ohio	1	45	35					
70. Otterbein University....	Westerville, Ohio	1	60	25					
71. Penn College.....	Oskaloosa, Iowa					1	90		
72. Pennsylvania College..	Gettysburg, Pa.					(n)	18		
73. Pennsylvania State College.....	State College, Pa.	1	45	21					
74. Princeton University..	Princeton, N. J.	1	90	110-150					
75. Purdue University.....	Lafayette, Ind.					(l)			
76. Radcliffe College.....	Cambridge, Mass.	2	90	15		1	90	50	
			(y)	4	1				
77. Reed College.....	Portland, Ore.	1	45	48		1	45	(b)	
78. Richmond College.....	Richmond, Va.	1	90	30		(o) (n)	(p)		
79. St. Lawrence University	Canton, N. Y.								
80. St. Olaf College.....	Northfield, Minn.	1	45	60	1	(n)			
81. Simmons College.....	Boston								
82. Smith College.....	Northampton, Mass.	1	45	14	1				
83. State College of Washington.....	Pullman, Wash.					(n)			
84. State University of Iowa	Iowa City, Ia.	1	45	23	2	1	120	95	
85. Stevens Institute of Technology.....	Hoboken, N. J.					(g) (q) (n)			
86. Susquehanna University	Selinsgrove, Pa.								
87. Swarthmore College....	Swarthmore, Pa.	2	32 each	25 30					
		1	45	42	3				
88. Syracuse University....	Syracuse, N. Y.	2	30 each	9					
89. Temple University.....	Philadelphia								
90. Thiel College.....	Greenville, Pa.					(r)			
91. Trinity College.....	Hartford, Conn.	1	15	12	1	1	30	25	
92. Trinity College.....	Durham, N. C.	1	45	12	2	1	90	44	3
93. Tufts College.....	Tufts College, Mass.					2	45 each	36	2
94. Tulane University.....	New Orleans, La.					(n)			
95. Union College.....	Schenectady, N. Y.	1	45	50		(s)			
96. United States Military Academy.....	West Point, N. Y.								
97. University of California	Berkeley, Cal.	2	60 (y)	2	8	(n) 1	90	450	
			45	65	8				
98. University of Cincinnati	Cincinnati, Ohio	5	60 60 45 45 60	10 35 40 44 (b)	4 (h) 2 1	3	90 60 90 (b)	54 6	7
			45	44					
99. University of Colorado	Boulder, Colo.	2	45 30	55-60	3	2	45 30	70-110	1

Institution	Where located	Courses devoted wholly to Municipal Government				Courses devoted partly to Municipal Government			
		Number	Amount of time given Hours	Number of students		Number	Amount of time given Hours	Number of students	
				Under-graduates	Graduates			Under-graduates	Graduates
100. University of Denver . .	Denver, Colo.	1	30	14		1(q)	45	12	
101. University of Florida . .	Gainesville, Fla.	1	45	5		1	45	20	
102. University of Idaho . . .	Moscow, Idaho	1	90	(t)		1	30	8	
103. University of Illinois . .	Urbana, Ill.	2	30	30-40	2-3	6	45	400	
		(j) (u)	each	9	6		30	40	
							45	4	2
							30	40	4
							45	4	
							45	16	
104. University of Kansas . .	Lawrence, Kan.	1	45	30	4	2	75	130	
							75	100	
105. University of Louisville	Louisville, Ky.					1	80	9	
106. University of Michigan .	Ann Arbor, Mich.	2	90	30	5	1	30	10	2
			30(y)		8				
107. University of Maine . . .	Orono, Me.	1	30	50		2	30	40	
							45	50	
108. University of Minnesota	Minneapolis, Minn.	2	90	53					
			45	(b)					
109. University of Missouri .	Columbia, Mo.	1	30	23	2				
110. University of Montana .	Missoula, Mont.					1	30	31	
111. University of Nebraska .	Lincoln, Nebr.	1	45	18	3	2	30 each	25	5
									10-15
112. University of New Mexico	Albuquerque, N. M.	1	45	12		2	45 each	60	
113. University of North Dakota	University, N. D.	1	40	5	2	1	40	19	1
114. University of Oklahoma .	Norman, Okla.	1	30	11	1	(n)			
115. University of Oregon . .	Eugene, Ore.	1	45	8	0	(n)			
116. University of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	3	60	24	18				
		(v)	60	40					
		(v)	60		8				
117. University of Pittsburgh	Pittsburgh	2 (j)	60 each	50	1	1	90	2	5
118. University of Rochester	Rochester, N. Y.	1	30	75-100					
119. University of the South	Sewanee, Tenn.					1	90	8-15	
120. University of South Dakota	Vermillion, S. D.	1	45	12-15		1	45	12-15	
121. University of Tennessee	Knoxville, Tenn.					(n)			
122. University of Texas . . .	Austin, Tex.	3	90	16	2	(n)			
			30						
123. University of Utah . . .	Salt Lake City, Utah	1	30	17					
124. University of Virginia . .	Charlottesville, Va.	1	90	14		1	90	132	
125. University of Washington	Seattle, Wash.	1				(u)			
126. University of Wisconsin	Madison, Wis.	4	45	70	20	3	45 each	200	
			45						
			30						
			30						
127. University of Wyoming .	Laramie, Wy.					1	60	21	
128. Ursinus College	Collegeville, Pa.					1	45	(h)	
129. Vassar College		1	45	(b)		2	90	90	
							45	10	
130. Wabash College	Crawfordsville, Ind.					1	120	40	
131. Washburn College	Topeka, Kan.	1	45	20		2	45 each	44	
								24	
132. Washington and Lee University	Lexington, Va.	1	90	25		2	90 each	110	
								35	
133. Washington College . . .	Chestertown, Md.					(n)			
134. Washington University . .	St. Louis	1	45	7	2	1	30	10	
135. Wellesley College	Wellesley, Mass.					1	90	120	
136. Western Reserve University	Cleveland, Ohio	2	90 each	40	4	(n)			
137. Wheaton College	Norton, Mass.					(q)			
138. Whitman College	Walla Walla, Wash.	1	90	14					
139. Williams College	Williamstown, Mass.	1	45	16	2				
140. William Jewell College . .	Liberty, Mo.	1	50	25					
141. Yale University	New Haven, Conn.					1	45	100	

REFERENCES FOR TABLES

- (a) The total amount of time given to municipal government in these two courses would be equivalent to one course, covering 52 hours.
- (b) A new course to be offered.
- (c) For 30 students in this course, the time given amounts to 45 hours.
- (d) Not open to undergraduates.
- (e) Two additional semester courses in municipal government will be offered in 1916-17.
- (f) Not open to graduate students.
- (g) Incidental instruction in courses on economics of engineering.
- (h) Given only in alternate years.
- (i) Two full courses on municipal government are offered twice each year; a course on American government is offered four times each year; and there is a course on local government and problems offered once each year. Each of these courses covers 60 hours.
- (j) A summer-school course is offered, in addition.
- (k) Two thirds of this course is devoted to municipal government and one third to state government.
- (l) Incidental instruction in courses on political economy and political science.
- (m) In 1916-17 the number of hours will be increased to 90.
- (n) Incidental instruction in courses on political science.
- (o) The last three months of a general course on the principles of political science are devoted entirely to municipal government, making the equivalent of a semester course given over wholly to municipal government.
- (p) Incidental instruction in courses on history and political science.
- (q) Incidental instruction in courses on sociology and economics.
- (r) A course in civics, covering about 45 hours.
- (s) Incidental instruction in courses in chemistry and engineering departments relating to sanitation, sewage disposal, etc.
- (t) A seminar course required for all students majoring in economics. During the year 1915-16 it did not touch upon municipal government; the subject for 1916-17, however, is municipal problems.
- (u) There are other courses on such subjects as the law of municipal corporations, city planning, education, municipal engineering and sanitation, etc., in the professional schools and in the summer school.
- (v) These courses deal with the subject of the regulation of municipal utilities.
- (w) A course given in the college of law.
- (y) A research or seminar course.
- (z) A course dealing specifically with city problems and giving some attention to municipal government.

PROGRESS IN MUNICIPAL CIVIL SERVICE: A REVIEW OF RECENT REPORTS

BY F. W. COKER

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IN ITS earliest phase the movement for civil service reform related exclusively to the manner of appointing and discharging public employes. Moreover, its purposes were restrictive, rather than constructive. It sought to reduce the abuses of political patronage by eliminating, as far as possible, political influences in appointments and removals. In its later phases the movement has become both more positive and more comprehensive. It seeks not only to prevent partisan appointments to administrative positions, but also to establish means for recruiting and selecting the most intelligent and best qualified eligibles for these positions, and for promoting those incumbents most deserving and fit to be promoted. Furthermore, its activity extends beyond the sphere of selecting, promoting and removing officials and employes. It is now concerned with the whole question of the effective organization of administrative positions, the institution of improvements and economies in administrative methods, and the development of the usefulness and loyalty of the holders of administrative positions.

Reports of civil service agencies during the past year and a half reveal generally progress in all the lines just indicated. Neither all the reports issued, nor all the important aspects of municipal civil service upon which they throw light can be reviewed in this article. Many municipal commissions do not issue annual printed reports; among the reports published, many merely record the civil service laws and regulations, with the addition in some cases of summary notes on judicial decisions or changes in the rules, or of uninterpretative records of the year's activities. From among the more enlightening reports of municipal civil service commissions and other bodies, the limits of this article make necessary a narrow selection of questions upon which to place emphasis.¹ Progress in

¹ The annual reports to which more frequent reference is made in this article are the following: Thirty-second annual report of the municipal civil service commission of New York City for 1915; Report and review of civil service operation in the city of Oakland from organization of the civil service board on September 5, 1911, to June 30, 1915; Thirty-second annual report of the civil service commission of Massachusetts, from October 1, 1914, to September 30, 1915; Second annual report of Los Angeles county civil service commission and bureau of efficiency, for the year ending June 30, 1915; Third annual report of the civil service commission of the city of Minneapolis for 1915; Second annual report of the bureau of civil service of the city of St. Paul for 1915. Other city reports worthy of consultation are those of Denver,

broader lines has been perhaps most noteworthy in the following fields of civil service work: the scope and methods of examination; the recording of merit and competency of incumbents of positions in the classified service; programs for revision and standardization of administrative organization, activities, and awards.

EXAMINATIONS

The reports generally reveal the increasing breadth, flexibility, and practicality of the tests applied by the commissions. The examination is no longer necessarily and primarily a written test of memory and accumulated knowledge. It is a specially devised inquiry to find, through whatever means are particularly available for the position to be filled, the applicant best fitted to perform the duties of that position. And its object is not solely, and in many cases not mainly, to discover whether the applicants possess designated points of information and training; it may rather be to find out, on the one hand, their actual practical skill, and, on the other hand, their basic personal, mental and moral dispositions. Under this flexible form the examination becomes increasingly adaptable for a wider and higher range of positions. Recent reports show specifically progress in the methods of preparing examinations generally, in the methods of testing practical skill, and in the methods of appraising past experience and general personal qualifications by means of the sworn experience sheet and the oral examination and interview.

Before preparing an examination, more thorough knowledge of the duties of the position to be filled is now obtained by the commissioners, in order that the examiners may concentrate their questions and tests upon those which are of direct value in ascertaining actual fitness for the position. This preliminary preparation appears to be carried out with particular thoroughness and care in New York City and Oakland. Advice is obtained from heads of departments and other supervisory officers concerned and from outside persons prominent in related vocations. In preparing examinations the examiners are supplied with the printed materials necessary; and the co-operation of experts is secured. The New York City commission has established a special library for exam-

Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Houston, Tex., Portland, Ore., Los Angeles City, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, and the annual report of the civil service board and superintendent of employment of the West Chicago park commissioners, for the year 1915. Publications of other civil service agencies containing discussions of problems of the city services are as follows: Proceedings of the eighth meeting of the national assembly of civil service commissions, Los Angeles, June, 1915; Proceedings of the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, Philadelphia, December, 1915; Report of the committee on co-operation among commissions on examination standards, presented at the ninth annual meeting of the national assembly, Ottawa, Canada, June, 1916. Publications on standardization of public employments and other special reports are mentioned at appropriate places in the body of the article.

iners, containing codes, bulletins, departmental reports and other such publications. Similar material from other cities collected by the Municipal Reference Library is also open to the examiners. The commission has likewise instituted, for use in making examinations, a system of exchange of questions, reports and suggestions with other commissions.

The co-operation of experts in the preparation of examinations presents several problems to the commissions. If resort is had to experts within the service, there is chance for suspicion of prejudice and favoritism, and some likelihood that the examination will be too narrowly technical or practical. If the aid of outsiders is sought, this aid is obtained sometimes only under difficulties. Outsiders who, in first instances, gratuitously or for low compensation, give their time and effort from motives of pride or public spirit, come, in connection with subsequent requests for help, to regard the task as irksome; and the commissions ordinarily do not have at their disposal funds with which to offer adequate compensation for such work. Furthermore, it is frequently difficult to find even among recognized experts in a certain field men who possess the peculiar ability to frame questions which are clear and correctly pointed for the purpose in hand. Despite these obstacles, several reports make special mention of the generosity with which outsiders—business and professional men—give their time for low or no remuneration, and of the satisfactory results thus obtained in the framing and conduct of examinations and the grading of papers.²

Practical tests are coming more and more to take the form of trying out the applicants in the actual work which they will be called upon to do if appointed. The New York City commission pursued this method successfully during the past year in examinations for inspector of weights and measures, inspector of blasting, inspector of fire-alarm boxes, swimming instructor, play-ground attendant, psychologist, electrician, stationary engineer, and engineer of steamer. The candidates for inspector of blasting were taken to the bottom of a fifty-foot excavation for the new subway and were there tested as to their familiarity with the character of rocks, use of tools, handling of explosives, firing of blasts, electrical wiring, etc. Candidates for swimming instructor were examined, under the supervision of two well-known swimming experts, in one of the public baths, and were there required to demonstrate their ability in swimming strokes, diving, life saving, and teaching others to swim. The commission makes frequent use of the various city plants and educational institutions in these practical tests.³ Among the recommendations of the Massachusetts commission in their latest reports is that "legislation be enacted which shall enable the commission to establish an experi-

² See especially reports of the commissions of Minneapolis, New York City, Los Angeles county, Cincinnati and Massachusetts.

³ See also the reports of the Oakland and St. Paul commissions.

mental yard or station in one or more cities of the commonwealth for the purpose of giving practical tests to applicants for the different positions in the classified service."

The more progressive commissions are making extensive use of the sworn experience sheet in order to ascertain and evaluate the candidate's actual experience in work of the kind to be performed in the position for which he has applied. Increasing relative weight is in many cases given to experience. In examination for a certain class of the police service by the Massachusetts commission, training and experience now counts 32 per cent, whereas it formerly counted but 20 per cent; the experience weight for Boston firemen has risen from 20 per cent to 40 per cent. The experience sheets are often mailed to applicants some days in advance of the examination in order that they may be filled out with due caution against incompleteness or exaggeration. In order that the experience statements may constitute reliable evidence of an applicant's suitability for a position, some means for verifying the statements is necessary. The New York City commission entrusts this work to its bureau of character investigation, which not only has the function of checking up statements as to past experience, but also conducts a detailed investigation into the past records and moral qualifications of persons applying for positions in all branches of the competitive service. The commission regards the work of this bureau as an indispensable protection against fraud and as an effective assurance that men of integrity and good calibre are being recruited for the service.

Oral tests for various positions are being used in two forms: the oral examination—"question and answer given orally, taken down stenographically and transcribed for filing with the candidate's papers," and the oral interview—a more informal exchange of questions and answers for the purpose of forming an opinion as to the candidate's general personal qualifications, such as bearing and manners, tact, judgment, courage, ability to express ideas clearly and effectively. The oral examination appears to be especially fitted for tests for positions involving work of the skilled trades, where highly qualified candidates may be peculiarly inexpert in the means of written expression of their knowledge. The oral interview is coming to be regarded as an indispensable test for positions requiring the qualities mentioned above. On the other hand, it is regarded as being attended with the danger of favoritism, or the suspicion of such by outsiders, because of the fact that the identity of candidates cannot be concealed as in the written examination; this difficulty applies in less degree to the oral examination. Moreover, it is sometimes felt that the oral interview as ordinarily conducted can lead only to a very tentative and more or less impressionistic opinion of a candidate's fitness. These objections can be almost completely avoided, however, as shown by the satisfactory experience of several commissions. To co-

operate with the staff examiners, great care is taken to secure men of recognized professional standing and of general repute in the community; a stenographic record of the interview is taken; the report of the interview indicates the facts upon which the conclusion was reached; and outside persons having a recognized interest in the proceedings may be allowed to attend the interview.

The foregoing sketch of the scope and variety of examining methods illustrates the ever broadening adaptability of the competitive test as a scientific and practical method for recruiting applicants and selecting from among them those most suitable for administrative positions, high and low. There are relatively few of such positions which do not admit of being filled by this method now since the tests may comprise some or all of the following means of discovering fitness: physical examination, practical trials in acts actually to be performed, written intellectual examination, statement of experience and training, special thesis, oral examination and interview. The New York City commission reports that during the year 1915 it succeeded "in establishing eligible lists for such important administrative positions as superintendent of the municipal lodging house, superintendent of the employment agency, director of the bureau of food inspections, department of health, director of the bureau of social investigations, department of public charities, secretary on recreation for the committee on social welfare, assistant director of the bureau of standards and superintendent of the New York City childrens' hospitals and schools, Randall's Island."

The examination for the last mentioned position, a position demanding very high and specialized ability, training and character, appears to have been devised and executed with exceptional wisdom and success. The examination was developed with the co-operation of Dr. W. E. Fernald, superintendent of the Massachusetts state institute for feeble minded, at Waverly, and was thrown open to the entire country. The experience requirement included the possession of a medical degree, experience in the management of child-caring institutions, and other features, which had to be described in a detailed account; this test eliminated eighteen of the thirty-four original candidates. The remaining sixteen were required to prepare a thesis covering a discussion of all points of the pathology and treatment of feeble-mindedness in children and a formulation of detailed plans for the construction and administration of an institution for feeble-minded; this was a non-assembled test, the candidates being allowed ten days for preparing their theses. Six candidates being eliminated by this test, the remaining ten were separately given oral tests in the office of the commission; the object of this test was to check up the actual knowledge and experience of the candidates and to obtain judgment of their personal qualifications. The result of this test was the

establishment of a final eligible list of seven names.⁴ At the time of writing the commission is engaged in conducting competitive tests along similar lines for the position of director of central purchasing.

SERVICE RECORDS

Efficiency, or service, markings, are shown by the reports to have several objects. They are of definite value to civil service commissions in establishing promotion lists; they assist departmental heads in the administration of their departments; they supply concrete evidence in requests by departmental heads for increases in salaries or for additional employes; they provide data for the work of standardizing titles, duties and salaries; they stimulate employes to greater diligence and alertness; they facilitate the elimination of unworthy employes from the service. The New York City commission proposes to derive further benefit from such records by assigning some of its examiners to efficiency record work; they expect that this will supply the examiners with valuable information and suggestions to use in the preparation of examinations.

A difficult problem of efficiency marking is that of the proper selection and rating of the different factors to be considered. It is recognized that the relative values of given factors vary with different groups of employes; and certain factors applicable in one group may not be applicable at all in another group. In Oakland the general factors considered are ability, quantity of work, reliability, attendance, and discipline. The weights for the first three factors "vary with the duties and responsibility of the position. To illustrate, the weights for a battalion chief, fire department, are 6-1-3; for a senior clerk, 3-4-3; for a common laborer, 1-8-1. . . . The basis of marking is 80 points for the satisfactory employe, with due weight given to every point above or below. Markings below 70 are cause for discharge from the service, and the rules require the Board to file charges if the employe is not discharged. Attendance and discipline markings are mandatory and according to fixed rules, and are deducted from the positive markings in making the final markings. The departments file with the Board the net monthly markings, with explanation of cause for markings above 85 or below 75, and these are entered on the efficiency record of the employe after approval by the board. The executive is made careful in his marking and the employe is protected by the right of appeal to the board." In St. Paul efficiency is graded under the five factors of ability, industry, reliability, attendance, and discipline; the marking is done by letters, standing, respectively, for such qualifying

⁴ Appointment was made of Dr. W. B. Cornell, of Maryland, who stood third on the list. He is a man of broad scholarship and successful experience in clinical and administrative work in institutions for feeble-minded. It is a practice in New York City to select the highest name on a list of eligibles. In this instance the persons standing higher declined final appointment.

adjectives as "excellent," "good," "fair," etc.; the letters are then translated by the civil service bureau to a percentage basis.

The New York City commission, in December, 1915, issued a bulletin setting forth a proposed new system of service records for municipal employes. The proposals are the outcome of conferences between the New York bureau of municipal research and the civil service commission, the bulletin being based on a comprehensive report submitted by the bureau to the commission. It outlines a "standard code of regulations to govern preparation of service records." These regulations define the factors and sub-factors to be used in preparation of ratings, the classification of employments and percentages to be given to the various factors in each class, the method for preparing ratings by the employes and by heads of bureaus and divisions and for review of ratings by departmental personnel boards and by the commission, and the relative weights to be given to written examination, service record and seniority record in establishing promotion lists. These weights are .5, .35, and .15, respectively. The plan of service records outlined in the bulletin is being applied as an experiment in the health department, law department, department of bridges, park department (Bronx), and civil service commission; and it has been submitted to heads of departments generally and employes for criticism and suggestion.

During the year 1915 the New York City commission has secured the adoption of an improved system for rewarding meritorious service in the uniformed force of the police and fire departments. Formerly service awards were based largely upon chance acts of bravery, and the demerits based almost exclusively upon infractions of departmental regulations. This unfairly limited and misleading method has now been superseded by a system of awards which comprises a recognition of less spectacular acts involving conscientious and efficient performance of daily duties.

ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION

Some commissions have interested themselves actively in the work of reconstructing administrative organization and methods, with such objects as the following: simplification and centralization in the organization of administrative departments; elimination of unnecessary positions; installation of means of greater economy and expertness in operation; remedying of particular deficiencies in equipment and methods; extension or limitation of municipal activities. The accomplishments in this line by the Oakland civil service board, since its establishment in 1911, will sufficiently illustrate this phase of the work of the commissions. Through its efficiency division which was organized in November, 1913, it has secured many changes, including the following: a combination of the positions of superintendent of streets and city engineer and a thorough reorganization of the street department with a net elimination of

nine positions carrying each a salary of \$100 or more per month, and the installation of cost account records in the department; a reorganization of the health, harbor, building construction, park, and electrical departments; the establishment of a central municipal garage supplanting the former separate and unchecked departmental care of the various city machines; the establishment of a central purchasing department; a survey of the fire department, with many recommendations as to improvements in equipment, methods, and organization, some of which recommendations have been adopted by the department; the installation of the efficiency marking system; and the establishment of a comprehensive system of uniform accounting and control of budget appropriations.

The movement for reclassifying the municipal civil service arises from the growing recognition of the waste and injustice inherent in the following conditions prevailing in the service: the wide variance in compensation received by different employes performing the same or similar duties in the same or different offices, with excessive overpayment or underpayment in many positions, resulting from the irregular ways in which salaries are fixed—often by political influences; the confusion, friction and injustice resulting from the multiplicity and misleading character of titles of positions, with widely varying titles often attached to positions carrying the same or similar duties; the inequitable method of promotion and salary advancement. Programs for standardization have sought, through comprehensive surveys of the local service and studies of salary and service data from private establishments and the governments of other cities, to work out new and detailed classifications and definitions in such way as to introduce system, clarity and equity into the civil service, particularly in such matters as the following: the specification of qualifications, titles and duties; the advertising and conduct of examinations; the adjustment of compensation to service values; the fixing of lines of promotion and salary-increases.

Revision and standardization have been accomplished, extensively or narrowly, in Chicago (beginning in 1910), Portland, Ore., Houston, Tex., Oakland, Los Angeles County and City, and St. Paul. Studies of standardization are under way in New York City, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis, as well as in the state services of New York, Ohio, Wisconsin and Massachusetts. In most of the cities emphasis has been upon standardization of salaries; but this in all cases has required some revision of titles and redefinition of duties and qualifications. The work in cities has generally been undertaken by, or under the direction of, the local civil service commission; this, for example, has been true in Chicago, Oakland, Los Angeles County, St. Paul and Minneapolis.

The exhaustive investigations of standardization in New York City, Pittsburgh and New York State have been in charge of agencies independent of the civil service commissions. In New York City the work has

been in the hands of the bureau of standards, which is the working staff of the committee on salaries and grades of the board of estimate and apportionment. The investigations and reports of the bureau of standards have been made largely by the staff of the bureau of municipal research. In Pittsburgh the work has been done by a specially created committee on standardization working under the supervision of the mayor and the city finance department; for this investigation the city council employed the New York bureau of municipal research. For the New York State service the investigation has been made by the committee on civil service of the state senate. This committee was first created at the opening of the 1915 session of the legislature for the purpose of studying employment conditions with special reference to reclassification and standardization. As a result of the preliminary report of this committee, in April, 1915, describing existing conditions of the state service, the senate provided for the continuance and extension of the investigation with the view to securing constructive and comprehensive recommendations. For this latter inquiry the committee employed an examining staff of accountants, engineers, and other men working under the immediate supervision of A. W. Proctor of the New York bureau of municipal research, and received general assistance from the bureau in all phases of the work.

The most valuable recent reports on the subject of standardization are the following: "Standardization of Public Employments"—the November, 1915, issue of *Municipal Research*, the monthly publication of the New York bureau of municipal research; "Comparative Salary Data," a pamphlet issued by the Philadelphia bureau in March, 1916; "Report of the [N. Y.] Senate committee on civil Service in relation to the standardization of the public employments of the state," printed in a bound volume of over a thousand pages; "Standard Specifications for Public Service"—the report prepared by the bureau of standards for the board of estimate and apportionment of New York City and embodying the proposed reclassification of the city service, issued in June of this year in a printed volume of nearly a thousand pages.

The four publications just mentioned contain materials indispensable for any study of the essential points of the nature and progress of the standardization movement. In this connection reference should also be made to the article by W. C. Beyer of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research, on "Standardization of Salaries in American Cities," appearing in the April number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, pp. 266-72, and to the recommendations on classification in the "Report of Committee on co-operation among commissions on examination standards."

Though the study of standardization in New York City was made by the bureau of standards, independently of the civil service commission,

the latter body has given close attention to the subject during the past year and, after a critical examination of the proposals of the bureau, has approved its main conclusions, recommending changes only in minor details. Agreement between the bureau and commission has been reached in the matter of these minor differences; and the commission has promoted the adoption of the proposed classification by the board of estimate and apportionment for the budget of 1917. The commission advocates the transfer to itself of many of the functions of the bureau of standards. As the body through which appointing officers receive most of their employes, and which is consequently required to conduct tests of varying types according to the varying needs of the service, the commission regards itself as the body primarily concerned in having exact information as to the duties of employes and departments, and primarily interested in the proper classification of the service and the proper specification of duties and titles. It recommends that the city charter be so amended as to provide "that when the board of estimate and apportionment recommends the establishment of positions to the board of aldermen it shall accompany such recommendations with a certificate that the titles proposed have been approved by the civil service commission, and that the board of aldermen shall be prohibited from changing the title of any position unless the civil service commission shall have previously consented thereto."

MISCELLANEOUS POINTS

The limits of this article preclude any satisfactory indication of the many other points of progress revealed in recent reports of civil service bodies. There seems to be a marked improvement in the handling of provisional appointments, methods having been devised to reduce greatly abuses by appointing authorities in this matter.⁵ More intelligent and economical methods for advertising examinations, for recruiting and eliminating applicants, and for distributing information concerning the scope and methods of examination have been adopted in some places.⁶ The New York City commission has formulated and published new physical standards in groupings which they regard as adapted to the various classes of positions in such way as to afford more practical guidance to medical examiners and to save time and expense to the govern-

⁵ See especially reports of the commissions of New York City, pp. 24-5, Los Angeles county, pp. 9-10, and the annual report of the civil service board and superintendent of employment of the West Chicago park commissioners. Cf. report of committee on co-operation, p. 23.

⁶ See reports of the commissions of New York City, pp. 5-7, 23-4, St. Paul, p. 8, and Massachusetts, pp. 10-12. See also the "Manual of Information to Applicants concerning Examinations and Eligible Lists," issued by the Massachusetts commission, and the illustrated pamphlet of the Philadelphia commission, issued October, 1915, under the title "Practical Examinations of the Civil Service Commission."

ment and to the prospective applicants by excluding at the outset those physically unfit to perform the duties of the places they might seek, and also those who by reason of some physical defect would be likely to become subsequently, through lowered efficiency, a handicap to the service. Useful suggestions on the registration and examination of laborers appear in the reports of the Minneapolis and St. Paul commissions and in the recommendations of the committee on co-operation. The question of the value and means of co-operation among civil service commissions is discussed by F. E. Doty, chief examiner of the Los Angeles County commission, in the proceedings of the eighth meeting of the national assembly.

Several reports show gratifying extensions of the merit principle through transfers of positions from the exempt to the competitive class. Accounts of progress and retrogression in civil service reform appear in the report of the council of the National Civil Service Reform League published in the proceedings of the annual meeting of the league, Philadelphia, December, 1915, and appear also in the monthly issues of *Good Government*, the official journal of the League. A review of the adverse phase of civil service development would require particular and extended consideration of the upheavals in Chicago, Cleveland and Philadelphia, resulting from the disrupting interferences by Mayors Thompson, Davis and Smith,⁷ and also of the controversy in 1914 and 1915 between the New York State and New York City commissions.⁸ A possible point of progress may be achieved in the proposed new charter for Los Angeles, which contains a provision setting aside annually for the expenses of the civil service commission a definite share of the city's revenue. Civil service reformers in that city hope that with this additional and independent revenue the commission will be enabled particularly to do two things which the uncertainty and insufficiency of funds have hitherto prevented it from doing: the keeping of efficiency ratings of all employes, and the conduct of examinations on more thoroughly practical lines.

In conclusion emphasis should again be placed upon the manner in which the records of recent civil service achievements afford refutation of fallacious notions, growing out of ignorance or prejudice, that the purposes of civil service workers are impracticable or that their methods are academic. At the same time, the review of the records prompts a question of caution concerning the extent to which civil service commissions may wisely constitute themselves bureaus of general administrative efficiency, concerning themselves in detail with such matters as the scope of municipal functions, the methods of administrative organization and

⁷ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, pp. 316-9.

⁸ See the article in the January issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v pp. 47-55, by Nelson S. Spencer, on "New York City's Civil Service," and also the Thirty-third Report of the State Civil Service Commission of New York, 1916.

action and the size of administrative personnel. There is no place in this article to suggest the limits to which the necessary advances into this field by civil service agencies properly go. Criticism has been made that certain commissions, advanced and thorough in the work of standardization or reconstruction, for example, have allowed the character of their examining work to depreciate. We can here make only the obvious comment that no broadening of activities by the commissions should be allowed to produce the slightest neglect of their primary and fundamental function—namely, the administration of regulations promoting efficiency and honesty in administration through the intelligent and non-partisan selection, advancement and retirement of appointive public employes.

LOCAL OPTION IN THE UNITED STATES

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Philadelphia

MORE and more as society progresses and becomes more completely organized and integrated does the welfare of the whole depend upon the steadiness and efficiency of each individual. The dominating note of the time is efficiency, efficient democracy, efficient national and local government, efficiency in manufacturing, in agriculture, in all industrial work. Good health and active, alert minds are prime requisites for efficiency and to secure this desired condition we make laws for pure food, fresh air, parks, playgrounds, sanitary housing, healthful working conditions and the like. This all means that individuals are gradually learning to live sanely and temperately. Under the stress of modern competition, a man must be master of his faculties or he cannot keep his place. Just in proportion then, as this connection between the

EDITORIAL NOTE: Considerable unrelated data relating to the application of the principle of local option having come into the hands of the Editor, he consulted with Prof. J. P. Lichtenberger, of the University of Pennsylvania, as to an available man among his graduate students to complete and correlate it. Mr. Boyer was the man recommended. He entered upon the study of the problem involved without any predisposition or bias. The conclusions are his own, and the Editor did not know what they were until the manuscript was handed to him. It may seem somewhat out of the ordinary to make such an explanation, but it is due to the readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and to the members of the National Municipal League to know the facts, inasmuch as there are those who are disposed to criticize the National Municipal League and the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW unless articles dealing with the liquor problem support a certain propaganda. The League maintains the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for a fair and free discussion of the various problems of the city. The quarterly is as apt to publish an article at variance with the views of its active men, as one in harmony with them, and that because it believes all sides, when fairly put, are entitled to a hearing. As a highly controversial and most important question, its pages should be particularly open to a full and free discussion of all phases of the liquor problem. For this reason we welcomed George C. Sikes's proffered article on "The Liquor Question and Municipal Reform"—(See vol. v, p. 411), and for the same reason we have invited an article on the influence of prohibition on municipal affairs in Tennessee, which we expect to publish in an early issue, and we hope we may do so without running the risk of having some reader wondering, as one did after the appearance of the Sikes article, if it were not possible that there was "a nigger in the woodpile." Robert S. Keebler who is to prepare the article for us is a member of the Memphis bar, who is deeply interested in constitutional reform. He has been highly commended to us by those whom we hold in high esteem, as a fair minded, sincere student of public questions.—C. R. W.

¹B. S., Temple University, 1912; A.M., University of Pennsylvania, 1915, in sociology, economics and education. Principal of the Richardson L. Wright Public School, Philadelphia. Mr. Boyer has prepared the following statistical studies: "Class Size and School Progress" in *Psychological Clinic*, May 1914; Retardation; Variability of Composition Grades; Effective Definition (A Study in Method).

general welfare and individual efficiency becomes more intimate, society surrounds the individual with more careful provision for his well-being.

One of the most pressing of our social problems is that of the use of intoxicating liquors, and it is only because the use of this class of beverages lends itself so readily to abuse that it is a social problem at all. The growing dissatisfaction with the drink habit cannot be accounted for on moral or religious grounds. Men are to-day no more religious, no more moral than ever before. Their actions are, however, more closely and intimately interwoven into the socio-economic fabric and, therefore, it is a social and economic problem which liquor presents. Moral, religious and economic ideals have done much to hedge about the use of intoxicating liquors, but society, through the machinery of organized government, has chosen to attack the problem by way of the traffic, for trade is pre-eminently a social act.

Society, then, deals with the liquor problem principally through legislation directed at the traffic. In regard to the status of this liquor legislation, John Koren, expert investigator for the committee of fifty, has this to say:

"The bald truth is that, viewed as a whole, the liquor legislation of the United States invites bewilderment and despair rather than admiration and confidence. The sum total of our efforts to legislate concerning an exceedingly difficult social problem is unintelligent and thereby largely ineffective. How can it be otherwise so long as the laws aiming to regulate 'an inherently dangerous traffic' proceed largely from unthinking agitation, careless or indirected experimentation, hasty piling of inconsequential statutes upon statutes and endlessly amending them in unessential details?"

Perhaps most people are not aware of the true state of affairs. Others regard it complacently except when the legal machinery created for us shows too obvious signs of breaking down, and then are content to have more tinkering done by incompetent hands. Whether we blame ignorance or indifference, the fact remains that what we are pleased to call systems of liquor legislation are, for the greater part, crude make-shifts that fail of their purpose and often prove a stumbling block in the way of good government. In proof of this, it almost suffices to state that there are nearly as many systems of dealing with the liquor traffic as there are license states, notwithstanding many points of similarity. Yet, given the same problem, which everywhere produces an abundant crop of the same perplexities, it is unthinkable that it can be met with equal success through regulative systems that differ in fundamental principles. It is begging the question to say that our restrictive legislation has been a total failure, for it has not been rational nor progressive. True, it is exceedingly prolific, but it evidences a search for varieties rather than for central principles. The invention of legal irritants has been mistaken

for the discovery of elements that make for stable control. The whole fabric of liquor laws is of the haphazard order, from the pivotal question of the authorities who should grant privileges to sell and their power of control, down to the most trivial detail. The experiments may appear numerous, but are for the greater part revivals of time-worn expedients.

This backward condition of our liquor legislation is easily accounted for. Its key-note has always been repression and penalties, regardless of whether they could be enforced. Progressive measures have been blocked not solely by the trade, but by persons most inimical to it, whose theory is that the worse the status of the trade becomes the sooner it will be abolished. Therefore, they look askance at such practical means of promoting sobriety as that of taxing intoxicants according to their alcoholic strength and of favoring the substitution of the least intoxicating beverages in every way.

The acceptance of the doctrine of force as *the* means of making men sober spells the despair of the temperance cause; its hope lies in efforts for gradual betterment through ethical forces and general enlightenment plus progressive restriction. But this plea for scientific investigation and for intelligent and effective modification, restriction and regulation of the traffic is unheeded by a great body of people who, in utter despair of any good coming from such treatment of the problem, and with somewhat of emotional intoxication born of this despair, cry out for the complete eradication of the multitudinous evils of the traffic by means of its total prohibition.

In this effort to wipe out the liquor evil by abolishing the traffic, the prime movers are the Prohibition party and the Anti-saloon league. The Prohibition party points to "the failure of all non-political efforts to adequately cope with the problem, and the defeat of all attempts to solve the problem through the license parties and their candidates." The mission of the party is not to fight the liquor traffic, but to oppose those political forces that foster and protect the traffic.

The Anti-saloon league, on the other hand, while working toward the same end of national prohibition, is willing to accept small gains in the hope that the final total of these may sometime be so great as to secure the desired result. However, strong in their insistence that the liquor evil is national and must be dealt with nationally to be handled effectively, these reformers, finding national prohibition impossible at present and realizing that even state-wide prohibition is unattainable without having first secured within the state a more or less completely organized sentiment against the liquor traffic, have set about to create such sentiment, and to back it up by actual test of and experience with prohibition of a local nature. This procedure is clearly outlined in bold type in a recent leaflet of the Michigan anti-saloon league as follows: "No state has recently adopted state-wide prohibition until half its territory was 'dry'

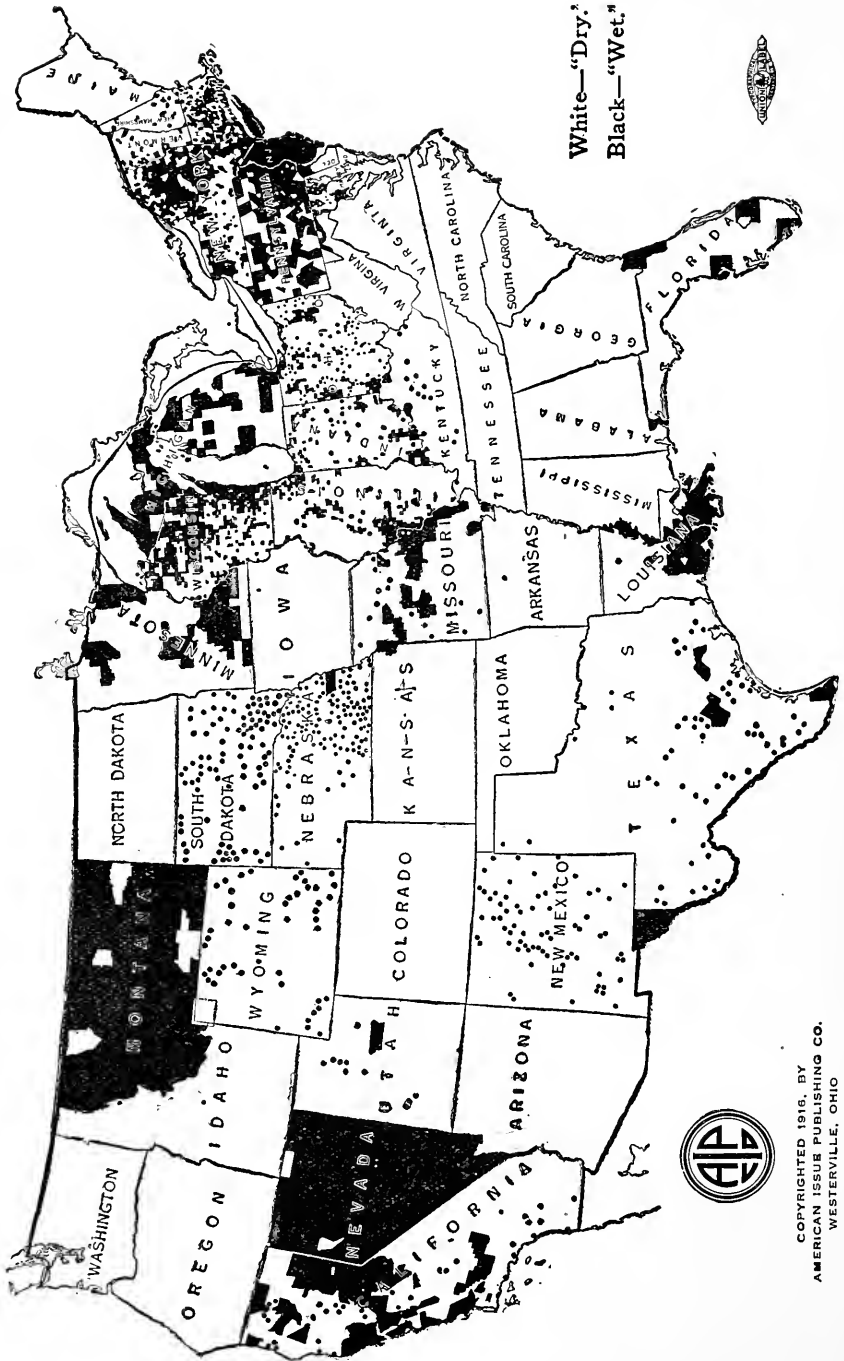
by 'local option.' . . . When enough counties in Michigan go 'dry' Michigan will have state-wide prohibition. . . . When nineteen more states go 'dry' we will have national prohibition. . . . Your votes, your money, your influence, count for a 'dry' county, a 'dry' state, a 'dry' nation."

In other words, those who would solve the problems of the liquor traffic by its total national prohibition, have chosen to approach the problem piece-meal through the principle of local option. Here the path of the reformer is easier and the gains are tangible. Moreover the underlying principle of democracy is apparently more fully conserved thereby, for democracy means self-government. While the term "local option" might be construed to refer to any one of the many matters of strictly local concern, its use has come to be limited to the question of the liquor traffic. Further, while, even in this field, local option may be and is exercised on such matters as the kinds of license, methods of dispensing liquor, regulation and limitation of the number of licensed houses, hours of closing, etc., the term is commonly held to apply solely to local decisions on the question of full prohibition. A local option election determines whether the unit concerned shall prohibit or license the sale of liquor, whether it shall be "wet" or "dry."

The purpose then, of the local option principle is to permit the local community an unhindered expression of its will in the matter of legalizing or prohibiting the sale of liquor. For the germ of local option legislation one has to go back to the year 1829, when the selectmen of each town in Maine were authorized to decide whether or not liquor selling should be permitted. This indirect method of deciding the issue soon ceased to have a legal warrant. The real beginnings of local option legislation date back to the eighties when the experiments with state-wide prohibition had become discredited. Experience had shown that, although general prohibition had everywhere been disregarded or evaded in the large urban centers, and that this had led to a condition of things that was fraught with serious menace to true progress, the law was nevertheless capable of enforcement in the rural districts and small towns. Hence local option laws. It is worthy of note, however, that even while lacking any warrant in law, not a few strictly rural communities had undertaken to exclude the liquor traffic and did it successfully.

Massachusetts led the way in 1881 with the first full-fledged local option law, which ever since has been in force. By the year 1900 there were seventeen states in which local option could legally be exercised by direct popular vote applicable to all localities; six had local option by direct popular vote applicable to special localities or rural districts only; nine states had direct local option through discretionary power vested in city councils and other local governing bodies; and in five states there

"WET" AND "DRY" TERRITORIAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES, APRIL 1, 1916



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Note.—Virginia's Prohibition law goes into effect November 1, 1916.

existed the right of vote by remonstrance and by provisions requiring the consent of legal voters or property holders.

At present there are nineteen prohibition states:—

Alabama.....	1915	North Carolina.....	1909
Arizona.....	1915	North Dakota.....	1889
Arkansas.....	1916	Oklahoma.....	1907
Colorado.....	1916	Oregon.....	1916
Georgia.....	1908	South Carolina.....	1916
Idaho.....	1916	Tennessee.....	1909
Iowa.....	1916	Virginia ²	1916
Kansas.....	1880	Washington.....	1916
Maine.....	1858	West Virginia.....	1914
Mississippi.....	1909		

Only three license states, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Nevada, lack any provision for local option by popular vote, and even here, means have been found to make certain limited sections dry. In Pennsylvania the supreme court has decided that the Brooks high license law gives the judges of the license court absolute discretion in the licensing of saloons. Consequently the judicial-mindedness of a candidate is frequently determined by his stand on the liquor question. By this very doubtful procedure sufficient prohibition judges have been elected to make eleven counties dry by refusing to grant licenses. In New Jersey, special charter provisions have enabled certain cities, townships and boroughs to exclude the saloon. Nevada is a strong license state, but even here 10 per cent of the taxpayers in any rural school-district can exclude the saloon if they can prove it to be detrimental to the public health and morals of the community. The remaining twenty-six states have local option laws which apply to a variety of territorial districts ranging from residence districts of municipalities to entire counties. Among the territorial districts which have been adopted as units for local option election are the following:—county; city; town; township; village; supervisorial district; county outside of city, town, village; supervisorial district outside towns or cities; parish; precinct; election district; school district; residence district; ward; block.

The principle of local option must be conceded. But what does "local" mean? State governments are local as compared with the nation of which they are a part, but the term local option does not apply here. Local means a sub-division of a state. The largest sub-division of a state is the county. This is the unit for local government and at first blush it would seem to be the desired unit for option on the liquor traffic. If the people of the county live under identical social, environmental and

²Prohibition effective Nov. 1, 1916.

economic conditions, if the county government exercises the necessary executive and judicial as well as legislative functions throughout the extent of the territory in question, then the county is the proper unit for local option. But where the county contains a town with its own local officers and government and where, as is often the case, the sentiment on the liquor traffic in the town is at variance with that of the surrounding rural portions of the county, anomalous situations are bound to arise. For example, Muskingum county, Ohio, held an election under the Rose county option law in which 14,973 votes were cast. Zanesville, the county seat, gave a majority of 1414 in favor of the sale of liquor, but the county as a whole gave a dry majority of 1011. Again, the city of Springfield voted wet by 2,000, but Clark county, of which it is the county-seat, went dry by 139 votes. The county had no machinery for the enforcement of the law in the city. It was therefore left to the civic authorities of Springfield to enforce the suppression of the sale of liquor against the wishes of its people. It is plain that this situation is not conducive to law enforcement. Because of a provision in the county option law these towns had no way of making effective their wet choice even though the Beal law provides option for towns and villages. Therefore these towns had *county* option but no *local* option, and they found a means of securing this local option by the passage in 1914 of a home rule amendment to the state constitution as follows: "No law shall be passed or be in effect prohibiting the sale, or giving away of intoxicating liquor operating to a sub-division of the state upon a vote of the electors thereof, or upon any other contingency, which has force within a territory larger than a municipal corporation or a township outside of a municipal corporation therein." A similar situation was presented in Indiana when in 1908 a county-unit local option law was passed under which the state voted itself almost completely dry by counties. However, the reaction was rapid, for in 1911 a city and township option law was substituted and more than 600 saloons were reopened. Florida, Maryland, Michigan and Montana maintain the strict county unit; Kentucky, Texas and Minnesota have county option, but permit resubmission of the question to smaller units after the county of which they are a part has voted "wet." However, if the county votes "dry," no such smaller-unit resubmission of the question is permitted. The anti-saloon league is constantly agitating for county-unit local option because this unit is most effective in securing large additions to dry territory. However, the fact that only four states use this county-unit unqualifiedly, indicates rather clearly that people generally recognize the inexpediency of county local option.

Twenty-two of the twenty-six local option states have laws which apply to units smaller than the county. There seems to be an endeavor to confine the term "local" to the smallest self-governing community. Hence we have city, township, town, village option with the privilege

also accorded to the outlying sections of counties not included in any of the above. It will be seen that this arrangement does not prevent a whole county from becoming dry. The incorporated towns and villages and the unincorporated outlying sections may vote dry separately. However, this scheme does prevent the rural vote of a county from forcing prohibition on an unwilling town within its borders. In so far as local option has for its purpose to register the will of a local self-governing community on the question of the liquor traffic, these units for that decision seem ideal. The traffic is prohibited or permitted by popular vote of just that group of people who must live under the condition so determined. If a town votes wet it may have saloons; if dry, then it will have none. This would appear to be perfectly just and to work well except for the fact that the purpose of local option, at least for the reformer, is *prohibition*. The town that votes dry rids itself of the saloon and its attendant evils, but it does not rid itself of drinking and the effect of nearby saloons. "Burlington, Vermont, votes for license and South Burlington for prohibition. The relations between the two communities are so close that many residents of South Burlington are nearer the licensed places in Burlington than people living in the extreme north part of the city. Moreover, the bottle license practically extends license from every town voting for it to every other town in the region tributary to that community. St. Albans, for example, is the shire town of Franklin county, Vermont, and the inhabitants of every town in the county go to St. Albans to trade, to attend to legal matters and to transact various kinds of business. Residents of those towns in Franklin county that have voted against license at home have no difficulty in securing all the liquor they want at St. Albans and taking it home with them. It makes no difference where the liquor happens to be sold. The supreme issue is where are the effects of the liquor felt." For years the towns around Boston have voted dry, but they are in such intimate connection with Boston that they may really be said to be wet. Local option becomes in these cases a restrictive rather than a prohibitory measure. By voting dry a community outlaws the saloon, not in general, not everywhere, but only within its own limits, knowing well that liquor may be easily secured when desired.

Still smaller local units show the tendency of restriction through local option. Wards, residence districts and even city blocks exercise option in eleven states. These divisions are units to be sure, but they are not centers of local self-government. They have no machinery for carrying their decisions into effect. They are entirely dependent upon the larger unit of which they are a part, and the only purpose of voting dry is to exclude the saloon from their own immediate neighborhood. It can hardly be said that a dry vote in so small a section indicates a desire for prohibition. It seems rather to show a policy of restriction, of segregation. Indeed this same purpose is achieved through city ordinances or

even state laws prohibiting saloons in residence districts, creating a dry area of two miles around cities of certain sizes, limiting saloons to one for every 500 of population, restricting them to the "effectively policed parts of cities" and excluding them from the vicinity of churches, schools, homes and manufacturing plants. All these provisions are regulatory; not prohibitory. They do not indicate a no-license policy and cannot therefore be counted as gains toward the goal of state or national prohibition except in so far as the segregation of the saloon drives the saloon into a corner where it may finally be killed.

Thus we see that when the principle of local option is confined to very small sections, its effect amounts solely to restriction. There is little if any effect on the consumption of intoxicating liquors. The sentiment of the people is so uniform, the composition of the people is so homogeneous that dissenters are few and their influence is feeble. Combine with this the fact of easy access to neighboring license sections and it is clear that there is here no inherent difficulty in law enforcement. In general, these same observations hold true when the unit is extended to embrace the town, township, village or city. Students of municipal government are strenuously advocating a larger measure of home rule. This should certainly include control of the liquor traffic. If the people of such a local self-governing community have the choice to become wet as well as to become dry, then the principle of local option is conserved. However, as the term "local" is construed to refer to larger and larger units, difficulties multiply. When the unit is extended to embrace the county, which usually contains distinct groups of people with characteristically different views on the liquor traffic, then the wisdom of the principle becomes questionable. When the rural prohibition vote so preponderates over the urban vote for license as to cause the whole county to become dry, then the town has no option. Hence the extension of local option beyond a very small local government destroys the very essence of its purpose. It destroys all option in the towns and cities whose inhabitants repudiate prohibition by their votes. County local option becomes in these cases county coercion.

Methods of registering the option are as diverse as are the sizes of the units concerned. For this reason the accompanying table has been prepared to show the salient features of the local option laws of each state. It will be noted that in most cases, local option elections occur as the result of petitions signed by a given number or per cent of the electorate. The percentage required varies from 10 per cent in Connecticut to 40 per cent in Ohio (Beale Law), the modal per cent being 25 per cent, required in eight states. Occasionally a 50 per cent petition is required, as in Ohio residence-districts, but in this case no election is necessary. The basis of the percentage is usually the whole number of qualified electors, registered or legal voters, though in some few cases the per cent is based

on the vote cast at the last preceding election (Illinois). Still further refinement enters when the basis of the per cent is made the vote cast for some designated officer, *e.g.*, governor in California and Minnesota, in counties; secretary of state in Indiana townships and mayor in cities. This will be recognized purely as a device of temperance forces to decrease the number of signatures required to make a petition valid.

Usually the form of the petition is definitely prescribed and a verification of signatures required, *e.g.*

FORM OF PETITION.

"We, the undersigned, registered voters of ——— county, state of Florida, hereby make application to, and petition this honorable board of county commissioners in and for said county to call an election to decide whether the sale of intoxicating liquors, wines or beer shall be prohibited in said county. Said election to be called and conducted according to the constitution of this state, and the statutes thereof, heretofore made and provided. No such election has been held in said county for more than two years prior hereto.

"Hereto attached, and in support hereof are one-fourth or more of the registered voters of said county as provided by law."

The petition is filed with the licensing authorities who then order an election. In some cases this election is a special election held from twenty to sixty days after filing the petition, unless this conflicts with a regular election, in which case the local election is deferred. In other cases (fourteen states) the time of the local option election is that of the next local or general election. In all cases a majority vote decides the question. If a majority votes against license, then prohibition is the rule in the entire unit concerned, but if the majority votes for license, subdivisions of the unit may, in some cases, resubmit the question and vote themselves dry (California, Florida, Kentucky, Texas). Accordingly prohibition is often forced upon a recalcitrant community, but license never.

A local option decision holds good until another election is petitioned for in the legal manner, except that the question may not be resubmitted for periods ranging from *one* year (in Louisiana, Massachusetts, Nebraska, South Dakota, Vermont, Wisconsin and parts of Connecticut and Minnesota) to *four* years (in Missouri, New Mexico and parts of New Hampshire). The usual limit on resubmission is two years. This term is used in ten states and in parts of New Hampshire. The submission of the license question annually does not give time for a fair trial of either the license or no-license policy and results in much vacillation and wavering. The problem is kept constantly before the people by continuous agitation. This state of affairs is considered eminently desirable by local prohibitionists who feel that through this means of continuous agitation, the liquor question may be kept prominently in the minds of the people and so result in the gradual, but sure development of a determination to have

done with the whole problem by the complete eradication of its cause, the saloon. This singleness of purpose, characteristic of the reformer who, like a balky horse, always wears blinders, so that he cannot, even if he will, see either to right or left, is not without its advantages to society. But a broader more unbiased view of the problem points very definitely to the conclusion that a period of one year is much too brief for the consummation of the very complex social adjustments necessary to the satisfactory operation of either plan. Two years would be a better term and even three years would not be too long for a thorough trial of and an intelligent, unified judgment on the policy determined.

Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont vote by towns on the question of license or no license, without petition, at the regular annual town election. Maryland and Delaware may vote on the question by counties only when permission is granted by a special act of the State legislature. South Dakota is peculiar in that it is considered dry till voted wet. Saloons must be petitioned for and voted in or the territory remains dry, and a wet local unit becomes dry automatically at the end of the license year unless revoted wet. New Mexico and Wyoming have rural prohibition, and Wyoming has municipal council option.

As will be seen in the table, all states have laws prohibiting the liquor traffic in specially designated areas. In general these areas surround schools, churches, homes, camp meetings, construction camps, etc. The saloon is undesirable in the neighborhood of school, church or home; it is dangerous in the vicinity of a camp meeting or a construction camp, hence it is ostracised. Besides these general restrictions there are numerous local limitations on the location of saloons as well as on the proportion of saloons to the population. These local restrictions are in their nature essentially local option provisions though not usually so considered.

The success of the no-license agitation is indicated by the fact that at the present time, by state constitutional and statutory provision and by local decisions, 80 per cent of the land area of the United States is under prohibition. In this dry area live 54 per cent of the population of the country. More than one-half of the population of the United States, spread over four-fifths of its area, is under no-license. The proportion of population living in dry territory, the proportion of population which is rural and the proportion of population which is native white of native parentage, are identical (54 per cent). This is more than mere coincidence for, while we know of dry cities and wet country-districts, prohibition is largely rural except where state laws have imposed it upon urban centers, and prohibition sections generally show a high per cent of native white of native parentage.

An analysis of the statistics of urban population for the nineteen prohibition states shows a range from 11 per cent in North Dakota to 53 per cent in Washington, but the median per cent is low (20.6 per cent in

Georgia), showing that most prohibition states are distinctly rural. The following summary of these figures will make this clear:

<i>Per cent of population which is urban</i>	<i>States</i>
Above 46.	3
Between 30 and 46.	3
Between 20 and 30.	5
Less than 20.	8

It will be observed here that only three states (Colorado, Maine and Washington) have an urban population exceeding 46.3 per cent which is the proportion for the United States as a whole. Thirteen, or more than two-thirds of the prohibition states have less than 30 per cent of population urban. On the other hand, these prohibition states show a high proportion of native whites of native parentage in the composition of their population. The percentages range from 26.4 per cent in North Dakota to 85.3 per cent in West Virginia with 62 as the median per cent. Thirteen of these states show a higher percentage of this class of population than that of the United States as a whole (53.8 per cent). Ten of these nineteen states adopted prohibition within the past year, yet the median per cent of population urban rose only 1.3 points from 19.3 per cent in 1915 to 20.6 per cent in 1916, and the per cent of native white of native parentage fell only 5.3 points from 67.3 per cent in 1915 to 62.0 per cent in 1916. Thus we see that more than doubling the number of prohibition states has made no appreciable change in the character of population affected. State prohibition, then, appeals to states whose populations are largely rural and native white of native parentage.

In the twenty-six local option states, the per centage of area made dry by local legislation ranges from 18.0 per cent in Rhode Island to 98.3 per cent in Wyoming with the median per cent at 78.5. Only three of these states have less than half their area under no-license, seven are between one-half and three-fourths dry and sixteen states are more than three-fourths dry. Of these sixteen states, five are more than 90 per cent dry. Hence with nineteen states wholly dry, sixteen states more than three-fourths dry, and seven states more than half dry it would appear from the map that national prohibition, requiring the consent of thirty-six states, is not far off. However the urban communities have always proved an effective check on such a procedure and indeed many voters who welcome local prohibition are unalterably opposed to a national prohibitory measure.

In the proportion of the population living in no-license sections of local option states there is wide variation. The range is from 3 per cent in Rhode Island to 91 per cent in Florida with the median per cent at 42. We saw in the figures for the United States as a whole that there was a marked similarity in the per cents of population dry, rural and native

white. In the distribution of these per cents for the twenty-six local option states there is a general and fairly regular fall in the per cent of population rural and native white as the per cent of population dry decreases. The prohibition and license states are added to the following summary of the full table in order to make it complete:—

<i>States.</i>	<i>Per cent of population dry.</i>	<i>Per cent of population rural.</i>	<i>Per cent of population n.w. of n.p.</i>
Prohibition 19	100	74	60
Local option 5	75-100	73	61
	7	50-75	59
	9	25-50	45
	5	0-25	37
License 3	license	40	46

Thus it would seem that urban and foreign populations were opposed to no-license legislation, probably, in the first case because of better facilities for regulation in cities together with the stronger organization of the liquor traffic, and in the second case because of early training and national custom.

Notwithstanding the rapid and wide-spread gains made by no-license legislation, and in spite of the fact that the map is strikingly white, there has been a continuous increase in the per capita consumption of intoxicants. The statistical abstract of the United States census gives 4.17 gallons as the per capita consumption of all liquors in 1840. This figure rises to 16.72 gallons in 1891, 17.76 in 1900, and from 1906 to the present it hovers between 21 and 23 gallons per capita. It is interesting to note that while there was an increase of approximately six gallons per capita in the decade from 1880 to 1890, in the past twenty-six years there has been no more than a six gallon increase. This is some slight sign of a gain, but it would seem that with constantly extending no-license area and population there should be an absolute decrease in consumption. However, this is not the case, for while the population of the United States increased 350 per cent since 1850, the per capita liquor consumption increased 456 per cent. Further, while the population of the United States increased from 76 millions in 1900 to 92 millions in 1910, or 21 per cent, the total liquor consumption increased from $1\frac{1}{2}$ billions to over two billions of gallons, or 50 per cent. In this decade, then, consumption increased more than twice as fast as population.

Consequently, with the peculiar situation that the consumption of intoxicating liquors is constantly increasing concomitant with a rapidly growing area and population living under no-license laws, we are driven to one of the following conclusions:

1. The ever decreasing population remaining under license shows an astounding propensity to increase its liquor consumption. It is not our experience that wet sections are becoming wetter.

2. Internal revenue collectors are continuing to show a slow and regular increase in efficiency in the detection of the manufacture and sale of liquor. This circumstance has probably accounted for some of the increase shown in government tables in the past, but its effect at present would seem to be a minimum.

3. The drier we become, the more liquor we consume.

It is clear, therefore, that the liquor question is far from being settled. Indeed from the facts here presented it would appear that we are not even on the right road to final solution of the problem. According to the Prohibition Year Book for 1915, page 13.

"The 1915 statistics show a total consumption of liquor practically equal to that of any previous year of our history. The latest available government reports show greater investments of money, and more men employed in the liquor business, and allied industries, than any statistics heretofore published. Current political history shows the traffic to be as strongly entrenched in our politics and our national government as it has ever been, and probably stronger than ever before. These facts obtain in spite of the tremendous anti-liquor agitation and the widespread movement against the saloon."

Indeed,

"There have been concomitant evils of prohibitory legislation. The efforts to enforce it during forty years past have had some unlooked-for effects upon public respect for courts, judicial procedure, oaths, and law in general, and for officers of the law, legislators, and public servants. The public have seen law defied, a whole generation of habitual law-breakers schooled in evasion and shamelessness, courts ineffective through fluctuation of policy, delays, perjuries, negligences, and other miscarriages of justice, officers of the law double-faced and mercenary, legislators timid and insincere, candidates for office hypocritical and truckling, and office holders unfaithful to pledges and to reasonable public expectation. Through an agitation which has always had a moral end, these immoralities have been developed and made conspicuous."³

Furthermore, prohibition encourages the consumption of the heavier liquors which can be more easily transported. The constant agitation of the question tends to discourage reputable men from entering the business. But worst of all prohibition is wholly negative. It considers neither the necessity of substitutes for the saloon nor the problem of the gradual development of improved standards of living. It looks askance at all propositions to encourage the use of lighter beverages by progressive taxation. In fine, what social development shows can only come safely and surely by a gradual process of evolution, prohibition would achieve by revolution.

"What the future may hold in store we can only forecast from the present, and, so far, unfortunately, the promises of prohibition have far outstripped performance. Some day, no doubt, society will be ready for measurement by new standards; but until then progress is not made by adding new evils to those that now burden us."⁴

³ President Elliot in Introduction to Studies of Committee of Fifty.

⁴ John Koren, *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1916.

STATUTORY PROVISION FOR LOCAL OPTION

States	Unit	Subdivisions	Petition				Time of Election	Limitation on Resubmission	Vote by Order of Local Officials	Laws Prohibiting the Liquor Traffic in Special Areas ¹	Legal References
			Qualifications of Signers	Number or Per Cent Required	Basls of Per Cent	Filing					
1. California ²	1. City (Incorporated) 2. Town (Incorporated) 3. Supervisorial districts outside of towns and cities	Block (in wet town or city)	Qualified electors	25%	Vote at last election for governor	1. City Council 2. Bd. of Trustees 3. Legislative body or Bd. of Supervisors of the County.	General election if petitioned 6 mos. to 40 days before, otherwise 30 to 60 days after filing petition	2 yrs.	Legislative body	3 mi. dry area around Soldiers Home, and University (1,000 students). State Hospital, construction camps	S. L. 1911, ch. 351, P. 599-601, 452 Hemis' Gen. Laws, 1914, P. 794, Sec. 2223-4
2. Connecticut	Town		Registered voters	10%	Registered voters	Town clerk 20 days before annual town meeting	Regular election (annual or biennial)	1 or 2 yrs. according to election custom	Selectmen	Licenses in cities restricted to "efficiently policed parts," Residential sections. Manufacturing sections	1909, Chaps. 65, 224 1915, Chap. 282, Sec. 2647
3. Delaware	4 districts specified in State Const.		State assemblymen of both houses from district in question	Majority	Number of assemblymen elected by each district	General assembly	General election		State Assembly		State Constitution, Art. 13
4. Florida	County	Election district if majority voted dry at election by which Co. went wet	Registered voters	25%	Registered voters	Board of Co. Commissioners	Within 60 days of filing petition unless conflicting with state or nat'l elec. Then 60 days after such election	2 yrs.	County Commissioner	4 mi. of church or school except in towns. In vicinity of mill, wife plant, phosphate plant, turpentine still	State Constitution, Art. 19 1914, Sec. 1209-1217 Sec. 3809
5. Illinois	1. City 2. Town 3. Village 4. Precinct		Legal voters	25%	Voters at last election	Clerk, 60 days before election	General election	18 mos.	Local authorities	4 mi. of State University, Soldiers Home Districts in Chicago	1907, P. 297 1912, P. 959 1913, P. 306
6. Indiana	{ a b	1. City (Incorporated) 2. Township not containing incorporated city 3. Part of township outside inc. city	Legal voters	20%	Vote for 1. Mayor 2. Sec. of State 3. Sec. of State Legal voters	County auditor	20 to 30 days after next meeting of Co. Commissioners	2 yrs.	County Commissioners	4 mi. of Soldiers' Home, church, fair 400 ft. of school outside city or town	1911, S. 327 (Reaction from Co. L. O. of 1905), Ch. 148, P. 363
			Legal voters	50%		County auditor	(Remonstrance; no election necessary)	2 yrs.			Barnes' A. S. 1908, Sec. 5332

7. Kentucky	<div> <div> 1. County</div> <div>2. City</div> <div>3. Town</div> <div>4. District</div> <div>5. Precinct</div> </div> <div> <div>Product</div> </div>
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STATUTORY PROVISION FOR LOCAL OPTION—Continued

State	Unit	Subdivisions	Petition			Time of Election	Limitation on Resubmission	Vote by Order of Local Officials	Laws Prohibiting the Liquor Traffic in Special Areas ¹	Legal References	
			Qualifications of Signers	Number or Per Cent Required	Basis of Per Cent						
14. Montana ²	County		Qualified voters	33 1/3%	Qualified voters	County Commissioners	40 days after filing petition but not during month of general election	2 yrs.	County Commissioners	Indian reservations, 5 mi. of camp, mine, quarry, 1 mi. of camp, meeting, 1 mi. of park, 1,000 ft. of country	Rev. Codes, 1907, Sec. 2041-9 Laws 1907, Ch. 65, Sec. 717
15. Nebraska ²	1. City } 10,000 or less 2. Village } 3. Larger cities (by Initiative and Referendum)		Freeholders and voters Voters	30 15%	Voters	Excess boards or committees 30 days before election	Regular municipal election	1 yr.	Corporate authorities	2 mi. of incorporated city or village (except in Douglas Co.) 5 mi. of construction camp 2 1/2 mi. of U. S. Military Post	Comp. Stat., Sec. 4245 4250a State Const., Initiative and Referendum S. L. 1913, Initiative and Referendum
16. New Hampshire	1. City 2. Town					Regular election	Regular election	1. 4 yrs. 2. 2 yrs.		200 ft. of church or school	1903, Ch. 95, Sec. 31
17. New Mexico	1. Municipality (inc.) 2. County (outside municipality)		Qualified voters Qualified voters	25% 25%	Highest no. of votes recd. by any candidate at last election Qualified voters	Local authorities Co. Commissioners	Between 1 and 2 mos. after filing petition; not within 2 mos. of any other election Between 1 and 2 mos. after filing petition; not within 2 mos. of any other election	4 yrs. 4 yrs.	By proclamation County Commissioners	In villages of less than 100 inhabitants Within 2 mi. of dry city	1913, Ch. 75 1913, S. B. 212 Codification 1915, Secs. 2927-48, 2876, 2889
18. New York ³	Town		Qualified voters	10%	Votes at last preceding election	With town clerk 20 days before reg. town meeting	Biennial town meeting	2 yrs.	Town clerk	200 yds. of fair except in city of 150,000 or more	1910, Ch. 485
19. Ohio	1. Township (outside municipalities) 2. Municipalities		Qualified electors Qualified electors Qualified electors	25% 40% 50%	Qualified electors Qualified electors Votes at last election	Township Trustees City Council Mayor or Judge	Special election 20 to 30 days after filing None	2 yrs. 2 yrs. 2 yrs.	Township Trustees City Council None	1/2 mi. of township park 1 1/2 mi. of Soldiers' Home	Gen. Code, Sec. 6119-26 6127-40 6140-68
20. Rhode Island	1. City 2. Town					Regular biennial	Regular biennial	2 yrs.		200 ft. of school	1914, Ch. 1042, P. 59

21. South Dakota ²		Legal freeholder voters	25		Clerk or auditor, 30 days before election	Annual municipal election	1 yr.	Local authorities	300 ft. of school, 200 ft. of church, 5 mi. of construction camp, 1 mi. of college or academy, 2½ mi. of dry city or town	1915, Sec. 2856, Ch. 227 1905, Ch. 122 1907, Ch. 177 1909, Ch. 203
22. Texas	1. City									
	2. Town									
	3. Township									
	1. County	Small divisions may vote immediately after larger has voted wet	250	Voters	County Commissioners	15 to 30 days after Commissioners' order	2 yrs.	County C'mrs Ct.	300 ft. of church or school	Statutes' Civil Statutes, Art 5715-30, P. 3862
	2. Commissioner's or Justice's Precinct		50	Voters	County Commissioners		2 yrs.	County C'mrs Ct.		
	3. School district		50	Voters	County Commissioners		2 yrs.	County C'mrs Ct.		
23. Utah ⁴	4. Two or more districts of Co.		50	Voters	County Commissioners		2 yrs.	County C'mrs Ct.		
	5. City		10%	Voters	County Commissioners		2 yrs.	County C'mrs Ct.		
	6. Town		10%	Voters	County Commissioners		2 yrs.	County C'mrs Ct.		
	1. City (1, 2, 3d class)		25%	Registered voters	City recorder	Last Tuesday in June	2 yrs.	City Comm.	5 mi. of construction camp or dry town	1913, Ch. 79 and 81 1911, P. 152-176, Ch. 106
24. Vermont	2. Town (inc.)		25%	Registered voters	Town clerk	Last Tuesday in June	2 yrs.	Board of Trustees		
	3. County (outside of city or town)		25%	Registered voters	County clerk 60 to 120 days before election	Last Tuesday in June	2 yrs.	Board of Co. C'mrs		
	1. Town		6	Voters	10 days after town meeting	Annual town meeting Special election 30 days after petition	1 yr.	Selectmen	200 ft. of church or school 2 mi. of state line, unless in chief village of border township 2 mi. of camp meet'g	1913, Sec. 5104-10 5122
25. Wisconsin	1. City		10%	Qualified electors	Clerk, 10 days before election	1st Tuesday in April	1 yr.	Clerk	2½ mi. of Veterans' Home	1913, Sec. 1565 a-d
	2. Town		50%	Qualified electors	On or before May 1	None	1 yr.		3200 ft. of State University	1565 g-h
26. Wyoming	1. City							Municipal council option	1000 ft. of militia encampment All rural districts	1910, Sec. 1578 (11) 1910, Sec. 2833

¹ Traffic prohibited in all Indian Reservations.² California, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, South Dakota to vote on State prohibition in November, 1916.³ Four questions submitted to determine kind of license, if any.⁴ First election mandatory in cities and towns. County dry till voted wet.

MUNICIPAL BONDS OVER THE COUNTER AND IN SMALL DENOMINATIONS

BY ARTHUR B. CHAPIN¹

Boston

“**A** MOST peculiar juice is human blood,” says Satan in Goethe’s Faust. This continually appears in the various eccentricities of human nature in all matters of life, but it especially appears in the peculiarity displayed in the care and investment of money.

The man or woman who works early and late, denying himself or herself all but the very necessities of life, when a little hard earned money has been laid aside, will so often put it into some butterfly investment that looks attractive and lives for a short time and then is gone.

When the “Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston” was chartered just 100 years ago,—the first institution for savings granted the right to do business by any legislative body in the world,—its object was “To aid and assist the poorer and middling classes of society in employing their money to advantage, without running the risk of losing it, as they are too frequently exposed to do by lending it to individuals, who either fail or defraud them.” In other words, the people who deposited their money with this institution could have the benefit of the expert advice of men who had become trained in the care and investment of money without any charge or expense arising for the service performed.

Experience has shown that certain classes of investments are safer than others and actual results are more conclusive than any theories.

The actual losses sustained by 189 representative financial institutions of New England over a period of 15 years as compiled from their official reports, showed on an investment of \$503,000,000 as follows:

SAFETY OF MUNICIPAL BONDS

Losses on government, state and municipal bonds	\$2,693
Losses on railroad and public service corporation bonds . .	24,571
Losses on real estate and real estate loans	2,185,925
Losses on loans to individuals, firms and corporations . . .	3,061,144
Losses on bank stocks	1,845,123
Losses on miscellaneous items	118,448
Total losses in fifteen years	\$7,237,904
Total loss per annum	482,527

These figures look large and show the great risk of investing money. The average annual loss was \$482,527, or about 96 cents on each \$1,000.

¹ Mr. Chapin writes out of an abundant experience. From 1899 to 1904 he was mayor of Holyoke, Mass.; from 1905 to 1909 he was treasurer of Massachusetts; from 1910 to 1912, bank commissioner of Massachusetts and since that date he has been vice-president of the American Trust Company, Boston.—EDITOR.

In other words, the investment of institutional funds in New England, under the restrictions of conservative and well-framed laws, shows an average loss of less than one-tenth of one per cent per annum.

The average amounts in round numbers in each class of investment were as follows:

Government, state and municipal bonds	\$77,000,000
Railroad and public service corporation bonds	71,000,000
Real estate and real estate loans	220,000,000
Loans to individuals, firms and corporations	103,000,000
Bank stocks	23,000,000
Miscellaneous items	9,000,000

The losses per annum for each \$1,000 invested in the various classes were as follows:

Losses on government, state and municipal bonds	\$0.0023
Losses on railroad and public service corporation bonds ..	0.0230
Losses on real estate and real estate loans	0.6624
Losses on loans to individuals, firms, and corporations ...	1.8480
Losses on bank stocks	5.3480
Losses on miscellaneous items	0.8774

In the opinion of the writer these figures are impressive and important in that they tend to show:

1. That losses during this period resulting from investments in government, state and municipal bonds were infinitesimal, amounting to but a small fraction of one cent a year on \$1,000.

2. That losses resulting from investments in railroad and public service corporation bonds were also so small as to be entirely negligible, amounting, in fact, to about the price of a postage stamp each year on one thousand dollars. As this was before the attack on the credit of railroads the per cent figures in this class of investments would not show so well now.

3. That losses on real estate and real estate loans amounted to about three hundred times the losses on government, state and municipal bonds and about thirty times the losses on railroad and public service corporation bonds.

4. That losses on loans to individuals, firms and corporations amounted to about one-fifth of one per cent per annum, or about eight hundred times the losses on government, state and municipal bonds and about eighty times the losses on railroad and public service corporation bonds.

5. That losses on bank stock amounted to about one-half of one per cent per annum.

Several facts should be considered in connection with these figures. Included in the fifteen-year period is the depression of 1893, when many losses were incurred through business failures, bank failures, and shrinkage in the value of foreclosed real estate. It is also fair to point out that the appreciation in value of bank stocks since that period has offset the losses that were incurred through failures. Depreciation in bond values has not been taken into consideration on the assumption that the bonds have been or will be paid at par at maturity. Moreover, it must be borne

in mind that the income return on municipal bonds is lower on the average than that of the other classes of securities. Consequently, relatively smaller losses were to be expected than in securities returning a higher yield.

The return from municipal bonds is lower because experience has shown that the principal is safer and it might be well for municipalities to impress that fact on all its citizens and print at the head of its advertisements and on the face of its bonds "safety first."

SALES OF SMALL DENOMINATIONS

The tendency of the present time is to put this class of investments within the reach of people of small savings. Formerly it was necessary to lay aside \$1,000 before it was possible to become the owner of a municipal bond, but it is now being appreciated more and more that the benefits of the \$100 bond are twofold,—it enables the citizen of small means to loan money to the city or town for the use of its schools, streets and parks, thus giving him an investment that is absolutely safe, and gives him a greater interest in the affairs of the local government, because he has a greater interest in seeing that the money he loans is not wasted, but is expended to the best advantage. The more interest people take in the affairs of their own city or town, the better government they will have.

It will therefore prove an advantage to the city or town to issue its bonds in small denominations and thus making a broader market for their sale will be able to sell them more advantageously. They can go much farther than they have in the past in impressing upon the citizens the advantages of loaning money to the city or town,—safety to the citizen, broader market for the holder. The extra expense of issuing bonds in small amounts is not great enough to offset the advantages that will accrue.

SALES OVER THE COUNTER

The issuing of bonds in small denominations does not mean however that the state or city or town should go into the business of selling bonds at retail or "over the counter." When money is borrowed by a state or city or town, it is to be used for some immediate public purpose, and is wanted substantially at one time and in considerable amounts.

In order to obtain this money at one time, it has been customary to sell the bonds at wholesale and let private bankers or a syndicate of bankers take the expense and annoyance and risk of changing money conditions by selling them at retail. This requires a good distributing organization to bring the bonds to the notice of those who have money to invest and sufficient time to distribute them. It frequently happens that it is necessary to carry some of the bonds a considerable time and then on account of changing money conditions sell them at a loss.

RESULTS OF EXPERIENCE

The results of experience of those who have tried selling bonds at retail by the state or city or town has not been sufficiently successful to be adopted as a permanent plan. Massachusetts in 1914 asked for bids for \$6,325,000 of serial bonds and received bids therefor. Then the treasurer and receiver general rejected all the bids. Re-advertisements at a heavy expense were made all over the state and a so-called "over the counter" sale proceeded, which lasted during a period of three months with the extra time and expense involved, and when the matter was closed no incidental benefit to the state in the way of increased price resulted.

The sale was not a popular success in any way as the small purchasers did not come forward and the issue was left on the treasurer's hands and he had to be helped out by large purchases of brokers and banks to complete the proposition. This will be shown by the figures below. Out of the \$6,325,000 there were issued:

179	\$100 bonds, amounting to	\$17,900
18	200 bonds, amounting to	3,600
11	300 bonds, amounting to	3,300
8	400 bonds, amounting to	3,200
86	500 bonds, amounting to	43,000
2	600 bonds, amounting to	1,200
1	700 bond, amounting to	700
1	800 bond, amounting to	800
4	900 bonds, amounting to	3,600
377	1,000 bonds, amounting to	377,000
	A total of	\$454,300

The balance of the loan was in large blocks.

The contention of the state treasurer at that time was that the purchasers had been saved \$50,000 in commissions to brokers, which was true; but these commissions were not saved to small purchasers as the beneficiaries were principally banks, large individual trustees, and brokers, who afterwards turned the bonds in the same way the original syndicate would have turned them. Therefore, the contention that this was a popular sale is not borne out, and, if all items of expense were included, it would be found that, in view of the incidental expenses connected with conducting this method, it resulted in a decrease in the price that the state received in the long run.

There were many incidents in connection with the sale that were of interest. In particular, many people applied to the state treasurer's office in the expectation that the bonds would be issued at par, and when they found that they would have to withdraw their money from savings banks at 4 per cent, or investments at 5 per cent or more, and receive a bond which would only net them 3.58½, there was much dissatisfaction and in many cases no interest taken further in such an investment,

although it was entirely safe; and while an attempt was made to have the public approve of the sale at the next state election, the treasurer who conducted it was defeated for re-election, so even as a political factor it failed to attract public approval.

Boston held a sale of its municipal bonds over the counter in 1907, having failed to receive offers for any large amount of bonds in response to advertisements asking for bids. One million dollar 4 per cent twenty- and thirty-year registered bonds, in denominations of \$1,000, and multiples thereof were thus offered at par, no limit being placed on the amount one might purchase. The sale could hardly be called successful, the demand for the bonds was at no time brisk, and more than three months had elapsed before all the bonds offered had been disposed of. Chicago, on the other hand, since July 1, 1915, has sold \$2,750,000 Chicago twenty-year 4 per cent serial gold bonds, and the comptroller considers the sale a decided success.

Topeka, Kansas, appears to have gone into this question more systematically than any other municipality. *The American City* says in its July issue:

Kansas municipal bonds have proved to be an attractive investment for shopmen, clerks, professional men, merchants and business men generally. This is due partly to the fact that municipal bonds in Kansas are non-taxable; but it is due even more to the plan introduced by W. H. Wasson, commissioner of finance and revenue, by which the bonds are sold.

Under the previous system Topeka's bonds were offered in large blocks to Eastern buyers. Now the bonds are issued in installments. They bear $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest and are sold at par. The distribution of the bonds to the buyers is done through co-operation of the city with some bank or trust company, which has charge of handling them. The city draws 2 per cent per annum on the daily bank balances. By issuing the bonds in installments the money is secured as needed by the city in carrying on its various phases of municipal endeavor.

The aim is to distribute bonds among people in and about Topeka first, care being taken to see that the small investors are supplied before those who wish to subscribe for large amounts.

Persons who purchase Topeka's bonds naturally take a keener interest than they otherwise would in the city's affairs. This makes them better citizens. Commissioner Wasson also points out the fact that by selling the city bonds to the home folks the money is kept in Topeka. When a coupon is paid or a bond is redeemed, a resident gets the money, and in the latter case he will usually be ready to buy another bond with it.

While the possibility of a sale over the counter may act as a safeguard against a combination of bankers or brokers being formed to make a bid that will be to the disadvantage of the municipality, as such a possibility may be taken advantage of at any time, still as a matter of policy I believe it is for the best interests of all concerned to have state and municipal bonds sold at public sale to the highest bidder at one time

rather than to attempt to retail the bonds over the counter. The selling price of municipal bonds will be determined by the money rate at the time each series of bonds is issued.

If Topeka issues $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent bonds at the present time, and they have twenty years before maturity, they should sell in the open market at a premium of about \$65 on each \$1,000 bond. A citizen of Topeka or a banking house could buy these bonds at par and sell them at a premium and the taxpayers would lose \$65,000 on a bond sale of \$1,000,000. In other words, the city would sometimes sell its bonds at a loss or lower than the prevailing rate for money, as human nature is the same in Topeka as elsewhere, and if the citizens can buy the bonds and sell them outside the city at a profit, they will do so, as sentiment will amount to very little in a business transaction of this nature. Any city will get a better price for its bonds in the long run where it is able to have them distributed over a larger market than is possible in any single municipality. If bonds are sold in a block to the highest bidder rather than at retail, the purchaser will be more careful as to the legality of the issue than individual purchasers would be. The mere fact that a municipality offers bonds for sale after being voted by the legislative body, does not make them legal obligations of the city or town, and one criticism of bonds issued by certain Canadian cities is that they have issued bonds to pay for moving manufacturing plants within their own borders and for other reasons that might not be considered strictly a public purpose, which is the real test of the legality of a municipal bond.

After bonds are legally issued they should be made as attractive to the purchaser as possible. While appearance does not add to the strength of the bond it makes it more attractive. Many people have purchased bonds on account of their looks, only to find their only value was the paper they were printed on. Municipal bonds should be well made to look at in order to attract by their beauty as well as by their strength. They should also be as convenient as possible. Some investors desire registered bonds on account of their safety, as a registered bond if lost or stolen, can be replaced, while a coupon bond lacks that element of safety.

On the other hand, coupon bonds can be sold and transferred more easily without delay, annoyance or red tape often required of registered bonds, so many investors prefer coupon bonds. It is well, therefore, for a municipality to issue both registered or coupon bonds and give the purchaser the choice. The fact that municipal bonds are not subject to the national income tax, and in most states are not subject to state taxation, is quite an inducement to investors who wish to be free of the annoyance caused by making returns in connection with taxation. It is well also to issue bonds in serial form in order that the purchaser may have the benefit of short or long maturities, as he may wish. There was for-

merly a prejudice against serial bonds, but now it is well established that in addition to the risk of investing a sinking fund which the long term bonds entail, the serial bonds also require the municipality to follow the "pay as you go" policy, a decided advantage to municipalities as well as to individuals.

In connection with the security of municipal bonds, it is well to bear in mind that in most states they are a first lien on the property of the citizens. In Massachusetts, if they are not paid when due, the houses or other private property of the citizens can be sold to pay the debt.

It often happens that a treasurer who is inexperienced in financial affairs does not appreciate the importance of having the principal and interest on municipal bonds paid at some financial center as well as locally. If the payment is only made locally it interferes with their sales to large savings banks and investors who wish to collect their interest without paying exchange charges and without the delay incident to a local collection. This prevents a municipality from getting the highest price for the bonds.

In conclusion, it is well for the investor to remember that municipal bonds are a safe investment, and from the point of view of the municipality, they should be made as attractive as possible so that the citizens will loan their money to the city more readily and thus take a greater interest in its affairs.

ELECTION REFORMS

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

Philadelphia

TWO articles dealing with election reforms, and Charles Seymour's monumental work on "Election Reform in England and Wales"¹ came to my desk just at the time I had been giving careful consideration to the election laws of Pennsylvania, incident to a further effort to improve them, and to put a stop to such remaining practices as were jeopardizing fair elections, and therefore an honest expression of public opinion. There has been a great, yes, a very great improvement in our election laws within the memory of the present generation. Many of the practices which went far to justify Lord Bryce's criticism of American democracy and which were accepted quite as a matter of fact, have been eliminated, or so largely abated as to be negligible quantities.

While direct primaries have their own peculiar troubles and difficulties, it must not be forgotten that they have done away with the corruptly controlled and juggled conventions which were a stench in the nostrils of decent, and even semi-decent people; and while much remains to be done to free them of serious objection, there is no serious proposal to go back to the much worse evils of the systems they supplanted.

Many students of the problem believe that the remedy lies in shortening the ballot, so that the voter will not be overburdened, not to say overwhelmed when he comes to discharge his annual or semi-annual duty in the selection of public officers. I think it may be said with a large measure of confidence that public opinion is pretty generally agreed on the short ballot: Those who are working for improvement and progress are agreed upon its importance and necessity. Those who are in favor of maintaining the *status quo*, and that includes all the practical politicians, are agreed that many special privileges would disappear if the ballot were shortened to the requirements of the situation. This very agreement will make the battle a long and bitter one, but of the result there should be no doubt among those who have studied the past.

In many communities the personal registration of electors has become an accomplished fact, bringing about a great improvement in that direction. In many cities where such laws have been enforced there has been a practical cleaning up of the lists of voters and the frauds incident to old conditions have disappeared.

The Australian ballot has been a great gain in that it makes the printing and publishing of the ballot, official acts, and in that it gives a good arrangement; but so long as we insist upon thrusting on the elector the duty of choosing long lists of candidates and officials, just so long are we

¹ Published by the Yale University Press. \$2.50 net.

likely to have with us the twin evils of the party circle or square (by means of which straight party voting is made easy, and almost inevitable) and the assistance clause (by means of which the ignorant or indifferent voter is controlled).

Dr. Millspaugh's article which follows shows the evils and extent of a partisan control in Detroit, and what exists there it may be assumed to exist in many other places. "Government by Controlled Precincts" is the title of a leaflet issued by the Detroit citizens' league,² giving names and places where the control is exercised, and how it is exercised. It should be read in conjunction with Dr. Millspaugh's article, not only because it complements it; but because it shows in concrete form some of the other electoral needs of that city, which in so many ways has done so much that is worth while, but which in the important matters of charter and electoral reforms is lagging far behind.

THE DETROIT PROGRAM

A very excellent program has been proposed by the citizens' league, which is devoting a large part of its time, means and energy to a solution of this phase of Detroit's problems. It appears in full in a recent issue of the *Civic Searchlight* (March, 1916), the league's monthly publication. In view of its experience "with the common council in an effort to persuade that body to investigate charges of the most flagrant character against 'Batty' McGraw's election board, it has been decided not to trust them to submit the proposed amendment voluntarily, but immediately to begin the circulation of petitions to force a vote upon this at the time of the primary election on August 29. The main features of the proposed amendment are as follows:

1. A city election commission is created, consisting of the city clerk, corporation counsel, president of the civil service commission, record and senior police justice. (It would have been preferable to have a commission appointed by the circuit judges as is done in Chicago, but our state constitution forbids the making of appointments of this nature by the circuit judges, and the foregoing is considered the best plan that can be devised which will be legal.)

2. This commission is authorized to appoint three registrars for each voting district, to have charge of the registration of voters and to act as inspectors of election on election day. They are required to be persons of good moral character, to be physically capable of performing the work required of them, and must pass an examination as to their mental qualifications. No person holding any other political position is eligible to appointment.

3. The commission is also authorized to appoint three inspectors of election with similar qualifications. These names are drawn from the city at large, placed in a box and drawn in the same manner as the drawing of jurors. The first three drawn are assigned to the first precinct of

² Free Press Building, Detroit

the first ward, the second three to the second precinct of the first ward, and so on consecutively throughout the various wards and voting districts of the city.

4. The commission has general supervision of all elections with full power to prevent fraud and corruption, to purge the registration books of any names of persons who are not qualified voters, to remove any inspector or registrar for cause, and to cause the prosecution of any person who violates the law.

5. The commission is also given general supervision of registration of voters and will provide effective means for eliminating the 'cemetery vote' from the registration books, an easier means of registering and transferring in case of removals and other similar conditions.

6. The commission is required to reduce the size of the voting precincts so that there will not be more than 500 voters in any district, thereby avoiding the long line-up of voters just before the closing of the polls and other similar evils.

7. The members of the city election commission, all being officials of the city, are not permitted to draw any salary for services rendered by them in this connection. The registrars and inspectors will receive the same salary as at present.¹

Incidentally, it is interesting to note the larger program of the league for which it is working. While some of its features deal with questions of charter reform, in a large way all may be considered as questions of electoral reform, for the latter has to do with the second basis of good city government as defined by the citizens' league. Under the head of "Ten city charter essentials" the league declares in the *Civic Searchlight* (March, 1916, issue) that

"Good city government is based on two things: Centering of power permitting business to be done, or efficiency and control by the voters, insuring that business be done for the public interest, or democracy.

(A) Power centered

- (1) *in a single council of five*, executive as well as legislative,
- (2) *in each member as head of a department*;

(B) Control by the voters

secured through (*prior to election*)

- (3) *a short ballot*, permitting intelligent voting,
- (4) preferential voting, selection as well as election by the voters,
- (5) *election at large*, control by *all* the voters,

(*After election*)

- (6) *the referendum*, voters' veto for misrepresentative acts,
- (7) *the initiative*, voters' power to compel desired acts,
- (8) *the recall*, voters' earlier replacement of a bad official,
- (9) *publicity*, of meetings, etc., involving simple rules of procedure;
- (10) *appointments subject to the merit system*.

¹ By a recent vote the amendments abolishing the old-time precinct elections and providing for a new city election commission were adopted.

Selection by the voters involves:

- (1) *voters' freedom of choice of candidates*, secured through,
 - (a) the candidate's of getting on the final election ballot, independent of boss or party,
 - (b) the candidate's freedom from large election expense and from abuse by rival candidates;
- (2) *election of the candidate actually supported by the largest number of voters*, secured through,
 - (a) the voter's second and other choices where no candidate secures a majority of first choices,
 - (b) the voter's ease of choice due to a single election."

This program shows how important in city government is the need for clean, decent elections, a short ballot, and simplified election machinery, just as does the "election reform" platform of the St. Louis civic league:

THE ST. LOUIS PROGRAM

Proposals for reform in the present method of nominating and electing:

1. A new method of nominating and electing the St. Louis school board.
2. Provisions for electing municipal officers in St. Louis on a non-partisan ticket, with nomination by petition instead of by primary.
3. Provisions for electing officers by preferential voting.
4. Provisions for electing the new St. Louis board of aldermen through the method of proportional representation.
5. Submission of a constitutional amendment removing the present disability in the method of organizing the legislative body of St. Louis.
6. Changes in the machinery of registration and election to promote efficiency and economy.
7. Granting increased power to the board of election. Commissioners in the conduct of elections and in the appointment of election officials.
8. A stronger corrupt practices act regulating the expenditure of money in campaigns and prohibiting certain forms of electioneering.
9. Appointment of a commission by the governor to bring order out of the present patch-work of Missouri election laws.

Mr. Warner's article on "A New System of Election for St. Louis" which follows Dr. Millspaugh's, describes what it is proposed to do in that city at the election in November (1916). An election commission was appointed to revise the election laws of the state. It reported to the last legislature, but the laws were not passed. They seldom are when first suggested, because of the inertia of the *status quo*, and the opposition of political organizations, who do not like change. They contain elements of danger that politicians would just as leave not face; certainly not until they are compelled by public opinion to do so. The successful election reformer as a rule is the one who can most effectively bring public opinion to bear upon the law makers. There are notable and honorable exceptions to this rule. For instance, several years ago it was possible to persuade the influential political powers of the state of Pennsylvania that

it would be a desirable change to have annual elections, and to separate local elections from state and national elections, and a series of constitutional amendments to effect this end were passed by two successive legislatures and approved by the voters.

ELECTED ELECTION OFFICERS

Joined with these amendments was another which made it possible to substitute appointive for elective election officers, for Philadelphia has the great boon of a constitutional requirement that the judges and inspector of elections shall be elected by the sovereign people! This change which was dictated alike by the demands of a short ballot and of efficiency was defeated, however, by a group of reformers who maintained that the fundamental principles of democracy were being violated by abolishing the provision of an elective election board! and by a faction of the dominant political organization who maintained that much more satisfactory results (to it) could be obtained by elections, than through appointments by reliable and responsible officials. A further effort in this behalf is to be made at the next session of the legislature. At the same time a renewed effort will be made to repeal that clause of the ballot law which makes it possible for a voter to seek outside assistance in the marking of his ballot. Under the present law nothing further is needed than a formal request for help and in many districts—the controlled districts, to borrow the apt designation of Detroit—a refusal to ask for assistance is regarded as a mark of independence which sooner or later results in reprisals and publishment. I am informed that in South Philadelphia the dominant political factors show their interest by the amount of assistance they demand shall be given. If they “go the limit” for a ticket that means that assistance is thrust upon every possible voter, whether desired or not; whereas if their interest is only formal, they only give such assistance as may be normally asked for without pressure. According to the committee of seventy in Philadelphia:

ASSISTANCE OF VOTERS

The existence of this evil had not been thoroughly understood by the public at large until the investigation of the election of 1909, which was made by the committee. At this election, the evidence collected by the committee showed that in Philadelphia not less than 38,000 ballots had been marked by some person other than the voter, and as we contended, and still maintain, in violation of the law. The law, however, as it stands to-day is very unsatisfactory, and partly on account of its vagueness, although not entirely so, the committee was unable to secure convictions although the clearest possible evidence had been collected and presented. Votes deposited by persons who allow others to mark their ballots in the voting compartment are in most cases purchased votes; in others they are the votes of persons who are too indifferent to give the slightest attention to the form of the ballot or how to mark it. In

other cases, and this is quite a large number, they are the votes of office holders or other persons subject to intimidation by a corrupt political machine, who are afraid to refuse to allow a representative of the voting compartment to see that they vote in its interest.

Since the enactment of the personal registration law, and its enforcement with the assistance of the committee, certain forms of ballot fraud previously common have been substantially eliminated. The last resource of political machines in recent years has been the so-called "assistance to voters." By means of this pretence they have been able to secure large numbers of bribed and intimidated votes which are in no proper sense votes at all. The amendment forbids any person to accompany a voter into a voting compartment on any pretext whatever, unless the voter is physically unable to mark his ballot and has made a written affidavit to that effect. Severe penalties are provided against the judge of election who permits any illegal assistance, against the voter who permits it, and against any person who gives it.

THE PARTY SQUARE

This same committee has urged a further reform originally urged by the Pennsylvania ballot reform association (which was also the original sponsor of the plan to eliminate the objectionable assistance clause), namely, to abolish the party square. Concerning this pressing issue the committee says:

This proposed revision of the ballot law eliminates from the ballot the party squares and requires a voter to make a mark in the square opposite the name of each candidate for whom he wishes to vote, except that he may vote by one cross mark for an entire group of Presidential electors. It also shortens and simplifies the ballot by having but one square at the right of the name of each candidate instead of a series of squares, one corresponding to each party which has nominated that candidate. This would make our ballot substantially in the form commonly known as the "Massachusetts ballot" which is based upon a principle fundamentally sound, that is, each voter should not only be given an opportunity, but should be compelled to exercise his individual judgment in the selection of each candidate.

Those who favor the retention of the party square on the ballot urge that a voter who is a member of a political party should be permitted in a convenient manner to vote for all the candidates of that party. This is on the theory that the candidates of his party have been carefully selected by persons competent to judge, and that owing to the number of candidates, he would probably not be able to exercise an intelligent judgment in any event, except that which he exercises in choosing the party which he will support.

Put briefly, this argument is that a voter should be allowed to shift the responsibility for the selection of candidates whom he will support from himself to the political party of which he is a member. The argument is clearly made for the benefit of the indifferent or incompetent voter, and tends to increase both indifference and incompetence.

But a voter should not be permitted thus to escape his responsibility. If he is required to mark the name of each candidate for whom he votes, he must at least give the matter that amount of attention, and if in

advance he is aware that he must do this he will be compelled at least to learn who the candidates are, or be entirely at sea when he endeavors to vote. The change, therefore, is in the interest of demanding the attention of the voter.

The arguments on the other side clearly outweigh any merit, if any be admitted, in the argument above referred to. A voter who is indifferent and who has not given thought to the candidates or studied the form of the ballot is very apt to mark the straight tickets not only because he prefers to rely upon the judgment of the party leaders who have engineered the nominations, but also because he is afraid of spoiling his ballot by an inaccurate mark. This danger will be substantially lessened by eliminating the party square and simplifying the ballot as above stated. Moreover, under the proposed change there is no difference between the act of the voter in marking a straight ticket and marking a split ticket. His act is the same in either case; consequently, if he really wishes to vote a split ticket he may do it just as readily as he may a straight ticket. Thus absolute quality of voting is secured, and, what is of benefit to any community, particularly large cities, independence in voting is promoted.

There is another argument which is of great importance. It is a matter of common knowledge that droves of ignorant voters are taken to the polling places by corrupt political leaders in many parts of large cities, and induced to cast their votes by improper means. This vote will not be entirely eliminated by the change in the form of the ballot, but the dangers of it will be greatly lessened. Even under a proper law securing secrecy in voting an ignorant voter can be shown how to mark a straight ticket, but he cannot be shown how to mark each candidate so easily or so successfully. In other words, if the voter has not enough discrimination to determine for himself the names of those whom he desires to support, his vote is likely to be lost. This is as it should be.

The companion bill is intended to meet the contingency provided by the simplification of the official ballot. Under the ballot as it stands at present, there is a place for a separate cross-mark opposite the name of each party, although several may have nominated the same candidate; thus, if there is only one candidate for judge and he is nominated by seven different parties, there is a separate square for each party, with the result that seven lines on the ballot are taken up, making the ballot very long and cumbersome. The object of this is that it may be known how many votes were cast for this candidate under the name of each party. It is proposed to place the names of all the parties following the name of the candidate, so that it may be known by which parties he is nominated, but to have only one square for a cross-mark; it therefore cannot be known how many votes have been cast for the candidate under each party name. The present test of the right of a party to have its name upon the official ballot is the vote cast at the last election. Some other method will now have to be devised. A bill has therefore been drawn which proposes to make the test the vote cast by the party at the preceding primary. This seems a fair and reasonable test, because if a party has any real per-

manency it will have candidates in the field at a primary, and no parties will be eliminated which have any substantial following. It will also have the effect of promoting the vote at the primary, which is to be desired.

The committee on election laws of the commonwealth club of California has been considering for months the problems presented by the municipal elections in California. Since 1908 the cities of that state have generally adopted the plan of securing majority elections through the system of primary and general elections. Unless some candidate receives an absolute majority at the primary election the race is confined to the two standing highest in the primary for each position to be filled. The system has accomplished the purpose sought, to prevent the election of a minority candidate through the division of the majority between two or more candidates. It has, however, according to the club's committee, brought in its train very considerable burdens to the candidates and to the taxpayers. "It has doubled the length of the campaign, increased the cost of the campaign to candidates, has placed on the public treasury the cost of two campaigns, and has burdened the voters so that large numbers omit to vote at one or the other election." The committee therefore has devised a system which consolidates primary and general elections into one. Instead of permitting a voter to express a first choice at a primary election, and a second choice at the general election, in case his candidate is eliminated at the primary election, the committee recommends a ballot which will permit the voter to express his first, second and third choice at the same election. The system preserves the principle of majority elections, and eliminates the expense of the double election and the long campaign.

Then the committee recommends the nomination system used in the San Francisco charter, except that it calls for more data with regard to the candidate than is demanded under the existing law. The candidate is required to give with his declaration of candidacy, his name, address, occupation, previous occupation, date and place of birth, years of continued residence in San Francisco, whether married or single, and what public office, if any, held.

The San Francisco requirement of not less than ten or more than twenty sponsors who shall certify to the mental, moral and physical qualifications of the candidate is accepted in lieu of the longer petitions required by most charters. It has been found that the system of sponsors does not bring out a larger number of candidates than the petition system, and saves a great deal of labor and expense. This certainly is the case in Great Britain where elections are never overburdened, although access to the ballot is of the simplest character.

A system of official pamphlets such as is now in use in San Francisco is recommended to be compulsory on all candidates. Each candidate is to be required to pay to the registrar \$20.00 on filing his declaration of

candidacy and will have printed in the official pamphlet all the data contained in his declaration of candidacy. He may file any additional statement he desires, one hundred words without extra charge, and further statement not exceeding three hundred words in all, at an additional fee of \$10 for each additional hundred words.

A reduction in the number of election officers to four in each precinct is also recommended by the committee. These are to receive the ballots, seal the ballot box on the closing of the polls, and transmit the sealed ballots immediately to the registrar of voters. The opening of the ballot boxes and the counting of the ballots is to be done by the registrar in a public place in the presence of bystanders.

Candidates receiving a majority of first choice votes for any office shall be elected. If no one receives a majority of first choice votes, the second choice are added. If any candidate then has a majority by adding second or third choice votes, the one receiving the highest vote shall be elected. A system is also recommended for conducting a recall election, in order that a majority candidate may be elected at a single election instead of conducting two elections.

The committee further recommends amendment of the "purity of elections" act to limit election expenditures to a sum not exceeding one year's salary, to provide for a strict accounting for expenditures, and to protect candidates against solicitation for contributions.

In November this new plan will be submitted to the voters of San Francisco (on initiative petitions), and is to be incorporated in the new charter of Alameda and will no doubt be utilized as the basis of a law for all California cities at the next session of the California legislature.

Reference has been made to Seymour's "Electoral Reform in England and Wales" in which the constant advance toward democracy in elections in those communities is described in great and encouraging detail. In Mr. Seymour's words "the continual transfer, bit by bit, of electoral power from the land-owning class and the commercial plutocracy to the masses, becomes inevitably the *leit motif* of the whole movement." The book is suggestive and encouraging because it shows what can be accomplished under circumstances of the greatest difficulty and in the face of opposition most stubborn. There is nothing in our American conditions more difficult than those which English reformers faced, and therefore there is no reason why we should be doubtful of the results. Time is of the essence of the reform and we must address ourselves to the problems with hope and confidence. If England could rid herself of her "rotten boroughs" there is no substantial reason to doubt America's ability to rid herself of controlled districts and monopolies of nomination.

BI-PARTISANSHIP AND VOTE MANIPULATION IN DETROIT

BY ARTHUR C. MILLSPAUGH, PH.D.¹

Augusta, Mich.

RECENT legislation and public opinion, especially in the field of state and local government, have shown an unmistakable tendency toward the elimination of centralized, strategic, and efficient party management, substituting for it either individual and factionalizing initiative within the party or spontaneous, temporary, and fluctuating movements outside of the party. This tendency appears, moreover, at a time when city populations are becoming in many respects more heterogeneous and more in need of organization, tutelage, and guidance. The purpose of this paper, however, is not to attempt an abstract consideration of ultimate results, a consideration which would demand an examination not only of the party but also of the many-sided problem of the city, but merely to set forth some of the concrete political conditions in Detroit which seem significant in the light of present tendencies.

Under Michigan direct primary laws there has always been considerable voting by members of one party in the primaries of another; and, since the Republican party has a large normal majority in the state and is the only party which has numerous and important primary contests, this party has been the chief sufferer. Party enrollment as a qualification for voting in the primary was in effect from 1905 to 1913 but it made Democratic participation in Republican primaries more difficult without entirely preventing it. The primary of 1914, however, was absolutely "open." In that year the Republican primary vote for governor in Wayne County, which contains the city of Detroit, was 47,334 while the vote for the Republican candidate in the election was only 21,483. This discrepancy is explained by a combination of circumstances. Two of the unsuccessful candidates for the Republican nomination were residents of Detroit, there was no contest for the Democratic nomination, and a large number of Democrats voted in the Republican primary; while the successful candidate, Mr. Osborn, had made himself *persona non grata* with the party leaders by supporting Roosevelt in 1912 and after Osborn's nomination these leaders "swung" as much of the vote as they could control to the Democratic candidate. The figures from two of Detroit's con-

¹ From a dissertation prepared for Johns Hopkins University on "Party Organization and Machinery in Michigan since 1890." Dr. Millspaugh has been a resident of Michigan but is now acting professor of political science in Whitman College, Washington. He took his A.B. degree at Albion College, Michigan, his A.M. degree at the University of Illinois, and his Ph.D. degree at the John Hopkins University.

trolled precincts are of interest. In "Billy" Boushaw's precinct, the first of the first ward, the primary vote for governor was: Republican, two hundred and sixty-five; Democratic, twelve; while the vote in the election for governor was: Republican, one; Democratic, two hundred and fifty-nine. In Frank Hibbler's precinct, the first of the second, the primary vote for governor was: Republican, one hundred and sixty-six; Democratic, two; while the vote in the election for governor was: Republican, thirty-eight; Democratic, one hundred and forty-seven. Both of these precincts gave heavy majorities to the Republican county candidates. In Boushaw's precinct, practically all of the two hundred and sixty odd voters not only split their tickets in the election, but voted differently in the election than in the primary. In the presidential primary of April, 1916, the contest in the Democratic party for national committeeman, involving the control of the organization, greatly overshadowed from the manipulators' point of view the futile vote in the Republican party on presidential preferences. While the entire city of Detroit cast a total vote in this primary of only about ten thousand, the controlled precincts cast their usual vote. Out of two hundred and sixty-six who voted in Boushaw's precinct, all but three voted as Democrats, and all but three of the "Democrats" voted for the "organization" candidate for national committeeman. In the second precinct of the same ward there were only twenty-eight "Republicans" and all but three of the "Democrats" voted with the "organization." What might appear, superficially viewed, as the kind of "independence" which we associate with the "splitting" of tickets, is, as a matter of fact, the complete antithesis of independence. The voting is non-partisan in the sense that it is bi-partisan or omni-partisan; and it is controlled by men who are indifferent to party names and principles and who serve first one party, then another, and in this case both parties at the same time.

The object of vote-manipulation in the primary is, of course, to nominate a particular candidate, but he is often one who can be easily defeated rather than one who can be elected. Naturally, the chance of success is greater when candidates are numerous. Thus, in 1914, in the congressional primary in the first district which is coextensive with the southern half of the city of Detroit, there were six Republican candidates, and out of a total vote of 20,036 a vote of 4,958 sufficed to nominate. Doremus, the Democratic congressman, had no opposition for the nomination and the Democrats, it is believed, practically nominated the man to run against Doremus, who was later elected. On the other hand, in the thirteenth congressional district, which is the northern half of the city, there were fewer Republican candidates in the primary and the Republican nominee won in the election.

The whole primary and electoral situation, combined with the character of appointments after the election, indicates the existence of a bi-partisan

machine, called familiarly in Detroit the "Vote-Swappers' League." The extent, ramifications, power, and personnel of the machine are obscure and it is impossible to attribute its development to any one cause. There were rumors of bi-partisan understandings as early as 1901; but the direct primary has clearly provided the machine with a most useful instrument of manipulation.

The successful working of the combine involves the co-operation of the precinct boss, who must "deliver" the vote both in the primary and in the election. "Delivering" the vote is an old practice; and campaign money and the promise of spoils have always attracted many "strikers" and "heelers," petty precinct "workers," saloon hangers-on, and loafers who have claimed the ability to influence a more or less definite number of voters and have asked payment for exerting their influence. They have usually been willing to sell their retainers to either side or to both sides. In Detroit and to a less extent in Grand Rapids and in the upper peninsula there are many "strikes" on the part of men who have no power to influence votes but there are also many voters actually controlled by corporations, saloon-keepers, and others. A recent writer in the *News*² estimates that one hundred of the two hundred and three precincts in Detroit are controlled more or less completely and that twenty or thirty of them are "crooked" precincts, that is, "delivered" for money. Mr. Pliny W. Marsh, secretary of the Detroit civic league, states more conservatively that "there are supposed to be forty such controlled precincts."³ The chief controlling influences are the saloons, of which there are in Detroit between thirteen and fourteen hundred, and it is the general opinion of politicians that each saloon will "swing" on the average ten votes, making a total controlled vote of more than thirteen thousand. Accepting the above estimate of the controlled vote as a fair one, it will be seen that it is large enough to hold the balance of power in most city, county, and district elections and in some state elections. From the fact that control is exercised through the saloon may be inferred the social character of the controlled districts. They include the river precincts, dominated by the saloon and cheap lodginghouse and populated by itinerant dock and ship laborers and others, who are "floaters" in a double sense. The most notorious of the river precincts is Boushaw's, in which, as I have already shown, practically every vote was controlled in the primary and election of 1914. Boushaw runs a saloon and lodginghouse which together form a quasi-charitable institution for "floaters," who after partaking of their host's friendship and hospitality are frankly willing to vote as he wants them to. The third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh wards, which have the largest controlled vote, are likewise the wards which have most foreign-born and illiterate voters. The ninth

² Jan. 3, 1916.

³ The *Free Press* believes that there are less than 20. *Free Press*, July 25, 1916.

ward, for example, which the secretary of the Civic League classes with the wards which are "pretty nearly hopeless," had in 1910, out of 6,639 males of voting age, 2,016 illiterates and only 883 native whites of native parentage. It is worth remembering, also, that a little over one half of the males of voting age in Detroit are foreign-born and of these one eighth are illiterate.

While it is true that at times the controlled precincts vote for different candidates and thus to some extent neutralize one another they are in most cases pretty thoroughly unified and throw their entire strength to one side. Probably the chief unifying factor is the Royal Ark, an organization of retail liquor-dealers, which appoints ward captains and endorses candidates.

In the price paid for the precinct the saloon license is usually an item, while in addition there may be a money payment or a petty job. The chief Democratic politician and reputed leader of the bi-partisan combine is a judge of the recorder's court, a man eminently respectable in private life and in some respects a man of ideals in public life;⁴ his chief henchman, the chairman of the Democratic county committee, is a young lawyer who handles an exceptionally large number of criminal cases; and, according to an ex-prosecutor of Wayne County, 88 per cent of the criminals are connected in some way with the saloons. Of course, there is nothing formal with respect to the arrangements for the controlling and "delivering" of the precinct vote. The candidate may frequent the saloons, not necessarily to drink but to make friends and to "set 'em up"; there may be a tacit understanding that favors on election day will be compensated later, and word may be passed along that he is "right" and a "good fellow."

On election day there are four principal methods of "delivering" the vote; friendly persuasion, bribery, assistance in marking ballots, and fraud on the part of the election board.

The direct bribery of voters diminished greatly with the adoption of the secret ballot, and has since steadily decreased, but still persists among the foreign-born, the negroes, the illiterate, and the morally submerged.

Wherever there are many illiterates the assisting of voters in the booth permits the precinct boss to see that the ballots are marked as he wants them marked. In some of the controlled precincts as many as 75 per cent of the voters are assisted in marking their ballots, and assisting is now one of the most serious evils in Detroit elections. Prior to 1915 the law provided that any man professing to be illiterate or physically disabled might ask for and receive assistance in marking his ballot by some member of the election board. An improved law passed in 1915 places

⁴ Judge Connolly is now (Aug. 14) a candidate for the Democratic nomination for mayor, and the present mayor, a Republican, is a candidate for renomination. This may signify a sham battle or a break in the bi-partisan combine.

restrictions on assistance, prescribing that the assisted voter shall swear either that he cannot read English or that he is physically disabled, that the election officers shall keep a list of the persons assisted with the reasons for the assistance, and that all ballots cast by assisted voters shall be marked for identification as in the case of a challenged vote.

The evil of assisted voting can be minimized by restricting the circumstances under which assistance may be given, for example, by prohibiting the assisting of any voter not physically disabled, as was proposed by a member of the constitutional convention in 1907, or by insuring the supervision of the marking of the ballot by a hostile partisan or non-partisan witness. The law has aimed at oversight of assistance, providing that the marking of the ballot should be observed by a challenger of a party different from that of the one giving assistance. To guard the party's interests at the polls, accordingly, each party and at times other organizations have selected challengers, ordinarily one or two for each precinct, the chairman of the party committee providing them with credentials and in some cases assembling them before the election for careful instruction. Bi-partisanship, however, practically made the legal provision for oversight of assistance by challengers a dead letter and the further provision that civic organizations might put challengers in the booths was usually nullified by the refusal of the election board to accept credentials issued by these organizations and the lack of support on the part of the police. The law of 1915 provides that challengers appointed by civic organizations shall present their credentials to the city clerk who shall send certified copies of the credentials to the election boards. If the police commissioner co-operates in enforcing the new provision it will do much to minimize the evils arising from assistance, as well as other election frauds; if police support is not accorded, civic organization representatives will be excluded from the booths as they have been in the past.

A fourth method of "delivering" the vote is by means of fraud on the part of the election board, for in the controlled precincts the election board consists very often of the precinct boss and his henchmen. The election board of six members is named at the primary, three from each party; and since they count the ballots at the primary as well as at the election they are able by fraud to continue themselves in office almost indefinitely, and the bi-partisan character of the board is of no practical importance, especially under existing circumstances. In the general election of 1914 the board in "Batty" McGraw's precinct, the fourth of the ninth, consisted of McGraw himself, who is a saloonkeeper with his two bartenders, another saloonkeeper with his bartender, and a machinist. At the election of 1914 this board practiced apparently every known kind of election day fraud, including re-marking ballots and the voting of absentees. It is impossible to say definitely to what degree the elec-

tion boards have carried their fraudulent practices, but what happened in McGraw's precinct was typical of what happened in thirty or forty other precincts. Congressman Crampton believes that the defeat of woman suffrage in 1912 by the narrow majority of seven hundred and sixty in a total vote of about half a million was due to manipulation by Detroit election boards. A change in the method of selecting these boards is clearly desirable, and is embodied in a charter amendment which will be submitted to Detroit voters at the August primary. This amendment, which was initiated by the citizens' league and prepared by a citizens' charter committee appointed by the mayor, creates a city election commission composed of the city clerk, the corporation counsel, the senior police justice, the recorder, and the president of the civil service commission. This commission will appoint for each election district three registrars and three inspectors of elections, who must be resident electors "who hold no other public office or employment, and who are of good moral character, able to read fluently and write legibly the English language, who are familiar with the four fundamental rules of arithmetic and who are mentally and physically fit to discharge the duties of their office."⁵ The inspectors are to be chosen by lot from a list of fifteen hundred drawn up by the commission. The commission will have power to reassign, remove and prosecute registrars and inspectors, to purge the registration rolls, to change the boundaries of election districts, and to act as a board of city canvassers. The charter amendment "interferes with the activities of the precinct gang by making it impossible for them to know with whom they are to work on election day . . . It abolishes the controlled precinct . . . It aims to prevent frauds being committed instead of permitting them and then attempting to prosecute the guilty parties afterwards".⁶

The problem of election manipulation in a city of Detroit's size can not be divorced from the general problems of state, county and municipal governmental organization. Corrupt practice acts and other laws safeguarding primary and general elections are helpful but, above all, there must be fewer elective officials, there must be a concentration of responsibility, and the machinery of elections must be adapted to conditions and not to fictions, a condition of bi-partisanship signifying one of non-partisanship. The adaptation of election machinery to non-partisanship must involve the absolute elimination of party names, of party columns on the ballot, and of the party primary or of other party nominations, and necessitates apparently the adoption of some simple form of preferential vote. It must be remembered, however, that in an electorate such as that of the river precincts and other districts in Detroit the fundamental source of control and manipulation is still found in that

⁵ Charter amendment, Sec. 3.

⁶ *Civic Searchlight*, July 1916.

feudal element, that sense of personal loyalty and obligation, which has always been at the root of machine politics. The direct primary embodied a disintegrating tendency which sought to shift the center of gravity from the centralized organization of the party to spontaneous movements gathering around self-assertive persons within the party; and non-partisan elections, with the accompanying reforms which have just been suggested, represent a further drift from the partisan to the personal. Theoretically, therefore, non-partisanship does not necessarily imply the destruction of the feudal element which lies at the basis of the control and manipulation of votes and in practice it may even accentuate the influence of that element. Nevertheless, the adoption of the machinery of non-partisanship presumes a frank and intelligent facing of facts, a recognition and employment of the forces which actually determine elections, and a state of mind on the part of the public which in its essence is hostile to all kinds of blind and unreasoning allegiance, personal as well as partisan.

A NEW SYSTEM OF ELECTIONS FOR ST. LOUIS

BY PERCY WERNER ¹

St. Louis

FROM present indications the voters of the city of St. Louis will have the opportunity next fall to vote on propositions involving an entire change in its system of city elections. The people of the city adopted a new charter on June 30, 1914. This was the work of a board of freeholders, aided by many of the best experts in municipal government in the country. The short ballot principle prevailed, with the result that, while under the old charter there were 12 elective city offices, in addition to 13 members of the city council and 28 members of the house of delegates to be elected, under the new charter there were but three elective offices, that of mayor, comptroller and president of the board of aldermen, together with 28 members of a board of aldermen to be elected, 14 of the latter every two years. The city is divided into 28 wards, and the old system of ward representation in the board of aldermen was retained, with the result that at the first election held under the new charter the Republicans, the dominant party in St. Louis, elected the entire twenty-eight.

The board of freeholders had evidently been much and favorably impressed with arguments in favor of preferential voting and proportional representation, as is evident from their having inserted in Article II of the new charter governing elections, the following section, viz:

Section 9. Whenever it may be done in harmony with the state constitution and laws, the board of aldermen shall by ordinance provide for and regulate municipal elections and registration of voters, and may provide by ordinance for non-partisan nominations, preferential voting, or proportional representation.

At the time the new charter was framed, the state law governing elections made it impossible to provide for a system of city elections by preferential voting, or for proportional representation. But at the 1915 session of the legislature an act was passed, conferring full power and authority on every city of the state having 400,000 inhabitants, or more, to provide for and regulate all elections for offices and for the nomination of candidates for such offices, by charter provisions or ordinances which, when adopted, should be deemed to supersede and render inapplicable as to such cities the provisions of the statutes of the state relating to municipal elections and nominations therefor.² This statute has opened the way for St. Louis to change its system of municipal elections.

¹ Chairman, Short Ballot Committee, St. Louis Civic League.

² See Session Laws Missouri, 1915, p. 284.

As an indication of how the people of Missouri are gradually awakening to the necessity of reforming their electoral methods, the statute governing cities of the second class adopted by the 1913 legislature may be pointed to. That statute, while retaining the system of primary elections which obtains in the state, made provision for a ballot which should "be printed upon plain, substantial white paper and shall have no party designation or mark whatever."³ Thus was the principle of non-partisan elections for municipal corporations recognized by the laws of the state. It is now hoped that, with the open door for reform in our election machinery, and with the advance steps already taken, the people of St. Louis may be prepared to take another step forward towards genuine as distinguished from make-believe self-government and away from government by machine politicians.

A committee of the St. Louis civic league after careful study of, and correspondence with experts in, the subject of municipal election methods, has drafted two amendments to the city charter, providing for a new system of city elections. The one proposes to abolish nominations by party primary and to substitute nominations by petition for all elective offices. The provision drafted contemplates nomination petitions to be signed by registered voters of the city to the number of at least one per cent of the total number of registered voters who voted at the last preceding regular election. It is further proposed that the municipal ballot shall be non-partisan, not bearing thereon any party or political designation or mark, nor having appended to the name of any candidate anything showing how he was nominated or indicating his views or opinions. Provision is made that the ballots shall be so arranged that the voter shall be given an opportunity to express at least three choices among the candidates for mayor, comptroller and president of the board of aldermen (and members for the board of aldermen at elections where no more than three members of such board are to be elected), and that in the counting of the ballots, if no candidate for the office to be filled shall have a majority of first choices expressed, second and other choices may be added to the first choices to obtain as near majority support for a candidate as the ballots cast will permit. The names of the candidates for each of the offices to be filled are to be arranged on the ballot under a heading which shall consist only of the name of the office for which the candidate is running. Opposite the name of each candidate shall appear his residence address.

For the election of the board of aldermen it is proposed that the old system of ward representation shall be abandoned, and while the old number of members is retained, it is proposed that it shall be constituted in accordance with the principles of proportional representation, fourteen members being elected every two years.

³ Session Laws 1913, pp. 428, 448, 450.

Members of the board of aldermen are to be elected upon lists, each list to be shown separately upon the ballot and to be designated only by a number, each list appearing upon the ballot to be entitled to have declared elected as many aldermen as the total number of votes cast for that list is contained in the total of all votes cast at the election for all lists, the persons to be declared elected from each list to be those persons nominated on that list who receive individually the highest number of votes. It is provided that, in voting for members of the board of aldermen, the voter shall vote on one list only, and may insert the names of any other qualified candidates, but may not vote for more than the total number of aldermen to be elected. Provision is made for the recall of a member of the board of aldermen by a petition for such recall, to be signed by at least ten per cent of the registered voters of the city; provided, however, that such petition shall not be valid unless it contains the signatures of at least sixty per cent of the voters who signed the nominating petition of the alderman whose recall is demanded.

The plan outlined above is embodied in two proposed ordinances, one of them submitting a charter amendment to be voted on at the regular election, embodying the features described and providing for proportional representation; the other an ordinance which may be adopted by the board of aldermen, providing for nominations by petitions, the non-partisan ballot and preferential voting. The reason for embodying these provisions in two separate ordinances is that proportional representation necessitated amending the charter, while the other features may, under the present law, be adopted by ordinance. Should the board of aldermen decline to pass either ordinance, resort will be had to initiative petitions.

Whilst it is too early to predict what will be the fate of the proposed measures, an active campaign will be conducted in the endeavor to arouse our voters to a sense of the importance of improving our electoral methods along the lines proposed. It is believed that the public mind is already predisposed towards the non-partisan ballot in municipal elections. Our people are convinced that city government is primarily a business or administrative organization, with which national parties have no function. It is believed that nomination by petition and preferential voting on one ticket will be favored, chiefly because it does away with primaries and thus conserves as well the money of the city as the time and energy of the voter and candidate. Whether it will be as easy to convince our voters of the importance of substituting proportional representation for the old system of ward representation, it is more difficult to predict. People are learning to distinguish between the non-representative or administrative office and the representative office, just as they are learning to differentiate the two functions of city government,—the legislative, or the determination of policies, and the administrative, or the carrying out of these policies. It would seem that a system which

would allow a minority representation in the legislative branch of the government and the putting behind each representative a unanimous, instead of a divided, constituency, should appeal strongly to the intelligent voter.⁴

⁴ The system of nominating and electing city officials outlined in this article will be voted on by the voters of St. Louis at the general election, November 7. The proposals are in the form of a charter amendment submitted to the people by the board of aldermen. A favorable vote of three-fifths of those voting on the proposition is necessary to carry. The amendment was submitted because initiative petitions sufficient to call a special election were secured by the municipal ballot conference, in charge of the movement, and the board of aldermen wanted to avoid the expense of a special election. The petitions were, therefore, not filed.

RECENT PROGRESS IN MUNICIPAL BUDGETS AND ACCOUNTS

Concluded

BY C. E. RIGHTOR

Dayton, Ohio

OHIO CITIES SHOW MARKED PROGRESS

Cleveland, Ohio, adopted a revised form of budget procedure in November, 1914, to become effective with the new charter on the first day of 1915. This form provides the usual procedure, giving in detail the estimates of the expense of conducting the affairs of the several departments, and there are placed in parallel columns the mayor's estimate and the amounts finally allowed by the council. The classification of expenditures is one formally adopted by the department of finance and is standardized for use in all departments. The annual general ledger report of the Cleveland director of finance is an excellent piece of detail work, each department and each office being shown separately as to income and expense and the assets and liabilities. These are all carried finally to one consolidated statement of income and expense and a consolidated balance sheet. Such a report cannot be expected from most communities because of the amount of clerical work required for its compilation.

Cincinnati, though operating under a modern budget procedure, prepared for six months' periods, ended the year 1915 with a large deficit. This is no reflection, however, upon the system of accounting, as Cincinnati enjoys a complete set of records. It is a result of the impossible financial situation facing all of the largest cities of Ohio, due to antiquated and unjust tax laws of the state. It is conceded by the administration and by citizen agencies who have studied conditions that it will be necessary to issue \$1,250,000 short-term notes to cover the entire deficit of the city, and this course is approved universally. Every effort is being made to find new sources of revenue—as a city portion of automobile taxes, which now go to the state, and liquor taxes, etc.

During the past two years the Cincinnati bureau of municipal research has devised and co-operated in the installation of systems of accounting and administrative methods in several offices. A uniform expense classification applicable to all departments was outlined, and stores ledgers for the city storehouses were prepared. A double entry system was devised and installed for the entire city, with the co-operation of the city auditor, and Cincinnati is one of the too few cities now enjoying a complete control over all the city's assets and liabilities, and having expense and reve-

nue accounts which enable reports to be prepared monthly of financial facts of public business in a complete and accurate style.

Through the co-operation of the city officials the form of five semi-annual appropriation ordinances along entirely new lines were made, and through the detailed budget now existing control over expenditure is the result.¹ There is, however, no budget control over improvement programs proposed by the council. As with bureaus elsewhere, studies in other municipal departments have been made, such as an over-age report in the schools; a study of public works, the municipal court, etc.

EXCELLENT RESULTS IN AKRON

In Akron, Ohio, a bureau of municipal research was established in January, 1915, and from its reports are obtained interesting accounts of rapid progress in financial methods of the city.² The first point of attack of the bureau on the old order of things was the preparation of the annual budget. The budget for 1915 was prepared upon lines indicated from a study of 1914 expenditures, and departmental requests were made in accordance with titles which were adopted in the new accounting system. Standard forms were devised for making the departmental estimates, and character and object of expenditure classifications were introduced. Requests are given in detail now, rather than in lump sums. Further progress in budget making is contemplated in subsequent budgets.

A general scheme of accounting for the city was outlined by this bureau, to afford entire financial control and make possible the preparation of a balance sheet and income and expense statement. Akron has prepared the accounting procedure to conform to the requirements of the state board for inspection of public offices, though it is conceded that these requirements laid down several years ago are now out of date and incomplete. The system contemplates the introduction of a general ledger, expense ledgers in departments, cost records, etc.

A comprehensive report to the public of the financial condition of the city was prepared—the first of its kind—and the reasons for the annual deficit stated.³ A study of the inequitable tax laws of Ohio is being made by bureau, and given publicity through a series of bulletins. Similar studies have been made recently in both Toledo and Dayton, to expose the inequalities and injustice of existing tax laws.⁴ Surveys of the several city departments are under way in Akron; and the Municipal University is co-operating with the bureau in the general study of municipal administration.

¹ Biennial report of the Cincinnati bureau, 1915.

² Annual report of the bureau of municipal research, January, 1916.

³ Report on financial condition of Akron, bureau of municipal research, 1915. Bulletins on finance, and the tax rate, 1915-1916.

⁴ Some facts about the tax rate, Dayton, bureau of municipal research, 1915. City finances, Toledo, Toledo commercial club, 1916.

Among the tasks undertaken by the Ohio institute for public efficiency, Columbus, was a study of the accounting methods of Cuyahoga County, with recommendations for an improved system which are now under consideration.⁵ The formulation of new municipal accounting systems for Toledo and Columbus, similar to that already noted for Akron, were presented to the officials of these cities, and are being reviewed by them for acceptance. In co-operation with the state bureau of accounting a new classification of expenditures for the state, counties, municipalities and townships was prepared, to take effect January 1, 1916. Some of the cities in the state, having provided themselves with a home-rule charter, are not affected by this classification.

A MANUAL OF ACCOUNTING PREPARED

During the past year, Denver, Colorado, has made substantial progress, based first upon a thorough trial and subsequently by the passage of an ordinance providing for the adoption of an uniform system of accounts⁶ for the city and county of Denver. Contrary to the commonly prevailing records based upon a cash basis, the system here provides for recording upon an income and expense basis.

The budget of the city was reformed during the year from the "lump sum" to the itemized, and the budget of 1916 is as complete as it was possible to prepare it at the time it went to the press. Worthy of comment in connection with the several reports which have emanated from the office of the Colorado taxpayers' association are the explanatory notes accompanying them, and which make the reports of more immediate interest to the average citizen. T. R. Lill, who was the representative of the association in the adoption of the entire accounting improvements, prepared for use of Denver a manual of accounting procedure in maintaining the necessary record forms—receipts, disbursements, purchasing, pay-rolls, ledgers, journals, etc. It is indeed such manual as should be prepared by any city to explain and govern its finance department in the recording of transactions. New York and Philadelphia have such manuals. While there are extant very valuable texts of municipal accounting as Metz and Eggleston, they cannot treat with particularity the entire subject as it works out in actual practice in a city, and a local handbook is a great help to those who work on the records.

PLANS OF THE CITY MANAGER

In the city manager cities action to afford an interpretation of results through the medium of the accounting records has been realized by these responsible officers, and we observe a wide-spread movement looking toward the adoption of modern methods.

⁵ Annual report of institute, 1915.

⁶ Ordinance 123, establishing an uniform system of accounts, adopted by council, December 30, 1915.

At the last annual meeting of the City Managers' Association, there was considerable discussion as to what could be done to simplify and standardize city accounting, and it was agreed that at the next meeting each city manager should bring with him systems in effect and various forms used, that an exhibit be made of them, and a committee appointed to go over them to try to standardize the general system of accounting, yet it be applicable to the needs of various sized cities.⁷

Dayton, Ohio, the largest of the manager cities, has accepted and well advanced the installation of a complete accounting procedure, extending through all departments including purchasing, and affording a centralized control finally in the general ledger of the city in the finance department. This city also enjoys one of the most complete budgets, though covering only its current operating activities, to be found in any city.⁸ Somewhat arbitrary classifications of accounts have been adopted, however, upon entirely sound premises, of nature of objects rather than the customary usage classification. Adequate details of requests for appropriations are required from every organization unit, which are listed in such detail that every activity is recognized in the functional classification. Yet this city, after only two years under the most scientific form of government, has not been able to achieve the ultimate in accounting and budget making methods, and it is planned to extend the improvements in both during the coming years.

Jackson, Michigan, has also made substantial and permanent strides toward achieving the necessary ends of accounting. A budget was promulgated for the year 1916 for the first time, in which were listed detailed appropriations for every department and office of the government, and in accordance with a uniform classification established in Dayton. Receipts as estimated, to justify the proposed expenditures, are also published. The public was heard at an open hearing on the new method of presenting a program of city activities, and gave entire support to the budget. The accounting system is also being revised, to supplement the budget.

In another city, St. Augustine, Fla., also having a manager formerly connected with the Dayton government, there was adopted for the first time this year an itemized budget procedure, also based upon the Dayton practice. The annual report of the city manager states that the required revision of the accounting records is being made to afford the proper control over appropriations, and to permit the extraction of statements of what the city owns and owes, and the costs of operation, when and as often as desired. Cost records, a system of centralized purchasing and other controls over expenditures were introduced.

Springfield, Ohio, another prominent city manager city, adopted during 1914 and 1915 an entirely new system of keeping accounts. The system

⁷ Proceedings of the City Managers' Association Convention, November, 1915.

⁸ Budget for 1916, published by the bureau of municipal research.

was outlined by Carl Nau of Cleveland, and consists of a double entry system by which are shown the proprietary and the fund accounts. A complete balance sheet, operation statement, and appropriation balances are available a few days after the end of each month, together with cumulative totals to that date. Separate statements are also prepared for special improvement accounts, for the water works utility, and the sinking fund.

Sherman, Texas, has provided a new accounting system. It is, however, based upon commercial procedure rather than the needs of a municipality—and as the two are fundamentally different, the results which may be obtained are not satisfactory. A detail of the balance to each fund and account, and a statement of the surplus or deficit, are necessary for a corporation conducted for profit; but in a municipality accounting is necessary to prevent over-drafts of funds. The terminology is uncertain, assets are not all entered into the books of account, and uniform classifications of accounts are not followed. A peculiar situation exists in Sherman, the charter placing with the city clerk the drawing and countersigning of warrants. This makes difficult the position of the manager.

REPORTS FROM THE PACIFIC COAST

The Pacific coast is not too far to find an active interest in effecting improved financial record keeping. Oakland adopted a new system on July 1, 1915⁹ based upon the sound plan of presenting a story of the financial transactions of the city in such detailed form as will be readily understood by the lay-citizen. Expenditures are classified as to character, and an uniform expense accounting, with comparisons, is provided. Labor and expense of divisions keeping accounts have been reduced by centralizing this work. Cost accounting for operation and maintenance of departments is provided; and a control over appropriations, revenues and accruals, established. A plain statement of the assets and liabilities of the city is available, and an inventory of all city property was taken when the system was installed.

A scientific budget is now prepared, based upon the itemized estimate of all requirements from departments, and the council can therefore fix the tax rate to the needs of the city, rather than the budget to the tax rate. This procedure is a fortunate one, and one, incidentally, not enjoyed by cities in some states. Uniformity of accounts and classifications is adopted throughout all offices, affording valuable statistical records for comparative purposes.

Los Angeles has also considered fundamental principles in the preparation of its budget, and while well in advance of most cities of the country in methods, it is looking toward the adoption of even more exactness in the procedure. Facts rather than opinions are to be the basis of estimating

⁹ Various reports of the tax association of Alameda county.

items of needs, and the entire municipal program is to be presented, including debt service, public improvements and special assessments. In addition to showing what the city is to buy, *i.e.*, the objects of expenditure and their character, the functions to be performed, or the purposes of expenditure in each department, are to be given; and finally, this complete financial program is to be given the widest publicity possible. The excellent work done in the preparation of the budget is indicated by the report upon the methods applied in reducing the total of requests to a figure within the estimated revenues, which cut amounted to \$3,263,000, and was effected by the budget committee.¹⁰

The efficiency commission of the city co-operates closely with the several departments in securing most effective results. In their work they have engaged in the compilation of the budget, and in cutting requests; submitted a plan of salary standardization; a plan for a central bureau of standards; centralizing the issuance of licenses, etc.; and also co-operated in efficiency studies in public works; provided an uniform classification of accounts for expenses, now used in all departments; secured uniformity in accounting methods and control; and a basis for accurate cost accounting; pay-roll procedure; purchasing ordinance proposed; and now have a proposed charter before the electorate.¹¹

Portland, Oregon, has a budget somewhat detailed so far as salaries are concerned, but as to other expenses an uniform classification is not followed. At present writing there is being advocated for Portland a bureau of economy and efficiency, which will no doubt include, among its primary duties, the introduction of a scientific and complete budget for the city, together with an adequate accounting control.

Dallas, Texas, is making rapid civic studies under the leadership of Mayor Lindsley. Among the improvements are a modern system of accounting and budget procedure and control. It is anticipated that by May, 1916, there will be a complete set of financial records for the entire city. Reports are thenceforth to be rendered by the fifth day of each month showing the revenues and expenses, receipts and disbursements, contingent liabilities, and total assets and liabilities for all accounts. A society of municipal research has been formed composed of department heads and other city employees. It is an unique bureau in this respect. Its purpose is to promote progressive measures and effect co-operation between departments, though it has advisory powers only.

CANADIAN CITIES MAKING RECORDS

Many Canadian cities are finding possibilities for bettering their financial systems. Chief among the cities whose reports have been seen is Toronto. The first year's report of the bureau of municipal research

¹⁰ Budget for the fiscal year 1915-1916. Report of the Budget Committee, 1915-1916.

¹¹ *Municipal Bulletin*, various issues.

shows much material progress in the city government, including the adoption of a scientific form of budget by the adoption of comparative figures for previous years, separation of items not directly affecting taxation, etc. A modern accounting system recommended for adoption was the major work of the bureau, in co-operation with city officials. Extensive publicity through pamphlets was directed to this work.¹²

Brandon recently introduced the revenue and expense basis for keeping of accounts, and is now able to extract from its books a complete statement of its financial condition. Edmonton and Saskatoon are among the cities making improvements in accounting procedure.

The foregoing pages indicate in a general way the onward trend of our city governments in their endeavors to give to the citizens and taxpayers an accounting for the money entrusted to them. The subject at greater length would require an enquiry into over 200 of our cities of over 30,000 population, as also of a much greater number of smaller communities.

As a supplement to the review, is appended a list of the known citizen agencies working with the city officials—through criticisms and constructive recommendations—in achieving better methods in expenditure, and wider publicity about results produced.¹³

¹² First annual report of the Toronto bureau of municipal research, 1915. Citizen Control of Citizens' Business, B. M. R., 1915.

¹³ CITIES HAVING CITIZEN AGENCIES.

Washington, D. C.,	Institute for government research.
New York City,	Institute for public service.
New York City,	Bureau of municipal research.
Chicago,	Bureau of public efficiency.
Philadelphia,	Bureau of municipal research.
Cincinnati,	Bureau of municipal research.
Milwaukee,	Citizens bureau of municipal efficiency.
Dayton,	Bureau of municipal research.
Denver,	Colorado tax payers protective association.
Minneapolis,	Bureau of municipal research of the civic and commerce association.
Rochester,	Bureau of municipal research.
Toronto,	Bureau of municipal research.
Springfield (Mass.),	Bureau of municipal research.
Akron (O.),	Bureau of municipal research.
Columbus (O.),	Ohio institute for public efficiency.
Baltimore,	Bureau of state and municipal research.
Oakland (Cal.),	Tax association of Alameda county.
San Francisco,	California state tax association.
Detroit,	Bureau of governmental research.
Cleveland,	Civic league.
White Plains (N. Y.),	Westchester county research bureau.
St. Joseph (Mo.),	Civic commissioner of the commerce club.
Wilmington (Del.),	General service board of Delaware.
Newark (N. J.),	Public welfare committee of Essex county.
Madison (Wis.),	Wisconsin efficiency bureau.

RECENT CITY PLAN REPORTS

*Concluded*¹

BY CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON

Rochester, N. Y.

In St. Louis city planning has been a more or less seething subject during recent months. In June of 1915 the project of a central traffic-parkway was defeated, not from a lack of interest in city planning, but because some of those most interested in a city plan questioned the wisdom of adopting so ambitious a scheme until, by the development of a complete plan, its relation to the whole could be determined. The secret of the defeat of the project was not, therefore, that the citizens of St. Louis did not care, but that they cared so much. But lest the defeat might reduce the influence of the city plan commission, there was organized a voluntary, citizens' city plan committee, of which the purpose is to co-operate with and give public backing to the official city plan commission. Both of these organizations are active and both are issuing reports.

The city plan commission's elaborate report on the parkway² has not been robbed of value by the parkway's defeat. It offers an interesting discussion of an interesting scheme, which may possibly be some day revived, while the principles enunciated are not limited by time and place.

The parkway, however, was only one of many projects of the commission, and a month later it brought out a report on the St. Louis river front.³ Published with this report—the two bound together in stiff covers, in a style uniform with the parkway report—is a discussion which the commission had issued in April, 1913, on the possible municipal ownership of a river front railway. The later report has to do with proposed terminals for both boats and railroads. It includes the report of the consulting engineer, a report of two Mississippi Valley conferences, a report on the conditions in St. Louis, New Orleans, Davenport, Kansas City and other ports, and expert conclusions, the whole making an important addition to the somewhat scanty American literature on the commercial development of river ports.

¹ The first part of this article was published in the July number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. It contained reviews of the longer and more elaborate city planning reports which had been published during the twelve months period covered. In the second part of the article, printed herewith, there are reviews of a large number of smaller reports, on special phases of the city planning movement.—*Editor*.

² Report of city plan commission. February 9, 1915.

³ Reports of city plan commission, 1913-1915.

Two bulletins by the citizens' city plan committee have been published. The second ⁴ tells something of Harland Bartholomew, whom the committee has brought to St. Louis from Newark, and has retained as permanent city planning engineer, to assist the city plan commission. It contains also an address by Mr. Bartholomew, and an account of a public hearing on traffic needs, which was conducted by the official commission. The street problem growing out of those needs is particularly interesting in St. Louis since existing traffic arteries require only a comparatively small amount of connecting-up and extending to make a good radial system.

Another interesting publication from St. Louis, standing in a class quite by itself, is entitled a "Discussion of the interurban loop and downtown traction terminals." ⁵ The articles, sixteen in number, appeared during December, 1915, and made it clear that the solution of even this comparatively small problem was inextricably tied up with the working out of the city plan. The conclusion was in favor of looping local street cars on existing downtown streets as against constructing a loop of new tracks; and it was proposed that the terminals of the interurban roads be kept upon the border of, but in contact with, the loop.

From Chicago there has come, in its always imposing form, the annual report of the board of supervising engineers, Chicago Traction.⁶ Making, like each of its five predecessors, a volume of more than 500 pages, and with Bion J. Arnold as chairman of the board, there is much in the book that is of general city planning pertinence. This is especially true of chapter II, "relation of suburbs to the city" and of chapter V on "passenger subways."

In fact, for some years Chicago has been contributing more than any other American city to the discussion of the relations of the city and its railroads. The long list of Chicago reports on that subject has been further increased by the recent publication of the preliminary report of the Chicago railway terminal commission.⁷ Of this John F. Wallace is chairman, the other non-official members being Walter L. Fisher, Bion J. Arnold, and E. H. Bennett. This report contains many interesting maps and charts, and has discussions under such headings as "fundamental principles," "effect of competitive theory," "co-operative terminals," "through routeing," and "railroads in the city plan." There is also an account of the European trip which, having been undertaken by the commission, was so seriously interfered with by the outbreak of the war.

⁴ February 11, 1916.

⁵ Written for "Greater St. Louis," by Charles H. Huff, and reprinted from the *St. Louis Star*.

⁶ Covering the fiscal year ended January 31, 1913. Published by the Board. Chicago, 1915.

⁷ March 29, 1915.

This specialization which has been so marked a feature of the recent city plan reports is further emphasized in the last few months by a group of small pamphlets, so many and gathered from so far, that samples only must here suffice. On housing, for instance, there is the report of a survey of housing conditions in Burlington, Vt.⁸ Miss Udetta D. Brown, an expert from the National Housing Association, did most of the actual work, doubtless surprising Burlington with her revelation that that openly built and beautifully situated city, of only 20,000 population, "has a housing problem of unusual significance." Of like purport is a report on housing conditions in the Oranges, by Edith Rockwell Hall, field secretary of the civic committee of the Orange woman's club.⁹ She closes with the recommendation that there be "a permanent housing committee for all the Oranges," which "would do well first of all to arouse interest in securing an expert city planning." Both of these reports are illustrated with photographs of the kind typical in housing studies.

Of somewhat wider appeal is the little pamphlet containing a report by the recreational inquiry committee of the State of California.¹⁰ This is a committee of seven, nearly every one of whom is prominent in public welfare work, appointed under authorization of the legislature in 1913. They divide their report into three parts: Part one, written by Professor James Edward Rogers, is on "why we need recreation"; part two, on "the existing conditions of recreation in the State," commercial, industrial, institutional, rural, etc. Part three contains recommendations, under the heading, "what we need further in recreational facilities." This is written by Bessie D. Stoddart, who has been so long and efficiently identified with the playgrounds of Los Angeles. She considers both cities and rural communities, and various phases of activity.

There are reports by several municipal art commissions, and these have closer connection with city planning than might be at first supposed. In some cases, art commissions are given city planning powers; in several instances, city plan commissions are given art commission powers. Perhaps a fair example of these reports is that of the art jury of Philadelphia.¹¹ Street lighting fixtures and street and railroad bridges were the forms of construction which had come most often before the jury in the period covered by the fourth annual report. But the largest and most elaborate of the art commission reports is, appropriately, that of the federal commission of fine arts.¹² An interesting feature of the report for

⁸ A Survey of the City of Burlington: Its Housing Conditions. Made under the Direction of the Committee on Social Survey. 1915.

⁹ September, 1915.

¹⁰ September 28, 1914.

¹¹ Fourth annual report. Philadelphia, 1914.

¹² For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1915.

1914 is a careful explanation of the commission's attitude with reference to government competitions and its statement of its reasons for believing that "the direct selection of artists" is "normally a better method than a competition." As always, the photographs illustrating this report are admirable and interesting.

Already a considerable number of annual reports have been cited in this review. Several still await mention, for in the twelve months covered, the "annuals" constitute, for the first time, a considerable percentage of the year's output of "fugitive" city planning literature.

One of the most important of the annual reports now appearing is that of the Massachusetts homestead commission.¹³ This commission was created by the state legislature of 1911 and instructed to work out a plan "whereby, with the assistance of the commonwealth, homesteads or small houses and plots of ground may be acquired by mechanics, factory employees, laborers and others in the suburbs of cities and towns." In pursuance of these instructions the commission has made a most careful study of city planning, and later has been charged by the legislature with the responsibility of securing obedience to the state law which requires every town of ten thousand or more inhabitants to have a town planning board. Its first annual report was of such value that the entire edition was exhausted within a few weeks of publication. A synopsis of some of its data is printed as appendix III in the current (second) report. The other appendices contain reports from the many local planning boards of Massachusetts and an account of a state conference on the subject. As to the body of the report, an idea of its city planning interest and value may be gleaned from the titles of selected sections: "Local planning boards and their work," "illustrations of the need for city planning," "betterment assessments," "building lines," "improved-housing companies," "larger powers for planning boards," "the bills proposed," etc.

As to the annual reports of local planning boards, the only one that has come to the reviewer from Massachusetts, except that from Lawrence, which was spoken of in part one of this review, comes from the Quincy board.¹⁴ This is well printed and illustrated. Though making a pamphlet of only sixteen pages, it provides convincing evidence of how much a planning board may mean in the wise development of a town.

The third report of the commission on beautifying the city of Norfolk, Virginia,¹⁵ covers a two-year period. As in the previous reports, much of the space is devoted to a discussion of the street tree problem, for the handling of which the commission is made responsible. There is note, however, of some waterfront work, some filling-in, some acquisition of public open spaces, and the statement that the commission hopes ulti-

¹³ Public Document No. 103. 1914. State Printers, Boston, 1915.

¹⁴ Annual report of the Planning Board. For the year ending December 31, 1915.

¹⁵ July, 1913-July, 1915.

mately to take up real planning work, in the correct platting of outlying areas. In the future, that work, if adequately done, will mean much to the growing city of Norfolk.

Finally, for the annual park reports—of which the number is legion—are not here included, there is a group of publications that are very directly concerned with city planning but that are commercial in purpose and not of public origin. These have to do with real estate subdivision projects and are illustrative of such a practical phase of city planning, and in some cases so illustrate its best development, that it is impossible to ignore them. The small pamphlet entitled, "Richmond, the industrial center of the Pacific coast,"¹⁶ gives the results of the "city planning competition" on what is called the canal subdivision of Richmond, a section as essential to that city "as the neck is to the human system," to quote the words of the booklet, and of like relative situation. Illustrations include the winning and the honorable mention plans, and the composite—or final—plan, which has been worked out from the foregoing. The prize essays on the "logical business center of Richmond" and "Richmond ten years hence" are also included.

A large and very elaborate publication is that descriptive of Borden Park, Ottawa, which has been laid out by Thomas H. Mawson and Sons, of England.¹⁷ There are colored plates illustrating the plans *in toto* and *in parte*, many beautiful photographs, a number of interesting designs and a good deal of text. Of this not the least interesting portion is an appendix containing a very long list of proposed restrictions.

In this group of publications there are also a number of less costly but attractive brochures, of which a fair type is that which advertises, with picture, plan, and text, the country club district of Columbus, Ohio, laid out by William Pitkin, Jr., of Rochester, for the King Thompson Company; or the brochure advertising Ottawa Hills, Toledo, a development of the E. H. Close Realty Company, on which Frederick Law Olmsted has been in consultation. Most significant is the appearance of such books from various parts of the country. They indicate how practical and effective an ally city planning is now making of the real estate man. Once the movement's greatest obstacle, there are indications that he may rightfully become its most effective ally.

¹⁶ H. C. Cutting, Monadnock Building, San Francisco, Cal.

¹⁷ Borden Park, Ottawa. Report on the Development of the Estate for the Great Eastern Realty Co. Thomas H. Mawson and Sons, London, Lancaster, Vancouver, New York. Printed by W. Holmes, Ltd., Ulverston, Lancs., Eng.

SHORT ARTICLES

COMMUNITY ART

BY WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE

Richmond, Ind.

IF ANY ONE were to ask what is the most permanent thing produced by man—what lasts longer than anything else upon this planet—

I think the answer ought to be, its monuments of art. Nearly all that we know of the past life of humanity we have learned from its architecture, its sculpture, its painting and its literature.

And the great bulk of the art which has thus endured has not been that which was created by one private individual for another but it has been community art. Often indeed it was the sovereign whom it celebrated but that was because he represented the state. Often it was the temple or the church in which it was embodied but that was because the god to whom these were built was the god of the community that built them.

We have less community art in America than in the old world. The great paintings we possess are largely in private collections. Now the possession of the most priceless treasures where they are not open to the public is of very little value to our people. We have indeed a number of excellent galleries but these exist principally in our metropolitan centers. A beginning has also been made in some of the smaller places—witness the fine art gallery and museum established by Mr. Parrish in Southhampton, Long Island. Such things if widely distributed will be of great value. But to get the very best results they should come, not from the outside as a benefaction, but from within out of the desire of the community itself. When the people feel that a gallery is theirs, established by themselves to fill a need which they have personally realized, they will inevitably take a warmer interest in it than if it came from some outside source. Let the paintings and the statues be received from every quarter, but those that are purchased by the community itself will awaken a livelier concern than those bestowed by others. The competition aroused when they are chosen and the discussion as to their merits, has a distinct value of its own. The people are thinking about art and are considering the canons by which art is judged.

Sometimes the selections may be bad, but that need not often happen if competent experts be called in to award prizes or to pass in other ways upon the merits of prospective purchases, and it is an evil which will

constantly diminish as better taste and judgment in such matters are acquired by the community.

These are not dreams, the thing has been tried in the little city of some twenty-four thousand inhabitants in which I reside—in Richmond, Indiana. Nearly twenty years ago some of our citizens who were interested in painting and sculpture and who had a number of good pictures in their homes, determined to hold a public exhibition for the benefit of the town and they organized an art association for the purpose. The exhibition was held in one of the public school buildings, it was free to all, and it consisted almost entirely of paintings and other objects which were loaned by individuals. It attracted widespread interest, the display was a creditable one and it was determined to repeat the experiment every year and to make the association permanent. We were fortunate in choosing for our president, Mrs. M. F. Johnston, who had taken an absorbing interest in the enterprise from the first and who devoted a great part of her time and her most unflagging energy toward making the movement a success. The expense was very little, only a few hundred dollars a year. She enlisted the superintendent of schools in the movement; she also awakened the interest of artists in all parts of the country and they willingly sent their productions for exhibition. Then some bronzes and busts were sent, one or more tapestries were found in the collection and a good deal of brie-a-brac of considerable artistic merit. Then, a wealthy man, who had formerly lived in Richmond, gave \$500 a year for a number of years to purchase a picture to be selected by the association. One of the members gave a prize of \$50 for the best work exhibited by an Indiana artist and another prize for the best work exhibited by a local artist. It was astonishing what an amount of competition these prizes elicited, not for their money value, but for the reputation acquired in winning them. We have had a number of local artists and the quality of their work, sometimes crude at the beginning, has gone on improving until some of them are known to-day over the country.

There was usually a reception on the opening night and artists from other cities—Cincinnati, St. Louis, Indianapolis and Chicago, who had been brought in as members of a committee to pass upon the various paintings, often gave us addresses upon subjects connected with their work.

Then the school board began to take a more direct interest. When our new High School building was erected, three large and beautiful rooms upon the upper floor, lighted from the ceiling by day and by electricity at night, rooms as well designed and equipped as those of the best art galleries anywhere, were devoted to the association and a part of the expense of the exhibitions was assumed by the board. One of these rooms is now occupied by the permanent collection of the association. For during all these years we have gone on buying pictures, and a great deal

of care and very good taste were shown by our various committees in their selection. A number of paintings have been given to us and though we have not by any means accepted all that have been offered we have now by purchase and gift some thirty pictures of excellent quality in a room which is always open to the public.

Then it was found that one exhibition a year was not enough—we could not accommodate all the paintings and other objects in the space we had, so we had two and then three exhibitions during the year, one for the artists of the whole country, one for Indiana artists alone and then one for local artists and designers, and I must say that the one of last spring, which we called “Made in Richmond,” was not at all to be despised, when compared even with those in which the whole state and the whole country were represented.

The thing kept expanding. Our temporary exhibitions have now increased from two or three a year to eight or nine so that it is rather an unusual thing if there is not some temporary collection as well as our permanent gallery to be seen in these rooms at the high school. Sometimes it is a collection of water colors, or of etchings or specimens of decorative or household art. Just at the entrance is a fountain, one of the best bronzes of Janet Seudder—a boy with a tortoise. Our latest acquisition is an admirable portrait of the artist Wm. M. Chase by himself, contributed in part by a gentleman who formerly resided in our city and in part out of a fund raised by the association. And the association has done all this out of an amount of money collected from its members not exceeding on an average \$1,000 a year.

The success of Richmond in this experiment was so great that other cities of Indiana and elsewhere in the middle west sought to follow our example and invoked the aid of Mrs. Johnston for the purpose until now the pictures which she selects after visiting the studios of artists in different parts of the country are sent around upon a circuit from one city to another, remaining two or three weeks in each, and we secure the benefit of this collection for much less cost than when the work was done for Richmond alone. In addition to this there are twelve of the cities of Indiana which are now beginning to make permanent collections of their own.

The students in our schools visit our collections as part of their regular work, some of them use the paintings to copy from, or as themes from which to develop their own drawings or paintings, or for the purpose of describing and criticizing them in written compositions; and at the end of each school year, exhibitions of their own work are given. The rooms at the high school are also used as the meeting places of the art study club, the music study club and for other similar purposes. They are indeed a social center for all kinds of cultural and for many kinds of social service work and their usefulness to our city is thus very considerable, even outside their primary purpose as an art gallery.

And this has been largely the work of our women. The present president of our association like her predecessor is a woman. The women have done far more than the men in advancing this cause of education in art.

Now who shall foresee the end of such a movement? If every town in America should devote a like proportion of its energy and effort to the development of community art, our people in another generation would be entering upon a period of leadership in this great element of human culture.

WOMEN AND FIRE PREVENTION

HARVARD has created a valuable precedent in establishing a chair of preventive medicine; and the Bryn Mawr alumnae have created an equally valuable one in the realm of fire prevention. A brief history of the achievement is worthy of a place in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, not only as a lesson in fire prevention, but as one in effective civic agitation. So here it is, partly in the form of quotations from the documents and partly in the form of narrative by those who were actively concerned.

The suit around which the story clusters was started about two years ago by the city fire marshal in the Blankenburg Administration, against the firm of Gimbel Brothers, to compel them to do away with certain conditions in their great department-store building in Philadelphia, alleged to constitute an extraordinary fire hazard, endangering not only their own property and the persons who work in and patronize their establishment, but buildings and the occupants of them in a large territory surrounding the store.

Striking practical support of the city's allegation lies in the fact that the owners of surrounding property have to pay approximately \$100,000 a year in extra fire-insurance premiums because of the belief of the fire insurance underwriters in the reality of the hazard.

On the other hand, it is only fair to say that Gimbel Brothers have taken extraordinary measures to forestall the starting of any fire, by the installation of modern fire-extinguishing precautions and apparatus.

The agitation of the subject on the part of architects, insurance underwriters, business men, and public-spirited citizens generally, and the effort to induce the Gimbels to rectify the structural conditions complained of, have been more or less continuous, though without success, ever since the firm started putting together its conglomerate of buildings, about fifteen years ago.

The Bryn Mawr Alumnae Committees, on the threshold of an inquiry into fire conditions where women and girls are employed, discovered this case and issued a formal printed statement:

FIRE PREVENTION STUDY

GIVEN BY

ALUMNÆ FROM CLASSES 1889-1892, BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairman, MRS. GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM, '89, 335 West 86th Street, New York City.
 MISS EDITH CHILD, '90. MRS. ARTHUR H. SCRIBNER, '91. MRS. EDWARD CAMERON KIRK, '92.
Treasurer, MISS MARY MILES BLANCHARD, '89, Bellefonte, Penna.

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

Chairman, MISS LOUISE R. ELDER, '89, 1629 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.
 MISS EMILY GREENE BALCH, '89. MRS. ROBERT MILLS BEACH, '89.
 MISS HELENA STUART DUDLEY, '89. DR. MARY TAYLOR MASON, '92.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman, LEW RUSSELL PALMER, Chief of Bureau of Inspection, Department of Labor and Industry, Pennsylvania.
 LEWIS T. BRYANT, Commissioner of Labor, New Jersey.
 J. O. HAMMETT, Chief of Bureau of Fire Prevention, New York City.
 H. J. F. PORTER, M. E., New York City.
 POWELL EVANS, Chairman of the Fire Prevention Commission of Philadelphia, under Mayor Blankenburg's Administration.
 H. W. FORSTER, Chief Engineer of the Independence Inspection Bureau and Chairman of the Committee on Safety to Life of the National Fire Protection Association.
 D. KNICKERBACKER BOYD, F. A. I. A., Former Secretary and Vice-President of the American Institute of Architects.
 DR. S. S. HUEBNER, Professor of Insurance, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.
 CHARLES A. HEXAMER, Secretary of the Philadelphia Fire Underwriters' Association.
 DR. FRANCIS D. PATTERSON, Division of Hygiene, Department of Labor and Industry, Pennsylvania.

The facts here set forth came to the attention of the Bryn Mawr alumnae committees through agencies independent of our investigation under the state department of labor and industry. We referred the findings to our advisory committee of experts, and at a joint meeting of all committees, on April 7, 1916, resolutions were adopted reciting the facts and asking Gimbel Brothers "to take such action as will correct existing super fire hazards, thus reducing city conflagration risks, removing insurance sur charge and protecting the lives of their employes and customers." A reply within two weeks was requested. No reply having been received, we now ask all persons to spread knowledge of this condition and so help to avert the sacrifice of perhaps thousands of lives in our city. (Signed) LOUISE R. ELDER, *for the committees*.

"In the heart of the city stands the establishment of Gimbel Brothers, employing approximately 5,000 persons—women, girls, children and men. It is crowded at certain hours by at least as many more of the purchasing public.

"Described by architects it is 'a stack of cards,' which, if fire started under certain conditions, might prove so enkindling a pile that Philadelphia would soon be flame-swept from river to river.

"Ten stories high, occupying almost a block, all supports above the first floor of exposed metal, the walls an aggregation of ancient buildings, the stairways and elevator shafts quite open, no fire walls to check a blaze, massed with inflammable materials, an upper floor a factory, with all the well-known fire pre-disposing conditions of such industries, this structure by day and by night imperils the very existence of the city.

"Such a danger passes beyond a problem of working-girls and women and challenges the Bryn Mawr committees to speak for the immediate welfare of an entire city.

"The act alleged to have been disregarded by the occupants of this building entails a specific penalty of \$25.00.

"The authorities charged with enforcing this act are local. . . .

"For more than two years the Fire Marshal of the City of Philadelphia has placed the proprietors of the store on notice as to the super fire danger of their property and the requirement for its reasonable correction.

"The Philadelphia chamber of commerce, the board of trade and the bureau of municipal research have adopted resolutions supporting the City of Philadelphia in its position in this matter.

"All authorities concerned agree in the conclusion that this building is super-dangerous in fire hazard, not only in regard to property, but especially so with regard to the lives of its thousands of employes and customers.

"What defeats their efforts?

"Looking for the deeper causes of this amazing situation, the committees discover the following additional facts:

"More than half of the land, with the adapted buildings, belongs to the estates of old Philadelphia families, whose heirs, so far as traced by the committees, have not in other respects departed from good civic tradition.

"Surrounding this vast fire-hazard are thousands of property owners, taxpayers and business men who pay excessive insurance on their own safer buildings because of its menace. It is admitted variously that from \$50,000 to \$125,000 super charges are collected by the insurance companies per annum. . . .

"The Committees report the obvious causes of the potential crime to be: The conflict in men's minds between personal and public interests, and an appraisalment of property as of greater value than human life." Rather a revolutionary statement! but one which was subsequently backed up and reiterated.

Although without the support of the press the *alumnæ* bent their efforts to bring about a change in the situation. The findings were read widely before women's clubs and other meetings in Philadelphia and the suburbs. A circular letter to Bryn Mawr *alumnæ* resident in Pennsylvania enlisted their coöperation in carrying the facts to the purchasing public of the state. Protests began to reach the firm. Early in June just before the case came up for argument in court, the pressure had become both widespread and insistent. When the case was reached the defendants in court declared their intention of complying with the requirements of the bill. At a conference on the morning of June 5 at which representatives of the City of Philadelphia, of the underwriters' association, of the chamber of commerce and of the Bryn Mawr committees were present, the firm agreed to erect two fire walls running longitudinally through their building. It was also agreed that there should be two openings through the walls in the sub-basement, three in the basement, five on the first floor, four on the second and third floors

and three on the remaining floors. These openings are to be between twelve and sixteen feet wide and are to be protected by standard automatic fire doors. In addition the steel supports in the line of the fire walls are to be bricked in. The windows in the rear of the building are also to be equipped with standard fire shutters so as to remove the exposure hazard to buildings closely adjoining the Gimbel store.

The walls to be erected under the agreement between Gimbels and the city are not what is technically known as "standard fire walls," and in view of this fact the city bureau of building inspection cannot issue a permit for the erection of the walls until the court issues its decree authorizing the work to be done as specified in the agreement. As soon as the court acts, work will be commenced.

The insurance underwriters have not yet consented to remove the burdensome insurance sur-charges on surrounding property upon the completion of the walls; but in view of the fact that the property hazard will be reduced below the hazard of other large buildings in the same locality, the extra charges should unquestionably be eliminated. In any event, the life-hazard will undoubtedly be tremendously reduced by the erection of the walls.

Surely an enlightening experience which needs no further comment at our hands!

THE PORTLAND SURVEY¹

BY J. CARLETON BELL

University of Texas

FOR those who believe in the development of greater efficiency in city government it is gratifying to note the critical interest taken by intelligent members of the community in the work of the schools. It is probably true that the American people spend more money for schools than for any other type of municipal activity; and in view of the fact that education is the most valuable form of investment that a community can make, it is well that such expenditures should be maintained and increased. The people are willing to spend their money in this way, if they are convinced that they are getting commensurate returns, but of this they desire to have some evidence, and hence in the past five years we hear of educational surveys in all parts of the country. The school survey of Portland, Oregon, on which the present volume is based, was conducted by Professor Cubberley of Stanford University, with the assistance of Professor Fletcher B. Dresslar, of Peabody College for Teach-

¹The Portland Survey. By Ellwood P. Cubberley. A textbook on City School Administration Based on a Concrete Study. School Efficiency Series. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1915. Pp. xiv, 441. \$1.50.

ers, Professor Edward C. Elliott, University of Wisconsin, now Chancellor of the University of Montana, Superintendent J. H. Francis, Los Angeles, Superintendent Frank E. Spalding, Newton, and Professor Lewis M. Terman, Stanford University. The report, therefore, presents the views of some of our best educational specialists on questions that are of importance to the schools of every municipality, and the book may serve as an epitome of advanced educational thought on city schools.

An introductory chapter on the legal organization of the Portland school district leads to the discussion of its administrative organization. We find a city of 250,000 population with a small school board of five members, one elected each year, and with the work of the schools organized into two departments, the business department, including the school clerk, secretary, truant officer, office force, purchasing agent, superintendent of properties and his assistants, and janitors; and the educational department, including the superintendent and his assistants, special supervisors, principals, and teachers. In general, this is commended as a good type of school organization, but closer examination showed that the school board was taking its work entirely too seriously, that its meetings were so frequent and so prolonged as to be a burden to its members, that the time and attention of members was taken up by petty details that should have been disposed of by subordinates, and that there was much waste of energy and effort. This over-officiousness on the part of school boards and unwillingness to put the detailed management of the schools in the hands of the regularly appointed executives and hold these responsible for results is a familiar phenomenon in American cities, and calls for a clearer definition of the functions of the school board in relation to the officers of instruction. The book contains a discussion of these functions and a diagram of the proper relationships in school organization which are worthy of careful attention.

Another important matter agitating American cities is the tenure of teachers. Until the present year, every teacher in the Portland system was required to make an annual application for retention in his position, and the formal annual election, with the constant fear of being dropped, proved very irritating to many conscientious teachers. In a reaction against this state of uncertainty the teachers secured from the last Oregon legislature the passage of a law which provides practically permanent tenure for all teachers, except in cases of open immorality or rank insubordination. Since specific charges must be filed and the technicalities of a legal trial complied with to remove teachers, the result is that it is practically impossible to eliminate incompetents or sluggards from the system. The author points out that the schools should not exist for the benefit of a particular group of teachers, but that the teachers should always subserve the interests of the schools, and to adequately safeguard the schools proposes a middle course. According to this the teacher

should be re-elected annually for a probation period of three years, after which the appointment should be made permanent. If a permanent teacher's work becomes unsatisfactory, warning should be given and sufficient time should be allowed for an opportunity to improve. If after a reasonable length of time the desired improvement is still lacking, notification may be given, and the teacher's services dispensed with at the close of the school year.

The author lays down the principle that the organization of an educational program depends primarily upon the needs of the community which the school system is to serve, and the body of the report (Part Two, Instructional Needs) is devoted to a detailed examination of the present elementary and secondary schemes of instruction and a criticism of the prevailing methods in the light of Portland's educational needs. Everywhere the examiners found evidence of the strangling grip of tradition upon the course of study and the methods of instruction. No provision whatever is made for the five thousand children of kindergarten age, and the author urgently recommends the establishment of public school kindergartens for the ages from four to six. For the elementary schools the chief need is for teachers who can free themselves from the shackles of the traditional course of study and textbooks, and adjust their work in language, arithmetic, geography, and nature study to the specific needs of their pupils. The author argues for an intermediate school, embracing grades seven to nine inclusive, and differentiated into literary and pre-vocational courses. The secondary school should include grades ten to twelve, and should be differentiated into preparatory and vocational courses. The promotion of the pupil should be based, not on what he has learned, but on what he needs to learn. Among the types of additional schools called for are ungraded rooms for children who need special attention, truant schools, vacation schools, night schools, extension of the school day, special art schools, neighborhood schools, and a school for janitors.

One of the most serious problems confronting any rapidly growing city is the selection of school sites. There are so many influences set to work by owners of real estate and other agencies that it is difficult to make the selection of school sites depend wholly upon the needs of the schools, and even when this disturbance is reduced to a minimum it is rare to find school boards with sufficient insight to leave the selection of school sites to those who have made a special study of the distribution of the school population. Even when this is done the problem is not solved, for the conditions on which the movements of population depend are so complicated that even the specialist is unable to predict where the need for school accommodations will be greatest twenty-five years hence. At the same time schools must be built and the present children cared for, and fortunate is the city whose school board procures expert advice and follows such advice consistently in the selection of locations for schools.

The book contains a helpful chapter on the school plant and an up-to-date discussion of health supervision. The author urges that the department of health supervision be under the control of the school authorities rather than of the board of health. The health work of the schools should be educational and preventive rather than inspectional and curative. There is need for an extension of the present dental clinic, an adequately organized medical clinic, a liberal supply of school nurses, open-air schools, special attention to school feeding, and special classes for deaf, blind, and crippled children, and for stammerers and backward children.

The final chapter deals with the costs of a system of education, presenting the relative position of Portland as compared with thirty-seven other cities with a population of 100,000 to 350,000. In expenditures for school per capita of the total population, Portland ranks nineteenth, while in the cost for each adult male she ranks thirty-first. In the amount of real wealth behind each dollar spent for school maintenance Portland ranks fifth, but in the comparative rates of tax required for school maintenance she ranks thirty-third. In other words it is clearly shown that Portland has abundant wealth to provide a school system of the highest type, but at present she is far behind other cities of her class in the amount of taxes levied for the support of the schools.

It will be seen that the report will prove useful to other communities whose citizens are desirous of securing the maximum of efficiency in the conduct of their schools.

WHAT IS CIVIC EDUCATION?

BY DR. FREDERIC A. CLEVELAND¹

New York City

IN YOUR April number² you published under the above title a contribution signed by Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, in which a statement is made relative to the municipal research movement with the evident purpose of reflecting on the work of the New York bureau of municipal research. The statement to which I refer is this:

Now that movement is shipwrecked, and has become largely a private agreement between the board of trustees of the bureau and the city officials in whose office the work was carried on without even letting the public know what was being done.

The above statement raises two interesting questions: First, is the observation of Dr. Fitzpatrick an accurate statement and second, is the

¹ Director, Bureau of Municipal Research.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 278.

change in publicity policy of the bureau, whatever it may be, to be regretted?

The first point—that of accuracy—is a matter of fact and of conclusion which would be drawn from the characterization and description of the bureau methods and results. It is a fact that the policy of regular rapid fire, “punch and pepper” publicity has been deliberately abandoned. This was not done, however, because the bureau no longer wished to interest the citizen, but because the trustees and the director were convinced that the kind of publicity which had been employed under a past management was, in many cases, superficial, misleading and without positive concrete results in the improvement of city government. The trustees and the present management were convinced that an overdose of publicity, based on superficial investigation and alleged facts, did not contribute to the success of our enterprise. In order that the effects of yellow journalistic publicity might die out, the bureau did deliberately refrain from pushing “red” and “yellow” cards under the noses of citizens in every morning’s mail. However, anyone who has followed the publicity of the bureau during the last two years in the form of regular issues of *Municipal Research* and of occasional issues of circular material aimed to call attention to issues at stake in matters of state and city finance, knows that the bureau is still concerned with what in truth may be called the “civic education of adults.” It believes, however, that such education should be based on genuine information ascertained by long, painstaking and expert studies such as certain municipal reformers cannot endure.

The phrase “shipwrecked” is unfortunate. The movement has not gone on the rocks; the ship still sails on—in fact, is carrying more sail than ever before. To follow Dr. Fitzpatrick’s figure it may be said that the crew have merely jettisoned their spoiled cargo and discharged into the sea a large quantity of bilge water taken in by an adventurous pilot while trying to negotiate a series of spectacular “jibes.” This undesirable cargo and bilge was dispensed with in the belief that the short, hot, up-to-date, right-off-the-bat sort of half-truth publicity which Dr. Fitzpatrick and others have chosen to call “civic education for adults” has been or should be discredited by a very large majority of all persons who are interested in the municipal research movement.

Whatever might have been the justification of a flamboyant announcement of results of inquiry ten years ago when the public was less well informed, there seems to be little need for it to-day. We have made progress. The ordinary city official as well as citizen has come to have a more intimate knowledge of public affairs. No callow youth equipped with a little “research lingo” can educate the government or help the citizen. Such lingo can only bring the user into disrepute. Both the literal and the implied meaning conveyed by Dr. Fitzpatrick in his

reflections, therefore, is erroneous. The municipal research movement is now justifying itself on a fact basis, and recognizing the adage that "truth is mighty and will prevail." Leaders in it prefer real results to newspaper headlines.

As to the second question—whether the change in publicity policy of the bureau, whatever it may be, is to be regretted—this is left to the reader, decision having been made by those who are responsible for the management that it is the better course.

A REJOINDER!

EDWARD A. FITZPATRICK¹

Madison, Wis.

DR. FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND'S hot indictment of the former publicity policy of the New York bureau of municipal research raises an issue I did not even mention in my brief article, that is, the question of the *methods* of publicity of the New York bureau of municipal research. Note here that the reference was to the movement and not to the New York bureau, and important as the New York bureau is, I do not identify it with the municipal research movement. I was interested in the *idea* of general publicity, not its *methods*—and that, too, as it relates to the movement generally. On that issue the only relevant part of Dr. Cleveland's article is his last paragraph, and with the position he takes in it I agree.

That the reader may himself judge the issue, I am repeating the full reference to the relation of bureaus of municipal research to civic education—and rest the case with that:

Ten years ago to-morrow there was established in New York City the bureau of municipal research, and that movement has extended, as you know, all over the country. It was premised on the proposition that it was an agency for the civic education of adults. Publicity was of its essence, and the reiterated publicity of facts about government was to be the primary means of awakening citizens to a demand for improved public administration. Now that movement is ship-wrecked, and has become largely a private agreement between the board of trustees of the bureau and the city officials in whose office the work was carried on without even letting the public know what was being done; and sometimes a bureau is practically supported by a single individual. Two things will help the municipal research movement: a wider basis of citizen support and a frank taking of the citizenship into its confidence.

But let me say a word about these olive and lavender and pea green cards. They were evidence of a spirit to inform the citizenship generally. Whether the "efficient citizenship" cards of the New York bureau did it, I do not here and now attempt to answer. But I do say that similar

¹ Director, Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service.

cards issued by the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research under the title of "citizen's business" are of such a character as to produce a leavening influence on the character of citizen information. The cards of the Akron bureau under the title of "public information" may not fairly be described by any of the adjectives used by Dr. Cleveland. While I was aware of these exceptions when I wrote, I was then interested in a general view of the subject. I thought then and think now that any improvement of business methods or administrative machinery or operation is of infinitely less importance than the working out of a technique of public information. It seems to me that the change of front of bureaus of municipal research generally makes it less likely that such a technique of public information will be worked out—and this for me was the most important result that could come from the municipal research movement.

So much for the main issue. There is another point that deserves comment at this time. It is contained in Dr. Cleveland's first sentence that my statement was made "for the evident purpose of reflecting on the work of the New York bureau of municipal research." I presume, for example, that if I should say, as I believe, that the propaganda of the New York bureau of municipal research for an executive budget as proposed is subversive of our representative system of government and would result in the undermining of public administration in this country, I would then be attacking somebody's motives or reflecting on the work of the New York bureau. If I should say, as I believe, that the budget provisions of the "late" New York revised constitution, which the New York bureau should have opposed with all its might and main—but didn't—because it had taken the very heart out of its own original proposal—and which in the name of responsibility and responsiveness could have produced only irresponsibility and irresponsiveness and autocracy, I would be attacking somebody's motives or reflecting on the work of the New York bureau. I am not particularly concerned with men's motives. I leave motives to the conscience of individuals.

But I am interested in the fact that the bureaus of municipal research have somewhat changed front and that they are now no longer agencies of citizen inquiry, but co-operative agencies with public officials. I state the fact and regret it because the larger service was in the original conception. This change is an important social fact and a very significant one in its relation to civic education, and it was the importance and the significance of the fact that I wished to drive home—not any reflection on anybody's work.

I think that the New York bureau is, so far as I know, doing its present work with great ability. But its present work is not the work it started out to do.

The issues raised by Dr. Cleveland's daring (to put it most mildly) nautical figures of speech are no concern of mine, and I leave them to more seasoned ability in this not too gentle act of controversy.

JEOPARDIZING REFORM IN NEW YORK CITY

BY DR. WM. H. ALLEN

New York City

IN the July issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Robert S. Binkerd, secretary of the New York city club¹ challenged the fairness and accuracy of statements made in an article by me entitled "Tuberose Obstacles to Reform in New York City."²

By confronting Mr. Binkerd's statements with official records students of municipal affairs will be helped to see in what jeopardy municipal reform in New York City is being placed by the attitude of recognized—even self-admitted—leaders of municipal reform.

The first instance of alleged unfairness and inaccuracy relates to a five year lease of private property by the public service commission which was cited by me as unnecessary, because "at the time when the mayor and the chamberlain might have been looking at submitted evidence to show how and where the public service commission could be satisfactorily housed in vacant city-owned property, they were listening to the commission's reasons for wanting to lease private property."

To discredit this statement Mr. Binkerd wrote: "*The city authorities had not the slightest control over the lease made by the public service commission. . . . They attempted to secure a postponement . . . in an endeavor to find cheaper quarters. The responsibility and blame for this lease, if there be any, is surely upon the commission and not upon the city government.*"

In comparing these statements with the official facts that follow will readers bear in mind that Mr. Binkerd is secretary of the city club of New York, which organization says of itself in the charities directory for 1916 that its purpose is "securing permanent good government for the the City of New York . . . a non-partisan civic organization watching the various branches of the municipal government."

Is it unnatural that the general home public or out of town students of public affairs take it for granted, first, that Mr. Binkerd will not speak unless he knows, and secondly that what he thinks he knows is correct?

Can anyone doubt that public officials will come to believe that it is safe to go as far away from or stay as near self-extenuation as the city club will publicly approve?

Now for the official record.

January 21, 1916, the chairman of the public service commission wrote to the bridge commissioner—representative of the sinking fund commis-

¹ See vol. v, p. 427.

² See vol. v, p. 419.

sion of which the mayor, chamberlain and comptroller are members—asking for space in the municipal building. Later the chairman and other officers of the public service commission went through the municipal building and other city-owned buildings to see where space might be found. On this tour President Straus was heard to remark: "If this were a private building we would find space without spending city money on a private lease."

Later President Straus wrote to the institute for public service: "The commission has sent a letter to the bridge commissioner making such request"—*i.e.*, "suggesting the possibility of the readjustment of space in the municipal building so as to afford space for the public service commission."

On February 16, 1916, the institute submitted to Chamberlain Bruère evidence showing how vastly more space could be obtained in the building than the public service commission needed. We kept an appointment at his office made by him, but which he failed to keep. We could not reach him or the mayor by telephone because they were closeted with one of the public service commissioners. Postponement of the signing of the lease was secured by city officers, and the lease was not completed until Mayor Mitchel telephoned that he would not ask the commission to wait longer. He did release the commission from its pledge before either he or the chamberlain looked at evidence submitted at their request showing that the lease was unnecessary.

All these facts had been published in the newspapers before Mr. Binkerd wrote his letter to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, as they were later testified to before the Thompson investigating committee and again published in the newspapers.

There is only one other point regarding which Mr. Binkerd challenged my fairness and accuracy. He wrote: "Dr. Allen states that the fire prevention work had been going for years under Mayor Gaynor. The bureau was established in 1911 but constituted one of the glaring weak spots of Mayor Gaynor's administration. The appointments of fire prevention inspectors were practically parceled out to the leaders of Tammany hall. . . ." The implication is that my statement was untrue and that fire prevention work had not been going on for years under Mayor Gaynor.

In the published report of the fire department for 1912 appear these facts: arrests for arson 64; convictions for arson 40; pending arson cases 22; total inspections 132,601; orders served 18,684, of which 128 called for installation of sprinkler systems, 603 for fire escapes, and the remainder for additional stairways, adequate exits, fireproofing of stairways, removal of rubbish, prevention of smoking where such smoking constituted a menace to life and property; summonses in criminal proceedings 316; conviction for violation of the fire prevention law 154; original inspections

of theatres, moving picture shows, dance halls, boxing clubs, etc. 3,402; reinspections 14,083; dangerous conditions remedied in 1,503 instances, etc.

On review of this year's work the budget was voted by a fusion majority of the board of estimate and apportionment, including Comptroller Prendergast, Borough President McAneny, and now Mayor Mitchel, giving the fire prevention bureau \$255,000 for 1913.

Would you have judged this from the facts stated by Mr. Binker? It is true that appointments were "practically parceled out to the leaders of Tammany hall." It is also true that infinitely more headway would have been made by those who lamented that parceling out if they had shown how the work of fire prevention was suffering, instead of confining their attention to the political motive of the appointing power.

MR. BINKERD'S COMMENT

Without discussing the practicability of Dr. Allen's plans for economizing space in the Municipal Building, the fact that the city authorities conceivably could have offered space to the Public Service Commission does not alter the fact that the commission is responsible for the lease which it entered into. In one breath Dr. Allen criticizes the mayor and the chamberlain for "listening to the commission's reasons for wanting to lease private property." In the next breath he criticizes me for stating that the commission is responsible for what it had full legal power to do, and what he admits it wanted to do!

As to the bureau of fire prevention, the fact that it was established in 1911, received public money, and engaged in some activity, does not for one moment disprove that the present city administration inherited in that bureau a welter of inefficiency, the removal of which put fire prevention work soundly on its feet for the first time.

As for those delightful personalities which enliven Dr. Allen's argument, ending in the conclusion that I constitute a jeopardy to reform, I can only say that a jeopord cannot change his spots.

ROBERT S. BINKERD.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Charter Revisions.—*Grand Rapids* to have *Commission-Manager Form*. On August 29, by a vote of 7,693 to 6,021, Grand Rapids adopted a special charter providing for the commission manager form of government. The charter will go into effect May 1, 1917. The city in 1910 had a population of 112,571 (about 4,000 less than Dayton), so that it is the second largest city thus far to adopt this system.

Under the new charter Grand Rapids will be governed by a commission of seven men, two members elected from each of the three wards and one from the city at large. From their own number the commission will choose a mayor and a president. The term of office of the commissioners will be two years and their salaries \$1,200 a year with an additional \$300 for the commissioner who is chosen mayor. In addition to the city commission the comptroller is to be elected, together with the following officers who are not an integral part of the city government: four county supervisors and one constable in each ward and five library commissioners and two justices of the peace in the city at large. It is fortunate that the duties of these minor officers are as comparatively unimportant as their positions on the ballot are likely to be inconspicuous.

The city manager will have the appointment of the administrative officers not above mentioned except of the city attorney, city clerk, city treasurer and three assessors. He will have also budget and other powers similar to those of the city managers in Dayton, Springfield, etc. To insure full publicity and popular scrutiny of the budget, a copy of the same is required to be mailed to every voter at least twenty days before it is passed by the commission.

The city commission is *ex-officio* the civil service board—an arrangement which is at least theoretically unsatisfactory, according to prevailing civil service standards. However, the classified service is fairly large, including as it does all officers except (1) those elected by the people, (2) the city manager, (3) the heads of departments and members of appointive boards, (4) the deputy and secretary of the city manager and the deputy of each department and of the city clerk. The competitive classification includes all offices and employments for which it is practicable to determine the merits and fitness of applicants by competitive examination.

The charter provides for the initiative and referendum on the basis of a 12 per cent petition. Recall proceedings may be instituted by 25 per cent of the voters. The basis of computation in all cases is the total number of registered voters rather than the number voting at a previous election.

Montclair, N. J., on June 6, adopted the commission plan under the Walsh act by a vote of 1,151 to 889. A subsequent recount reduced the majority to five votes more than the necessary 30 per cent of the number of votes cast at the last preceding election for the general assembly. It has been the hope of many of the original supporters of the movement that a majority, if not all, of the first commission elected would be in favor of creating the office of town manager. Of the 35 candidates which stood for election, 13 favored the idea. Only one of this number was elected.

Middletown, unlike most of the Ohio cities which took advantage of their constitutional home rule opportunities, adopted the "straight" commission plan,

The experiences of this city as recorded in the *Middletown Signal* constitute an interesting commentary on what a number of the theoretical students of the plan regard as some of its inherent weaknesses. To quote:

The necessity for a city manager is seen in all the public affairs of the municipality. Each department is going along in its own peculiar way, without any recognized head and without co-operation, or consideration each for the other.

At the present time, this city is considering the purchasing of city parks, the buying of school-house grounds and the elimination of the old Middletown cemetery from the heart of the city.

The only trouble in accomplishing all this work systematically and advantageously and at the least expense to the city lies in the fact that there is no directing hand, no executive head in which these elements may be centered, but each acting in its individual capacity running hither and thither; the whole city organization is a rope of sand without any system, any tenacity or energy as a whole.

If there was a city manager he might readily see the necessity of providing a way for removing the old cemetery from the centre of a progressive city. He would also consider the purchase of public grounds in co-operation with the school board and park commission. He would consult the cemetery trustees, and bring them into co-operation with the civic bodies, and a mode of procedure could be devised by which the cemetery association could be satisfied and its dead properly cared for, the city be relieved of an incubus, because of its location, which might be transformed into a beautiful and convenient school park for the living and prove a blessing to the present generation and to generations yet to come.

All that is required is a little energy, and a central authority, to bring about the desired results. A city manager would bring together the presidents of the cemetery association, the president of the city commission and the school board and park commission, and lay some definite plan and mode of procedure before them, which would receive due consideration.

But not only this measure so universally desired in this city, but other matters of daily consideration, show the necessity for a city manager. As it is the various departments of the city are run haphazard. Not so bad as they were under the old federal plan, but bad enough because the city commission is not complete without a head. What a combination of error and waste, a rolling mill, a paper

mill, or factory would be, with each department running independent of the other, and each jealous of any suggestions or interference from any other department.

Those are the conditions in city affairs that should be overcome, but we have our doubts if the members of the city commission, each jealous of his own department, would be willing to better conditions, and vote for the appointment of a city manager to do the city's business a great deal better than it is done to-day.

This is not criticising the present city form of government as it is superior beyond comparison to the old form. But it is a suggestion for the betterment of the commission form. It needs improving in the appointment of a city manager and in the mayoralty provision of the charter that permits only an attorney to act in the capacity of chief executive of the city.

Clinton, Ill., by a vote of 1,043 to 341 voted on September 11 to retain the commission form of government.

H. S. GILBERTSON.

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Sherrill, N. Y., City Manager.—Chester A. Brown was appointed city manager of Sherrill, N. Y., on June 6, 1916. The government of Sherrill is vested in a commission of five persons elected at large, who appoint the city manager, city clerk, deputy clerk, assessors and health officers. The commission is not permitted to contract with the manager for a longer period than two years. The city manager has control over all the departments created by the charter and is empowered to appoint or remove the directors as well as subordinate officers or employees in those departments.

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Ashtabula's Experiences.—Early in 1915 Ashtabula, Ohio, adopted a charter embodying the city manager plan. An account of how this charter was amended so as to provide for choosing the council by the Hare system of proportional representation and of the first election under the amended charter was given in the previous issue of the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*.¹ Since that article was written a manager and other administrative officers have been chosen by the council

¹ Vol. v, p. 56.

and the new plan of government has gone into operation. Difficulties that arose in selecting a manager have been given such wide publicity that an account of what actually took place and a statement of the present situation may be of some interest. What is here written is based on a knowledge of conditions in Ashtabula extending over several years, and on a recent investigation made on the ground.

The council of seven elected in November, 1915, took office January 1, 1916. Their first and most important duty was to choose a city manager. In the performance of this duty four councilmen at once showed a disposition to play very personal, very cheap and very undesirable politics. Three of this group of four had been members of the council under the old city government, and the fourth was the one socialist elected under the new charter. The other three members of the council acquitted themselves with credit, sometimes voting to select a manager from outside the city and sometimes voting for a distinctly capable Ashtabula man with a good record of public service.

The Ashtabula charter does not specifically forbid the council to choose one of its own members as manager though such a choice would be entirely at variance with the spirit and fundamental principles of the manager plan. After a good deal of jockeying and fruitless balloting councilmen Briggs, Corrado, Earlywine and Hogan united in voting for Briggs. The city was outraged. While not undesirable as a councilman, Briggs has no qualifications for the managership except that just at that time he was badly in need of a job whereby to support himself and family. A storm of public disapproval broke over the council and centered itself on Briggs. Here the advantage of the concentrated responsibility and authority provided by the charter manifested themselves. After twelve days of hesitation, Briggs yielded to the pressure of public opinion and declined the managership. The council returned to its balloting. Finally on January 25, and after one hundred ballots had been taken, Corrado, Briggs, Earlywine and Hogan

voted for J. Warren Prine, a well known citizen of Ashtabula, and he accepted the managership at a salary of \$2,500 per year.

Probably no one alive to the spirit of the manager plan and appreciating its possibilities would regard the choice of Mr. Prine as better than mediocre. Material of superior quality could have been found in Ashtabula. He is fifty years old, has been active in politics as a Republican, was postmaster of Ashtabula for twelve years prior to January, 1915, has conducted a coal and builders' supply business for a short time and, on the whole, can be said to have had no training that specially qualifies him for the position of manager.

On the other hand it should be said, in fairness, that the citizens of Ashtabula seem to see nothing inappropriate in Mr. Prine's appointment. He has a reputation for honesty and is undeniably popular with all classes. He appears to have more than the ordinary equipment of common sense and has turned to his new duties with an earnestness that may go far in compensating for his initial deficiencies. In order to acquaint himself with his work he visited Dayton and Springfield, the two most prominent commission manager cities in the country. The people of Ashtabula seem to regard him with considerable confidence. He has stated that political considerations will play no part in his appointments, but that subordinates will be selected upon the basis of fitness alone. The few changes that he has made seem to meet with general public approval and are undeniably in the interest of efficient and economical government.

Under the Ashtabula charter the council chooses not only the manager but also the city attorney, auditor and health officer. Strangely enough the council, which gyrated so wildly in its effort to select a manager, acted promptly and effectively in the choice of these other officers. In each case an excellent selection was made. Moreover, the council seems now to have settled itself to the serious performance of its regular duties. Favorable comments are being made upon

the businesslike and expeditious manner in which the council is dispatching its work.

This is the story of Ashtabula's experience to date, and after all, it is neither very remarkable nor very exciting. If what has been recounted had taken place in any other city of similar size in the course of putting the commission manager plan into operation it would have attracted little more than passing notice. It is only because Ashtabula has been in the public eye through having introduced proportional representation into its system of election that its temporary unpleasantness has been deemed worthy of unusual attention.

There are sincere people in Ashtabula who will tell you that the lapse of the council was due to the system of election. A careful investigation shows that there is very slight basis for such a conclusion. The same persons who feel so sure concerning this alleged result of proportional representation will tell you that the council chosen is about as good as could have been secured from the fourteen candidates who offered themselves. The more thoughtful citizens, among them some who were opposed to the adoption of the proportional representation amendment, are not so ready to attribute the difficulty to the system of election. The impression that one gets is that, when the new government did not begin operation smoothly, some people sought a reason in the plan itself and turned naturally to the part which was most unlike that to which they were accustomed. Sincere people who reached this hasty conclusion at once found themselves supported by all those who for political or other reasons were opposed to the new charter as a whole. Even so, it is doubtful whether the dissatisfaction was greater in degree than that which manifested itself in Dayton and Springfield in the early days of their commission manager charters. Just as in those cities the people, after the first flare of opposition, decided to await the results of the new system, so the people of Ashtabula now seem inclined to give their plan every opportunity to prove itself.

A. R. HATTON.

Huntsville, Alabama, Abandons Commission Government.—In 1915 the Alabama Legislature enacted a drastic state wide prohibition law. At the time Huntsville was operating a dispensary jointly with the state for the sale of liquor, which dispensary produced a revenue for the city of some \$25,000. The adoption of the prohibition bill put an end to this dispensary effective in June 1915 and took away from the city this revenue. The tax rate in Huntsville is one half of 1 per cent for general purposes and one half of 1 per cent for special purposes which includes a sinking fund. This tax rate is wholly inadequate but is limited by the state constitution.

I became mayor of Huntsville in October 1915, and realizing the fact that the revenues of the town were inadequate for its operation, after the putting away of the dispensary, with the co-operation of my associate commissioners we adopted certain ordinances for increased privilege taxes and establishing a system of water meters throughout the town and raising the water rates (the city owning its own water works). This measure was unpopular, as are all measures for the increase of taxation and immediately the political opponents of the commissioners instituted proceedings to change the form of government. They brought about an election for the submission to the people the proposition of the return to the aldermanic form of government and promised promiscuously, if successful, to reduce the taxes. This promise, in the opinion of the writer, can never be made good in view of the financial condition of the town, but it was a sufficient temptation to the voters to get them to vote out the commission form of government as an expensive form of government by a majority vote of fifty in number.

MILTON H. LANIER.

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The Philadelphia Electric Rate Case.—The notable results achieved in the Philadelphia electric rate case, which was brought to conclusion on April 19, 1916, places it among the most important utility cases of recent record. Reductions by the

Philadelphia Electric Light Company, which monopolizes the electric light business of the city, of \$150,000 a year in public lighting charges and of \$900,000 in aggregate commercial electric rates and a rebate (by stipulation in the contract for 1915, executed during the progress of the case) of \$195,000 to the city for public lighting tell the concrete story in its ultimate essence.

Chief credit for this large accomplishment must go to Morris L. Cooke, who was director of public works under Mayor Blankenburg. It was he who instigated and in the face of many discouraging difficulties successfully prosecuted the case before the public service commission of the state. Among others who contributed to the success of the issue should be mentioned Clayton W. Pike and Judson C. Dickerman, chiefs respectively of the electrical and gas bureaus under the Blankenburg administration; George H. Morse of the Mutual electric and machine company of Detroit; Fredrick W. Ballard, consulting electrical engineer of Cleveland and his associate, Roy Husselman; Dr. Ernest M. Patterson, assistant professor of economics in the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. William Draper Lewis, professor of law in the University of Pennsylvania, who was chief counsel for the complainant; and Dr. Milo R. Maltbie, formerly public service commissioner and now city chamberlain of the city of New York, who was retained as special investigator by the Pennsylvania public service commission. To recount the invaluable services of each of these would lead into a detailed history of the proceedings covering the period from the filing of the complaint in July 1914 to the settlement reached in April 1916. This seems unnecessary. Suffice it to say that each of these collaborators merits unstinted praise for the quality, fairness, and public-spiritedness of his contribution.

A few points in connection with this case are of especial interest. Manifestly it is physical valuation of properties and cost of operation that are the two most important factors to be considered in the fixing of rates: Appraisals therefore are

indispensable. But appraisals are costly. Upon whom should the burden of making appraisals in such cases lie—the complainant, the public service commission, or the company? Without the authority of a public order a complainant is almost strait-jacketed by lack of access to the company's books and properties. In such situation was Mr. Cooke. A public service commission cannot itself make appraisals in the absence of adequate funds. In such situation was the Pennsylvania commission. A utility company will not ordinarily make an appraisal except under compulsion, and in the nature of things it can scarcely be expected to push with expedition the kind of appraisal that would be most valuable to those who are working in the interest of the general public.

The Pennsylvania law lays the onus of making appraisals upon the utility companies, acting under mandate of a public service commission furnished with utterly insufficient funds. Before this commission, therefore, Mr. Cooke was, in order to secure an order for appraisal, under the necessity of making out a *prima facie* case; and in this, in spite of manifest obstacles, he doubtless succeeded. It is admitted, however, that the commission, as constituted in the autumn of 1914, would probably not have ordered the company to make an inventory and appraisal and would probably not have gone at all into the matter of commercial rates. Whatever may have been the company's motive it must be put down to its credit that the prosecution of this particular complaint would doubtless have terminated at the end of the preliminary hearing had not the company voluntarily offered to submit to the commission, when completed, an inventory and appraisal which, under the direction of Professor Dugald C. Jackson, head of the electrical department of Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was already in the making.

This inventory was submitted in August 1915 and the appraisal in the following November. From the viewpoint of the

public interest this work may no doubt be criticised on the following grounds: (1) that the inventory, covering 110 volumes, was unnecessarily elaborate, while the appraisal, which as originally submitted covered only two typewritten sheets, was ridiculously inadequate for purposes of cross-examination (this latter defect was by order of the commission remedied within two weeks); (2) that the making of the appraisal had consumed too much time, the delay being obviously to the advantage of the company, which had agreed to make a rebate to the city on the 1915 contract but not to the private consumers of current; (3) that Professor Jackson's appraisal of the value of the company's property (including nearly \$14,000,000 for intangibles such as allowances for corporate organization, patents and patent rights, going concern valuation, etc.) at \$51,583,000 was enormous considering the complainants' appraisal (excluding all intangible allowances and an item of over \$5,000,000 for construction under way) of \$23,583,000. (The actual difference between the two, apart from intangibles and construction under way was about \$10,000,000.)

It is a debatable question whether Professor Jackson is deserving of severe censure on any of these grounds, no matter how much of truth may lie in each of the accusations. An expert appraiser, employed as he was, is in much the same position as an attorney. He is employed to defend his client's interests; and valuation *facts* are, as everybody knows, not greatly more malleable than the *law*. Realizing the necessity of ultimate compromise an appraisal made exclusively by a complainant representing the public would perhaps have erred quite as far in the opposite direction. The truth of the matter is that appraisals of this kind should be made by neither the one nor the other but by a group representing all the interests involved or by a disinterested public authority, raised as far above political considerations as human nature permits and armed with ability, fair purpose, and money. So far as intangible values are concerned, it should be recorded that the Pennsylvania

law explicitly requires that they be considered.

Chief counsel Lewis sums up the lesson of this case as follows:

The great lesson of this case has, I believe, taught the commission and certainly the lesson which it has taught the litigants is that every effort should be made to avoid any trial [before the courts] at all. Where reproduction cost, book cost, financial history, etc., have to be investigated, what ought to be done is to give each question to a committee of three experts on the subject to be investigated, one appointed by the commission, one appointed by the complainant and one by the company; the experts to have any assistance which they may require. The result of their findings should be reported to the commission, the commission to take testimony only if there is conflict between the experts or if the commissioners themselves are for any reason dissatisfied with the report.

Be it recorded to the credit of all concerned that in this highly important case, trial was avoided; that a committee of three (appointed as advocated by Professor Lewis) made a quick and unanimous report covering the difficult question of book costs; and that final settlement was reached by agreement between chief complainant Cooke and the company, which agreement was approved by the commission. It is roughly estimated that the settlement permits a 7 per cent. yield on a valuation of about \$30,000,000.

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Illinois Utility Rates.—Half a million dollars a year, it is estimated, will be saved to patrons of public utilities in Illinois as a result of rate reductions ordered or approved by the state public utilities commission during the two years of its existence, and the public is receiving better service and the companies are conducting their operations upon sounder business principles. This saving, however, as a report to Governor Dunne points out, is at present confined to comparatively few localities, though in many other districts cases involving rates of service are pending. In Belleville, 21,000 residents are saving approximately \$30,000 a year which they formerly paid to the St. Clair County gas and electric com-

pany, as a result of reductions ordered by the commission. The residential electric lighting rate was reduced from 11.4 cents net to 10 cents net and the gas rates were reduced from \$1.15 net per thousand feet to \$1. Important cases involving rates for electric, gas or telephone service are pending in Springfield, Quincy, Peoria, Jacksonville and other places. Many rate reductions have resulted from the moral force of the commission rather than from its legal power. In some instances the utilities companies have voluntarily filed new schedules carrying lower rates for service. In others, the necessity under the law of eliminating all discrimination has brought about rate reductions in the readjustment of schedules. No change of rates is permissible under the law except with the approval of the state commission. In case a proposed new schedule results in a reduction in rates, the schedule may become effective thirty days after being filed with the commission. But if an increase in rates is sought the company must file a petition with the commission, must advertise in one or more newspapers in the community affected that such petition has been filed and must show cause at a hearing before the commission why such proposed increases are reasonable and just. The most far-reaching case yet completed was the application of the public service company of Northern Illinois for a reduction in electric lighting rates from $14\frac{1}{2}$ cents per kilowatt hour to 12 cents per kilowatt hour. This company serves, and the 17 per cent reduction became effective in 125 cities, towns and villages in northern Illinois, including Joliet, Kankakee, Streator and other places. The Central Illinois public service commission has reduced its electric rate from $13\frac{1}{2}$ cents to 13 cents, affecting a number of cities. In Galesburg the residence light rate was cut from $13\frac{1}{2}$ to 11 cents per kilowatt hour, a reduction of 18 per cent. In Springfield residence and commercial lighting was reduced 17 per cent, affecting about 4,800 consumers. In Carthage a reduction of about 17 per cent was made. Lower electric rates also are in effect in 37 other places.

Lighting Costs in Chicago.—The relative cash cost of lighting Chicago has decreased from \$497.50 per 1,000 c. p. to \$46.05 during the seventeen-year period from 1898 to 1914. During this period the approximate total candle-power has increased from 1,880,000 to 24,664,000; the total expenditures for public lighting has increased from \$934, 917.44 to \$1,136,099.16; the amount expended for gas lights has decreased from \$643,586.29 to \$257,680.47, while the lighting connected with the municipal station has increased in value from \$106,914.46 to \$614,941.94. The amounts paid for rented electric lights have practically doubled (\$55,948.23 in 1898 and \$113,682.95 in 1914), while the amount paid for gasoline has remained constant (\$128,468.46 in 1898 and \$149,793.80 in 1914).

Chicago's experience with the new type "C" gas-filled incandescent tungsten lamp has resulted in splendid improvements in illumination at lowered costs. The actual cash cost for 1914 for 1,000 hours for each of these lamps was \$22.54 for each lamp year. The fixed charges on each lamp are lower than the old arc lamp and the cost of labor is likewise considerably less. These are but a few of the splendid facts brought out by the succinct and valuable eighteenth annual report (1914) made by Mr. Ray Palmer, commissioner of gas and electricity, city of Chicago.



Electric Rates in Holyoke.—Holyoke, Massachusetts, has secured a one-cent rate on electricity for power purposes sold by the municipal gas and electric department, according to announcement by its manager, John J. Kirkpatrick. At the request of the Massachusetts gas and electric commission the department readjusted its schedule and established a new one for 24-hour power. The former schedule had been in force since the city began selling electric power. It called for a percentage discount upon the gross amount of bill, the amount of the discount increasing as the gross amount of the bill increased. This method was vigorously objected to as it made it possible for consumers to have to pay a larger bill one month, although they might have used

less power. Under the new schedule the discount given will be based upon the amount of electricity and no irregularities will be possible.

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Building Districts and Restrictions in New York.—Chapter 470 of the New York law of April 20, 1914, authorized the New York City board of estimate and apportionment to divide the city into districts; to regulate the heights of buildings; the area of courts and open spaces; the location of trades and industries and the erection of buildings designed for specified uses. As a preliminary to the exercise of this authority in June, 1914, a commission on building restrictions and districts was appointed with Edward M. Bassett, chairman; Lawson Purdy, vice-chairman; Robert H. Whitten, secretary; and George B. Ford, consultant. The commission with unusual thoroughness undertook the exceedingly complicated studies necessary for an intelligent report and wisely secured the co-operation of the various departments of the city as well as of the commercial and civic organizations, and from financial, real estate and other interests. Two reports (a tentative one dated March 10, 1916, and a final one dated June 2, 1916) were issued setting forth in detail the conclusions reached and the action recommended.

On July 25, 1916, the board of estimate and apportionment passed what is technically called the "building zone resolution," regulating and limiting the height and bulk of buildings hereafter to be erected in New York. In addition to restricting skyscrapers, there are many important features affecting living and business conditions in every part of the city. The law is designed to check the invasion of retail districts by factories and residence districts by factories and business; to prevent an increase of the congestion of streets and of subway and street car traffic in sections where the business population is already too great for the sidewalk and transit facilities; to prevent the overcrowding by manufacturing concerns of sections where the streets are insufficient for the vehicular traffic, and at the same

time to concentrate manufacturing in locations where its products can be handled most efficiently and where its presence will not destroy real estate for residential and retail business purposes; to prevent congestion of street and transit facilities caused by housing a large population on a small area in a skyscraper. Restricting the size of buildings is a necessity from the standpoint of light and air which are impaired by buildings of excess height, so the fundamental principle of providing air and light is followed out in building restrictions in all parts of the city.

This ordinance is described by one student of city planning as the "greatest and most far-reaching thing New York has ever done."

✱

Berkeley's Zoning Ordinance.—Berkeley, California, has also adopted a zoning ordinance which is regarded as an important contribution. This ordinance, an enabling one, defines eight classes of districts or zones which may be formed by the passage of later ordinances, each locating a definite geographical district in which all property would be specifically limited to the use of the class designated. The only improvements permitted in these districts will be as follows: In class I, single family residences; class II, single or two-family dwellings; class III, single or two-family or group dwellings with separate ground floor entrances and not more than two stories in height; class IV, single, two-family or group dwellings and boarding houses and clubs (of which there are a great number surrounding the University of California, located in Berkeley); class V, all buildings permitted in classes I, II, III and IV, and apartment houses, hotels and restaurants without display windows; class VI, public buildings, such as churches, schools, parks, etc.; class VII, ordinary industries, that are not obnoxious; class VIII, industries of the heaviest type, which might prove obnoxious because of odors, smoke or noise.

According to Charles H. Cheney who was the consultant of the Berkeley com-

¹An article from Dr. Robert H. Whitten, secretary of the commission, will appear in the January issue.

mission drafting the ordinance, it has started neighborhood discussion in all parts of the town in regard to individual versus community rights. "In this way it is arousing more thoroughly than ever before new civic consciousness and forethought. As a basis for sound future city planning, as well as for the splendid protection and stability it offers to property values, it is a constructive step in the right direction."

Sacramento is another city which had adopted a zone ordinance drafted by Dr. John Nolen.

*

The Smoke Nuisance.—*New York.* In 1907 an order was adopted by the public service commission for the first* district and issued to the N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. company that the company desist from further permitting in any manner the emission of black smoke from the stacks of the engines in use on its lines, while they shall be standing in or passing through the Harlem River terminal yard, and that the company cover all soft coal fires in the yard, whether standing still or passing through, with coke and to feed continually and replenish same with coke during the time the engines shall remain in the yard; and further that the company discontinue the use of the round house in the yard and of the tracks in and adjacent to it for the storage of engines under same.

In February, 1908, another order was served on the N. Y. C. R. R. company to desist from the use of soft coal on any engines used by it on its New York & Putman division, while within the corporate limits of the city. In March, 1908, a further order was served on the company that every engine operated in a northerly direction on the line lying west of Riverside Drive and west of the Boulevard Lafayette be started on its run with a clean anthracite coal fire or fire produced by other smokeless fuel, or with devices preventing the emission of black smoke, if such be discovered, and that every such engine should in addition carry an available supply of hard coal, etc., sufficient to carry the engines through the city, this amount of hard coal or other smokeless

fuel to be never less than one ton for each engine or in case of liquid fuel, of such an amount as will be sufficient to carry the engine beyond the northerly limits of the city, in addition to the amount in the fire box at the beginning of the trip.

In July, 1916, an order was issued to the Long Island R. R. company to the effect that it shall operate no steam locomotive through the tunnels on its Atlantic Avenue division, except between the hours of 12 midnight and 6.30 a. m. This order is possibly subject to further amendment after further hearings.

These orders have largely eliminated the complaints due to these causes. In the case of the N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. company, the Harlem River yard has since been electrified and all passenger business of this company and over 60 per cent of the freight business is now handled by the electric service.

Minneapolis. During 1913, the Minneapolis civic and commerce association employed a smoke inspector, paying his salary. During his activity, the reduction in the smoke nuisance was marked. In the spring of 1913, however, the committee requested the city council to assume the responsibility of the employment of this inspector. After considerable agitation, the council decided not only not to employ the inspector, but also to abolish altogether the office of smoke inspector. The association's committee on smoke prevention has nevertheless continued its activities and has been collecting information regarding this subject preparatory to an educational campaign against the smoke evil. Meetings have been held with the smoke inspectors of the railroads entering the city in an endeavor to secure their co-operation in eliminating the emission of smoke from railroad engines. Upon the recommendations of the committee, a course for the instruction of firemen in the proper care and operation of heating apparatus has been inaugurated at the Dunwoody industrial institute, and during the spring of 1916 the association employed a checker to investigate industrial plants and railroad yards which were emitting dense smoke.

Each year for three successive years, the committee has recommended to and urged upon the city council the creation of a department of smoke inspection, but was unsuccessful until this year, when an examination for smoke inspector was held and James L. White was appointed. He assumed the duties of his office on May 1.

*

Cincinnati's Traffic Survey.—Everybody is helping to make the traffic survey now being carried on in Cincinnati where a new rapid transit system is soon to be installed. Every passenger on the street cars is being asked to co-operate and to do his share in making this survey. One hundred men have been employed by the city to board cars at various points and solicit this information. These inspectors are experienced street car conductors, "borrowed" from the traction company for the time that they are needed. Such men are being hired for two reasons: first, they know how to handle crowds and are acquainted with streets and stops, and, second, they have uniforms. One of these uniformed men with a conspicuous badge is stationed on each car and hands each passenger a blank to be filled out by him. These slips contain spaces to be filled in with:

1. The street corner number at which the passenger got on.
2. The section number.
3. The kind of fare collected from the passenger,—whether cash, half-fare (child under 10 years of age), a transfer, or if a dead-head.
4. Whether a transfer was issued; if so, to what line.
5. The destination of the passenger, and
6. The destination section number.

When filled out, these blanks are collected by the Rapid Transit Employees.

Several days before the survey a placard was placed in all cars of the particular line to be investigated, reading:

"To the Public.—Traffic survey for the purpose of determining the traffic to be expected on the proposed rapid transit line. The rapid transit commission of the city of Cincinnati will make a traffic

survey on this car line within the next few days. To facilitate securing accurate and complete information, your co-operation in answering the questions asked by the inspectors on the cars is requested.—By the rapid transit commission of Cincinnati, Per E. W. EDWARDS, *President*."

On the day the survey was commenced this placard was replaced by another stating that the commission is making a traffic survey on the car that day.

These inspectors take a given number of lines at a time and spend one or two days on each line. It is expected that 230,000 passengers will help in this manner in carrying on the survey.

When all of the questionnaire slips have been collected, 20 clerks will complete the statistics gleaned from these. This information will form the basis of the terms of the proposed lease of the rapid transit system and also will determine the location of stations and routes of trains.

HERBERT F. KOCH.

*

New Jersey City Finances.—Two finance bills of great importance to cities passed the 1916 session of the New Jersey legislature. The more important is a comprehensive act regulating and restricting the borrowing power of all counties, cities, boroughs, villages, towns, and townships within the state.¹ By its terms no municipality can issue bonds which shall cause its net debt to exceed 7 per cent of the average assessed valuations for the past three years of the taxable real property (including improvements) within its borders. Moreover, no bonds can be issued by any New Jersey municipality hereafter for longer terms than 50 years, and a series of specific term limitations are placed by the act on bond issues for certain enumerated purposes. The maturity of issues for sewer systems is limited to 40 years; gas systems to 30; water supply, 40; electric systems, 20; incinerating plants, 10; playgrounds, 30; land 40; buildings, 20 to 40, varying with type of construction; additions to buildings, varying likewise, 15 to 30; bridges, 30; roads and streets varying from 5 in the

¹ Chap. 252, Laws of N. J., 1916.

case of sand or gravel construction to 20 in that of concrete; sidewalks and curbing, 10; cemeteries, 30; and for house connections with sewer, gas and water pipes, 5 years. Bonds to cover temporary indebtedness are limited to a life equal to that of the permanent bonds on which it is incurred.

Before any such bond issues may be authorized the financial officer of every municipality is required to file with the clerk a statement, under oath, of its financial condition. This must show: (1) the municipality's gross debt, including the proposed issue, (2) certain specified deductions, (3) the resulting net debt, (4) the assessed valuation of the taxable real property for the past three years, and (5) the percentage of the net debt to the average of these valuations. If the latter computation is 7 per cent or less, the proposed issue is permissible under the act. The proposal must be submitted to a referendum of the electorate if within ten days of the publication of the authorizing ordinance a petition demanding it is signed either by one third of the "governing body" of the municipality or by tax payers representing 10 per cent of its assessed valuation, and must then be approved at the polls within two months before it can become effective.

Provisions for the sale of the bonds allow either for public auction or sealed proposals; and, if these fail to produce a bid, by private negotiation.

The act also allows municipalities to issue temporary notes to cover either improvements or inability to pay the interest on the permanent obligations. The maturity of the former is limited to one and renewals to six years; that of the latter to 20 years payable in not exceeding 20 annual installments commencing the first year after their date.

The issuance of bonds for school purposes is expressly exempted from the provisions of this act.

The other bill may prove in the future of great interest and importance to cities.¹ This authorizes any city in the state to issue bonds for the construction, operation

or lease of street railways within its borders. Cities may now issue bonds up to \$500,000 a year for such publicly-owned utilities—the aggregate not to exceed \$2,000,000. Moreover, if any private company will guarantee a rent sufficient to cover the additional interest and sinking fund charges, cities are enabled by the statute to issue bonds up to a total of \$10,000,000. They may also issue temporary bonds to these ends to run with all renewals for a term not exceeding five years and to be retired from the proceeds of the permanent bonds "or by the use of other funds of the city available for the purpose." The interest is limited to five per cent, payable semi-annually, and the maturity to 50 years.

The act provides in detail for the administration of these possible railroads. They may either be operated by the city or leased to a private operating concern. If they are publicly run the net operating revenues must be devoted to the payment of interest on the bonded indebtedness and to the sinking fund for its amortization. The excess revenues over and above such deductions may be appropriated to any lawful purpose the city government may desire. Deficits, it is provided, can be made up out of the tax levy. If they are privately run, on the other hand, the rent may be a fixed annual sum, a share in the gross, or in the net, receipts. Every such lease, however, must carry a clause giving the city power at any time after ten years to terminate the contract and purchase the lessee's equipment at a price to be agreed upon by the parties or, failing that, by the state board of public utility commissioners.

All the necessary powers—of eminent domain, use of other city property, purchase of privately-owned lines, contract with such lines for the use of their property, with telephone and telegraph companies to facilitate construction, or with private companies for the use of conduits, wires and poles—and power to build all necessary sidings, connections and street grade changes, are granted to cities by the act. They are even empowered to establish and maintain docks, piers, ware-

¹Chap. 120, Laws of N. J., 1916.

houses, ferries, ferry terminals, and car-floats in connection with the railways. But over the exercise of these powers the utility commissioners are given a wide and detailed supervision.

The legislature also passed acts empowering cities to accept land in lieu of unassessed taxes;¹ to issue bonds to cover the extra financial burdens of the two-platoon systems in fire departments;² to build bulk-heads, jetties, etc..³ and to build and erect city halls.⁴ A resolution was also passed (Joint Resolution No. 7) continuing the existence of the commission for the survey of municipal financing appointed by the preceding House of Assembly.

EVANS CLARK.

Princeton University.

✱

Bureaus of Complaint in Illinois.—In Illinois the "bureau of public complaints" is a popular, but not a legal designation, applied to the efficiency division or staff of civil service commissions. It exists in the state, county and city services.

It is the product of three causes: The legal right of citizens to file charges with the commission for the removal or discipline of classified employees; the legal duty of the commission to ascertain by efficiency operations whether the merit and fitness of classified employees certified to upon examination is continued thereafter in daily work; and the public wish to have complaints concerning service inefficiency dealt with promptly and effectively quite apart from the atmosphere of influence and politics which surrounds the chief executive and the department heads.

It must be borne in mind that our department heads are responsible to the people for management or administration of the departments under them; but not for the application of the merit system to appointments and tenure for which the public holds the commission responsible in all departments. The lawful directions, orders or rules of the several department heads together with the vocational re-

quirements of each grade of service constitute a standard of merit which the commission is bound to apply in all its operations and the mere fact that, in any given instance, there has been a departure or failure to comply with this standard, regardless of how that fact is brought to the attention of the commission, is sufficient to make it the duty of the commission to act.

Citizen complaints become, naturally, therefore, the chief feeder or mainspring to efficiency operations. It is just as important in public service to encourage and investigate citizen complaints as it is in private service to encourage and check up systematically the complaints of customers. If these complaints show defects of management or administration, they are referred to the proper department head or heads or to the chief executive; but if they show inefficiency of a classified employe or failure of merit in him, the commission applies the correctives (removal, suspension, fine, training or transfer).

There are large classes of people in every community who will not present to the chief executive or to the departments serious and legitimate complaints which it is very much to the interests of the government to know, but many persons will present such complaints, impersonally if possible, for investigation by the civil service commission. Many persons feel, in respect to managing officials, that influence or political standing is necessary to back a perfectly just complaint, and that, without it, retaliation, or unfavorable or disagreeable publicity, is to be feared. The inconvenience and waiting about necessary to interview the chief executive or a busy department head deters others. These feelings are entirely reasonable, because criticizing the department to the department, going to a busy man who may be hostile, skeptical or evasive and who has no special facilities for impartial inquiry, or gaining the ill-will of a subordinate official without assurance of protection is imprudent. Honest men will therefore keep silent when the community is robbed and say nothing about patent

¹Chap. 238, Laws N. J., 1916.

²*Idem*, Chap. 92.

³*Idem*, Chap. 117.

⁴*Idem*, Chap. 261.

inefficiency or oppression. There are, of course, cases which find their way into the press, or to the managers themselves, but the bulk of the real cases do not. It is probable, however, that the complaints which are most helpful in efficiency work are those which the managers entirely overlook.

There are, of course, many cases on record to illustrate my points. Among employes, the commission which protects them from unjust removal and which by law must deal with the service across all departmental lines as a series of professions and vocations (grades), in each of which it must promote the best professional and vocational standards by which to measure individual merit, can command a confidence and sympathy which busy and transient department heads, however competent as managers, cannot utilize in efficiency operations. Efficiency is not merely a departmental question, nor is it a matter to be alternately promoted and discouraged, but it is one for the whole service, apart from management, which the people must put on a permanent basis, if they are to get results. Moreover, I feel firmly convinced that the best discipline can never be founded on fear of a superior, but that it must be founded on confidence in justice. The right of citizens to remove classified employes for proven cause (and in my view the civil service commissioners themselves should be classified employes) seems to me essential to popular control. We can safely trust our elective officers to establish policies and make standards of service to carry out these policies, wise or unwise, but we ought never to vest them with power to retain inefficient subordinates or to block the equal opportunity of citizens to public office if they can appoint themselves by showing their vocational merit.

The bureau of public complaints is the forerunner of better popular control over the classified service as well as of greater efficiency in that service. It is a most important aspect or use of the merit system, the system which has in view the creation of efficient democracy.

ROBERT CATHERWOOD.

Chicago.

Relief of Poor in Walla Walla.—Walla Walla, Washington, has a society for the relief of the poor which administers from one central office poor funds of the county and of what is practically the associated charities. This organization is known as the United relief society, and is incorporated under the state laws as a result of a meeting of representatives of churches, lodges, labor organizations, benevolent societies, and of the city and county, held in January, 1912. Fifteen directors, men and women, among whom were the mayor and one of the county commissioners, were elected. The Rev. Charles E. Tuke, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, who was instrumental in bringing about the organization, was made president. He has been the administrator of relief, acting in co-operation with the other directors, until this year, when parochial problems made it necessary for him to ask for assistance, and the probation officer of the county was hired to do the work of investigating and supplying the needs of the worthy.

The county commissioners send applicants for aid to the office of the society for investigation and relief, and each month reimburse it for assistance given. After the first year of the society's existence, the commissioners reported that their expenditures for the relief of the poor as administered by this society were less than usual, and that, the poor farm excepted, they would administer their relief in the future through the agency of the organization. The mayor has set aside a room in the city hall for the downtown office and a generous citizen loaned a runabout for the use of the president in investigating cases of need. The directors report that since the unifying of the charitable agencies, house to house begging and professional mendicancy have decreased, that it has been made increasingly difficult for the unworthy to impose upon the charitable, and that the worthy poor have been wisely assisted with the necessities and with opportunities for self help in the way of employment.

Walla Walla has a population of 20,000 generally dependent upon the wheat

crops. After the harvesting of the crops the workers with their families move to other fields, but there are always some for whom a removal is impossible because of improvidence, or sickness, or the desertion of the wage-earner. For these either assistance or work must be provided. The relief society therefore decided to act as an employment agency, and by an arrangement with the fuel companies of the city, was able to provide work at wood sawing by hand instead of by machine. Odd jobs were also obtained about the city, wood splitting, yard cleaning, etc.

*

Special Commissions and Investigations Authorized in 1916 in Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey and South Carolina.—The *Illinois* special session, 1916, authorized a centennial commission to arrange for a centennial celebration and to issue a commemorative history of the state. In *Kentucky* a commission to investigate conditions as to feeble-mindedness, with, however, no appropriation from the state, was authorized. *Maryland* continued the educational survey commission created in 1914 so as to allow time for a survey of the higher educational institutions which it was found impossible to cover in the period originally allotted the commission and also continued the joint commission with Virginia on fisheries industries legislation.

The session laws of *New Jersey* for 1916 include authorizations or continuations of twelve special commissions and investigations. The commission on care of mental defectives, the commission to investigate the desirability of establishing a system of pensions for state and municipal officers and employees, and the commission for the survey of municipal financing, were all continued. Newly created commissions are: a commission to investigate whether toll roads and bridges can be acquired by the state; a commission to investigate the problem of conserving fish; a commission to inquire into the observance, enforcement application, operation and effect of the civil service law in the state, county and municipal governments and the advisability of amendments; a commission to

investigate conditions in this country, experiences of states and foreign nations, character, expense, etc., with a view to establishing military instruction in high schools. The commission to ameliorate the condition of the blind was instructed to inquire into the causes of blindness, so that with the co-operation of the state board of health preventive measures might be adopted and enforced. Four commissions cover codifications or rearrangement of various parts of the statutes, *i.e.*: a commission to contract for a supplement to the compiled statutes of New Jersey to include laws of 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915; a commission to revise and codify state laws relating to cities and other municipalities; a commission to revise and codify the fish and game laws; a commission to revise, simplify, arrange and consolidate the primary and election laws of the state.

In *South Carolina*, a state system of rural credits will be the subject for investigation by a special commission. Also a commission to provide for additional quarters for state officers was authorized.

ETHEL CLELAND.

Indianapolis.

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The Honolulu Civic Center.—While one department of the federal government is seemingly permitting towns to be projected on the public land without any consideration whatever for modern progress, another department emphasizes the value of that same progress. In the federal commerce report the correspondent from Honolulu interestingly describes the development there of the idea of centralizing public buildings.

In this case this civic center has not resulted, it is regrettable to have to say, because the Government authorities have themselves proposed it, but because the Outdoor Circle, an organization of some five hundred women, has "worked incessantly for several years with this object in view."

The Honolulu civic center will cover several blocks, and will include, with the executive building as a nucleus, a judiciary building and a federal building.

Apparently these buildings are to fit with what is known as the archives building, and the fourth side of the space thus being harmoniously developed is said to be already "well taken care of by the handsome public-library structure."

Perhaps some time the interests, the lives and the welfare of that increasingly large section of the population of the United States dwelling in cities will be considered as worth the same grade of expert attention as is now beneficently effective in connection with agricultural pursuits. We may have a federal municipal department as well as a federal agricultural department.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

Oakland Municipal Reference Library.

—Some idea of the hold which municipal reference libraries have on the public may be gathered from the experience of Oakland, California. In December, 1915, Mayor John L. Davis of that city sent a letter to the council declaring that the library was a useless municipal activity and that no good could come from the study of municipal activities in other parts of the country. The board of library directors followed this advice and passed a resolution abolishing the library on January 1, 1916. The council and directors, however, were immediately deluged with protests from all parts of the city with the result that the council in its first appropriation thereafter voted to continue the library.

II. POLITICS¹

Harrisburg's Unique Mayoralty Situation.—Harrisburg has a public character whom from time to time they elect as mayor. He seems to be lacking in most of the public and private virtues, if one is to judge from the comments of correspondents, but evidently the people of Harrisburg like him, as he makes no concealment of his intention, purposes, or his personal practices. He is, however, a pretty good politician and that perhaps is the source of his strength. A well known member of the National Municipal League writes that this mayor "has announced that he proposes to overturn the city government entirely, and that he will take the management himself of the fire department in addition to the police department. The reason for this is, of course, in view of his machine-building quality, to increase his strength, for we have a volunteer fire department which now has far too much to do with the affairs of the town." The new mayor, however, has announced that he would appoint a former mayor who made a very excellent record in charge of the park department. This is an im-

portant announcement because under the administration just closed that department had been in the hands of a man who had very little if any interest in the aspirations of those who have made the Harrisburg plan famous, and which is referred to at length in Mr. McFarland's article on the subject.² It is rather interesting that, notwithstanding Harrisburg's political shortcomings, the Harrisburg plan has been steadily developed and has been a striking contribution to municipal development.

✱

Nashville.—For two years past Nashville has been a municipal storm center. One of the results of the development has been a careful examination of its accounts. James Cameron, a municipal expert of New York, was retained in the summer of 1915 to investigate the city's affairs. Almost immediately there were sensations. To start with, the accountants on Mr. Cameron's staff could not locate the financial records. The records of the receipt of the city's revenue for the prior six years had to be established by verbal testimony. One of the deputy treasurers stated that the records had been burned

¹ Unless otherwise indicated the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 71.

for the period 1909-1914. After a year's work by the accountants they reported a defalcation of \$70,000. In the meantime a general survey of the city's government was made by Mr. Cameron.

In 1913 Nashville adopted a commission form of government.¹ The act under which this was accomplished put the administration of affairs in the hands of five commissioners, a plan which Mr. Cameron severely condemned, declaring that Nashville had really been divided into five independent governments, each isolated from the other. The work of the commissioners clearly showed that the framers of the new act had the political situation in mind and had little or no thought of embodying the favorable features of the commission form of government. During the investigation and survey, an attempt was made by a number of taxpayers to have the city thrown into the hands of a receiver. In point of fact, a receiver was nominally appointed, but a decision of the appellate court stopped the proceedings, though not before it was flashed to all the financial centers that the city was in the hands of a receiver. This whole proceeding is condemned as scandalous in the Cameron report. He reported that there was merely a lack of available cash, the city not having attempted to make a temporary loan in anticipation of its revenues, laboring under the impression that in the absence of affirmative statutes, it had no such rights. However its obligations have been met and in the report it is shown that Nashville is financially sound and is really in a much better financial condition than most other cities of the same size. While the case is still in chancery and evidence is being taken before a master in chancery it is generally understood that a receiver will not be appointed. According to Mr. Cameron the case hangs on because surety companies and city commissions are defendants and because of allegations of fraud and misfeasance. The city has filed suits against certain commissioners and bondsmen to enforce their liability.

¹See article on "Municipal Affairs in Nashville," by St. George L. Seonssat, vol. iv, p. 646.

Mr. Cameron was assisted in his investigation and survey by Barclay, Parsons and Clapp, consulting engineers of New York. The report has been published in full in the Nashville daily papers of July 13.

*

St. Louis Municipal Voters League Sued.—Two suits have been filed against the municipal voters league of St. Louis, one by Eugene Hale who was candidate for circuit attorney and about whom the League said nothing other than what appeared in the blank furnished by him over his own signature and the words "not recommended." Mr. Hale was a member of the house of delegates just before the adoption of the new charter and upon the expiration of his term as such, he was a candidate for city council, at which time the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* vigorously attacked him. According to the secretary of the league, his suit is without foundation or merit and it is generally thought it was instituted for advertising purposes. The other suit was filed by a candidate for state legislature. The league's report stated that he was a bar tender some years ago in the segregated district. While there may have been some doubt about his actually having been a bar tender, the league has been supplied with abundant evidence from voluntary sources as to his connection with the segregated district. The league is paying no attention to these suits, but is ready for them if they come to trial.

*

The Oakland Recall.—The recall against Commissioner F. F. Jackson of Oakland, Cal.,¹ was defeated by 889 votes, and the official was returned to office by a majority of 3,186 over his nearest opponent, Dr. R. M. Higgins. He beat Edwin Meese, former city treasurer, by 5,453 votes.

The final count showed the following result:

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 385.

For the recall.....	13,220
Against the recall.....	13,669
Dr. F. F. Jackson.....	10,663
R. M. Higgins.....	7,447
Edwin Meese.....	5,199
W. F. Drury.....	1,257
E. D. Lewis.....	139
J. H. Grande.....	122
Alfred Withof.....	93

Total vote..... 25,892

The election was quiet, fewer than half of the registered voters going to the polls. One of the features of the pre-election campaign was the fight made by Oakland business men who took a stand in favor of Jackson on the ground that the recall was an unnecessary expense to the taxpayers.

*

Los Angeles.—Charles E. Sebastian, the mayor, has resigned on account of ill health, and Frederick T. Woodman, president of the board of harbor commissioners, has been elected his successor.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Thomas H. Reed, who since January, 1916, has been responsible for the department of Judicial Decisions, has recently assumed the position of city manager of San Jose, California. He had fully ex-

pected to be able to continue his work for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, but the burdens of administration have prevented. We are planning to resume the department with the January issue.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The Meeting of the National Assembly of Civil Service Commissions¹ at Ottawa, Canada, June 14-16, 1916, was of international character. It was attended by 57 delegates from distant portions of the United States and Canada representing 23 commissions. Several of the delegates were members of the council of the National Civil Service Reform League, and others represented the larger associations of civil service employees. A large degree of real progress was secured in agreeing upon important principles. The delegates were guests of the Canadian civil service commission and the cordiality of the reception and generous hospitality given the American delegates made a deep impression and cemented the ties of sympathy and good-will in this time of suffering overseas.

Printed reports were considered from committees which had been at work since the 1915 meeting upon efficiency records, a standard law and examination standards. The proceedings consisted chiefly of

discussions of the reports of these committees, which had been circulated in advance of the meeting. There was agreement that the civil service commissions should be taken out of politics; that, in order to establish satisfactory efficiency records and secure promotions on merit, the heads of bureaus or departments, except those which are in their nature policy-determining, should be in the classified service; that the service ought to be made attractive by suitable old-age pensions, which should be at least in part contributive; and that removals, reductions in salaries, etc., should be made only for good cause well established.

The report on efficiency record systems was presented by Thomas C. Murray, chairman. The report said, in part:

The committee decided to consult various administrators of efficiency record systems now in operation both in the civil service and in the service of private business concerns having upwards of ten thousand employees and to ascertain the objections, if any, and recommendations of employees working under such systems.

¹See article^{*} by F. W. Coker, vol v, p. 574.
—EDITOR.

It determined to direct special attention to the means for insuring the integrity, honesty and impartiality of records, their uniform and accurate operation in each vocation or grade, and to standardization, the selection of units or factors and their relative importance or weight.

The committee makes no recommendations at this time. It is impressed with the fact that efficiency record systems are in the formative period of development and that dogmatic statements concerning them and any attempt to make final conclusions would be harmful. While the experience of private concerns throws much light on the subject, it illustrates in many ways the differences between public and private service. On the whole, the committee believes that the methods used in public service are more developed, accurate in operation and superior in results, so far as fairness, incentive and economy are concerned than those used in private service. The profound modifications in system which different provisions of law and different conditions of employment throughout the country make necessary should not be overlooked. No efficiency system worthy of the name can be operated successfully without money or without adequate legal powers.

For the present the committee confines itself to submitting in the form of questions and answers the statements of certain witnesses who are operating efficiency systems or serving under them, in the hope that this first-hand testimony may prove useful to the members of the national assembly.

The consensus of opinion upon the report was that efficiency records should be kept in the simplest way and that the subject requires continued study.

The report of the committee on co-operation among commissions on examination standards was presented by its chairman, F. E. Doty. Recommendations were made for co-operative studies and experiments or investigations, the appointment of a standing committee on classification, with the hope of extending and listing, under some simple and acceptable classification, services that are common to a majority of civil service commissions, and also the consideration of minimum prerequisite qualifications for entrance to examinations.

The assembly approved the standard civil service law as reported from its committee, with several alternative sections on removal of classified employees and

appointment of civil service commissioners, and displayed a commendable intention to follow the leadership of the National Civil Service Reform League in legislative matters, and relegated the whole subject of the standard law to the national league.

H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, governor-general of Canada, in receiving the delegates laid emphasis upon the value of the merit principle in the civil service to a nation at war and referred to the part it has played in building up the British Empire. He strongly commented upon efficient civil service as a basis for national defense. Richard H. Dana responded on behalf of the delegates.

William Foran, the secretary of the Canadian civil service commission, was made president of the assembly.

JOHN T. DOYLE.¹

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The Union of Canadian Municipalities.

—The activities of the executive of the Union during the year 1915 were somewhat strenuous, and chiefly devoted to devising and advising ways and means for the cities to cope with the unusual disturbed conditions, arising out of the war. The two principal problems were:

(a) The disturbance of municipal finances (in many cases a contraction of income), the curtailment, and difficulty of borrowing (which means the stopping of municipal works).

(b) The unemployed. This was most serious. Large construction works and large industrial establishments found themselves compelled without ceremony to dismiss thousands of trained clerks, mechanics and laborers, as well as women workers.

The union was scheduled to hold its annual convention for 1915 in Victoria, B. C., but early in the year the mayors and aldermen of the larger cities urged the postponement of the convention until this year, as they found that they could not leave their duties for even a day. It was, and is still, a time of unrest. The mayors know it and are ready for emergencies. To the credit of these capable

¹Secretary of the National Assembly, and of the United States civil service commission.

public spirited municipal men they have pulled through two years of unparalleled anxiety. To their credit cities have been free from riot or lawlessness; the unemployed have had everything done for them within the powers of the municipality. So it has come to pass that the executives have held several conferences among themselves, and with the federal government, always with the two main objects in view, financing, and the unemployed.

Early in the year the union tabulated a form for the municipalities to fill in the requisite information when they issue and sell a series of debentures. This definite information has helped wonderfully in selling to the bond brokers and to the investor.

The Union organized and arranged a conference of representatives of the federal and provincial governments, the larger cities, the manufacturers association, transportation companies, the trades and labor council, the boards of trade, the bankers association, and charity organizations, for the purpose of discussing and solving the unemployed problem, and co-operating in some just, and generous, and practical way. This group of interests was certainly unique, and represented interests that appeared to be absolutely opposed, but the times are extraordinary, but there was a feeling of co-ordination and co-operation in the air which gave every promise of a satisfactory solution of the unemployment problem.

The 1916 meeting of the union was held in Montreal August 21-23, and was, on the whole, well attended. The papers dealt largely with questions arising from the war time condition and reflected a serious, but not necessarily dangerous condition, and showed a fine spirit of determination and public interest. Here are some of the questions considered: Returned soldiers, the patriotic fund, immigration, public employment offices. Finance came in for a commendable degree of careful attention as did the form of government. The various types of Canadian and American

municipal government were discussed including the National Municipal League's model city charter. Some idea of the spirit of the union may be gathered from the following taken from the program:

"When this war is over Canada will be face to face with the greatest opportunity of her national life, now made possible by the extreme sacrifice of so many of her sons and daughters, and which she has not only the right to, but must grasp if those great sacrifices have not been made in vain. How she will be able to take advantage of the opportune moment depends absolutely on the preparations being made now by the citizens through their public bodies, whether they be federal, provincial or municipal; but especially municipal for the principal reason that owing to the exigencies of their office civic representatives are in daily touch with the people—hence their greater responsibility in rising to that standard of preparedness so magnificently set by our men and women who are to-day representing us on the fields of Flanders."

Alderman Leslie H. Boyd of Montreal was elected president and W. D. Lighthall, the efficient honorary secretary was re-elected.



Vacant Lots Association.—For eighteen years the vacant lots cultivation association of Philadelphia has carried on its work, achieving practical results and serving as an inspiration for similar movements in France, England and Germany. Land is loaned to the association (subject to dispossession by the owner). The association prepares the land for cultivation by plowing and division into gardens of about one-sixth of an acre. Fertilizers and rich seed are supplied to the gardeners, at an expense to the association of about \$5 a garden. The charge to the gardener is \$1 for the first year, \$2 for the second, and so on until the amount spent by the association is returned to it. The work on the garden is done by the various gardening families, and the supply therefrom, after supplying family needs, can be disposed of by the gardeners.

During the summer of 1914, 603 gardeners were allotted plots, covering $81\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The cost of cultivation was \$7,693; the food produced was valued at \$32,000, and all the profits went to the workers. The possibilities of vacant lot cultivation are very large. In Manhattan island, in 1914, the vacant parcels of land numbered 193,000; in Brooklyn they numbered 50,391. If returns similar to those in Philadelphia—\$400 per acre—could be secured from the land, it would mean \$100,000,000 and a net profit of \$75,000.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.



Civic Co-operation and Amalgamation.

—Appleton, Wis., adopted commission government about three years ago, doing away with a city council and leaving a big council chamber empty in the city hall. The civic league, a privately financed organization, began its work under a paid worker on Dec. 1, 1914, having desk room granted by courtesy of a local physician in his office. The city commission, though not contributing to the league, was not unfriendly to it and when one of the directors asked for desk room for the league's secretary in a corner of the council chamber in March, 1915, the request was readily granted. The relations between the league and the city poor commissioner are friendly and there is a fair degree of co-operation; being in the same building helps in both respects.

The visiting nurses association had the start here. Through the generosity of the leading dry-goods house, a visiting nurse was engaged for a year and her salary paid by this firm with the expectation that the city, or private benevolence, would take over the work and also provide an assistant nurse to work in public schools at the end of that time (March, 1913). This hope was not realized, however, and after contributing for two and one-half years to the support of the nurse, the company withdrew its support. The city commission declined to take over the work and in June, 1915, the financial support from the public being insufficient, the nurse resigned and the work lapsed.

Overtures were made in the spring to the association directors by the league looking toward a combination of the two. These were renewed in October, and after much discussion the visiting nurses association voted to go out of existence as a separate organization and become a department of the civic league. This was done and the first meeting of the combined organizations was held in December. A nurse was immediately engaged and began work on December 15.

The work is privately financed as a department of the civic league. Nevertheless, a movement has been started to present to the city commissioners the need of making this a public work financed by the city; and a committee of seven representative men has been appointed to devise the most effective way of bringing this to their attention.¹



Made in the U. S. A.—What is believed to be a new use of the industrial design "Made in U. S. A." has been made at the suggestion of the Hoboken (N. J.) board of trade. As a member of the mayor's safe and sane fourth committee the secretary of the board proposed that a civic use of that now well-known design be made by incorporating it into a citizen badge reading "Citizen Made in Hoboken, U. S. A. Class of 1916, July 4th—Honor Guest City of Hoboken." The words "Citizen" and "Hoboken" were printed in red and the design and other wording in blue, all on white ribbon. Mayor Griffin and the city commissioners sent special invitations to all naturalized citizens made so subsequent to July 4, 1915, to be present at the Independence Day celebration and with each invitation, more than 200 in all, went the badge described. The ready response on the part of the "citizens made in Hoboken" and the appreciation shown by them for the attention they were given at the flag-raising exercises, suggests the adaptability of the idea to other occasions such as will be part of Americanization campaigns now being conducted throughout the United States. Perhaps in this way can these "Americans by choice"

¹ Mary Sands is general secretary of the league.

be paid the necessary attention so long delayed; and perhaps in this way can Americans by birth show their Americanism and aid Americanization.

ROSCOE D. WYATT.¹

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Dayton's Propaganda.—The citizens and officials of Dayton, Ohio, are so enthusiastic over the success of their city government that they are endeavoring to spread throughout the country the gospel of efficient service through the commission manager plan. Dayton has felt since the terrible flood which devastated the city in March, 1913, that she owes the country at large a big debt of gratitude for the generous responses for succor from the outside world. She is endeavoring to repay this in a measure by giving her sister cities a wider knowledge of what excellent service and returns she is receiving in the expenditure of her taxes.

The activities of every department of the city are graphically set forth in the annual report of the city commission for 1915, which is being distributed free of charge by the Dayton bureau of research, because the city cannot afford the printing expense. Many commendations are being received by city officials upon the substantial results shown, as portrayed in the well arranged, concise, attractive, illustrated annual report.

This is not the only form of publicity, however. Another interesting phase is to be found in the illustrated lectures being given by J. N. Switzer, one of the city commissioners. Dayton has learned that good government comes from the demands of an interested and informed citizen body, and with this in mind the commissioner has prepared a highly instructive and entertaining lecture accompanied by stereopticon views. These "before and after" pictures outline the progress made. The original suggestion for these lectures came from John H. Patterson, president of the National cash register company, who believes thoroughly that more permanent impressions are obtained through seeing than through hearing. Accordingly, he arranged for the stereopticon as

a happy medium of reporting to the people upon what their public officials are doing to serve them.

Mr. Switzer already has lectured in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Toledo, Aberdeen, S. D., and many other cities, appearing before chambers of commerce, commercial clubs, and similar civic organizations, and his lectures invariably lead to profitable discussions afterward.

A charge sufficient only to cover Mr. Switzer's traveling and hotel expenses is made, and from the requests which already have been received to give these addresses this fall, indications are that the opportunity to become informed of the progress in our largest city manager city is being appreciated in all sections of the country.

CHESTER E. RIGHTOR.

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National Municipal League Prizes for 1916.—The *William H. Baldwin* prize for 1916 for the best essay on efficient billboard regulation was awarded to Miss Bernice V. Brown, of Radcliffe College, Cambridge, with honorable mention of Phillips Bradley, Harvard University. The judges were Albert S. Bard, Esq., New York, Prof. James Sturgis Pray, Harvard University and Frank B. Williams, New York City. Miss Brown also won the Baldwin prize in 1915.

The *High School* prizes for the best essays on keeping the highways clean were awarded as follows: first prize, Carroll Stansbury, Washington, D. C., second prize Miss Virginia Crutcher, Pine Bluff, Ark., and honorable mention, Wellington G. Nicola, Attleboro, Mass. The judges were Charles Mulford Robinson, University of Illinois school of landscape design, and Richard B. Watrous, secretary of the American Civic Association. The following states were represented in the competition: District of Columbia, Arkansas, Massachusetts, Colorado, Illinois, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Rhode Island, New York, Wisconsin, Ohio, Minnesota, West Virginia, Michigan, South Dakota, Kentucky, Maryland, Nebraska, Iowa.

The *Portland Prize* on the unearned increment tax as a source of revenue for Portland, Oregon, was awarded to Miss

¹Managing-Secretary.

Clara Eliot, of Reed College. The judges were Dr. Ralph E. George, Whitman College, and H. H. Parker, Esq., Portland.

There were no awards of the Hull and Cincinnati prizes.

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Municipal Courts.¹—We had fully expected to publish in this issue an extended account of the work of the committee on municipal courts of which Hon. Harry Olsen of Chicago is chairman, and Herbert Harley, secretary. The report which Mr. Harley prepared, however, will be used in the volume "A New Municipal Program" to be devoted to the elucidation of the model city charter of the League. Mr. Harley as secretary has also prepared a report for presentation at the annual meeting in Springfield, November 23-25, which will appear in full in the January issue. Those desiring an advance reprint can secure one by addressing the League at its office in the North American Building, Philadelphia.

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The League of American Municipalities held its annual meeting in Newark, September 7-9. The only new officer elected was vice-president Leslie H. Boyd, of Montreal. All the other officers were re-elected, including Martin Behrman, of New Orleans, president, and Robert E. Lee, of Baltimore, as secretary.

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A Mistake as to Stover.—The July number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW contains on page 527 a review by Dr. Leonhard Felix Fuld of "The legal rights of civil servants in the City of New York," who in error ascribed the work to George

H. Stover, "assistant corporation counsel¹ of the city of New York." Mr. Stover is not an assistant corporation counsel, but a member of the legal staff of the bureau of municipal research. There is a Josiah A. Stover, an assistant corporation counsel, and Dr. Fuld's mistake is a natural one. However, George H. Stover should receive full credit for the work.—EDITOR.

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Professor Thomas H. Reed, who has been associate professor of government in the University of California, has accepted the position of city manager of San José, California, at a salary of \$6,000. Professor Reed took office July 1 and has already demonstrated the wisdom of the selection. By abolishing the office of city treasurer and constituting one of the banks the city treasury he has already saved his year's salary to the city. He has been granted a leave of absence from the university for one year, but will remain permanently in his new position if he is able to demonstrate the practicability of the theories he has been advancing as a professor. Professor Reed drafted the San José charter.

J. R. Douglass has been appointed instructor in political science in Professor Reed's place to give municipal government. He will give it as a year course for the first time, the second semester being devoted to functions. He will continue to be secretary of the Berkeley city club. Last year he was at Harvard doing graduate work under Professor Munro.

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William B. Hale, of Chicago, has been chosen chairman of the council of the National Civil Service Reform League to succeed Robert D. Jenks, of Philadelphia, who resigned last autumn.

¹See vol. v, p. 329.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH PROTECTION.

By Henry B. Hemenway. Indianapolis: Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company.

So much sickness is preventable that it is a community problem to organize forces, which can take the necessary steps to meet the condition. Not only will an efficiently organized public health service vitally touch the life of every citizen; but it will help to decrease the amount of poverty and crime. These facts prompt Dr. Hemenway to write a short history of the development of the science and profession of public health in America, giving also a present day picture of health work and pointing out how it may be made much more efficient.

Beginning with the earliest public health legislation in America, the Massachusetts quarantine law of 1647, the book covers all of the important measures for the protection of the public up until the present day. One of the greatest failures has been the lack of executive power given to health departments. Health work is essentially executive and administrative. Past failures have resulted from various causes. Owing to the indefiniteness of the science, so-called "practical men" have been chosen, political office seekers, often a law unto themselves. Moreover, public opinion has held a practising physician to be the proper individual for the carrying out of health regulations, while as a matter of fact his training, his professional work and his methods of thought are usually such as to make him entirely incompetent to carry out the duties of health official. The author feels that both the politician and the practising physician are equally unqualified for the task. Public health work has developed a new profession, requiring specially trained men.

One reason for the slow advance along the lines of public health has been the failure on the part of the public at large to appreciate that there is a vast difference between medical and sanitary education. Much of the training given to our physicians is not only unnecessary for the sanitarian, but tends to take the latter's attention away from the field of public health. Moreover the sanitarian must have definite knowledge along other lines, quite foreign to, and unnecessary for the physician. The practise has usually been to apprentice the young physician as health official until he has built up enough of a practise to be financially independent of the health work. This has proved to be wholly unfair to the public, to the physician and to the profession of public health. The young physician has been made to serve two masters, prevention and cure. As it is necessary for him to live, he has usually neglected the former and served the latter. There have been some public spirited physicians, who have been most faithful to the preventive work to the neglect of their own practises, but the public has made no return to them, and as a result they have suffered serious financial loss.

Sanitary education should begin in the secondary schools and should extend through normal school and college courses, with graduate courses offered in our higher institutions. Moreover the advanced courses should lead to some definite degree, which should receive due recognition. In this way sanitary inspectors and other workers in health departments, as well as those in charge of the work, would be able to get the preliminary training necessary to enable them to take up the work with intelligence.

The question is often asked as to why this work is necessary today while in past

generations there has been little or none of it. This the author explains by showing that there have been marked social and economic changes, which necessitate measures of prevention, quite uncalled for in the past. Formerly isolation, terminal fumigation and the abatement of nuisances constituted the main duties of the old boards of health. There were few diseases isolated, because it was not appreciated that other diseases than those designated were infectious. With our present day knowledge of the modes of spread of communicable disease, the list of quarantinable diseases has been greatly increased. The little isolated farm community offered but a small problem in health administration. However, as the transition took place from the small community to the city, wells were supplanted by a common water supply, privies gave way to cesspools, which in turn were supplanted by a common system of sewerage and sewage disposal. The sewage matter could no longer be emptied into the river, owing to the fact that a town nearby was beginning to get its drinking water from the river. Thus new rights had to be established. The water supply had to be watched and the proper disposal of sewage must needs be maintained, so that here alone were two large problems, calling for the best sanitary care. In addition to all of this the growth of population and the change from rural to urban life brought about a change in the milk supply. Instead of receiving milk from a near neighbor, whose family health and history might readily be known, large collecting plants became numerous and the milk was gathered from near and far. These demanded careful supervision as to the sources and methods of handling, for modern science has shown us that milk is a very good carrier of many infections. Pasteurization of the milk seemed the only safe means of protecting the public against milk-borne disease, but this again needed careful, expert supervision. These and many other conditions have arisen, which require men of expert and special training in things sanitary in order that the health and comfort of our people be properly provided for.

Little by little, the public is coming to appreciate the fact that educating children to a certain point, and then having them either die from preventable disease, or else having them become a burden to the community because of simple physical defects, which might have been easily remedied in earlier years, is poor economy and poor humanity. Boston was the first to institute a system of medical inspection of school children, and its lead has been followed all through the world. Medical inspection deals not only with the matter of communicable disease, but also with every phase of the child's physical well-being. It should prevent the occurrence of gross physical defects by discovering them in their incipency. It should also eliminate those minor ailments, which sap the vitality of the child, and so prevent the child from making the progress which it should make in its school work. In this way the properly conducted system of medical inspection of school children pays many times over for the money invested. It not only shortens the time necessary for the child to cover the required curriculum, but also accomplishes a greater thing in enabling the child to live a more healthy life. The author feels that it is extremely important that the medical inspection in schools should be entirely under the board of education instead of being under the health department, except for prompt reporting to the latter of cases of communicable disease. The two boards should co-operate in this matter. The choice of well-qualified, full-time medical inspectors is at the basis of a successful system of medical inspection.

After discussing the work of the health department, the next question to which Dr. Hemenway turns his attention is concerned with the best kind of organization for carrying out the work. He points out in a very convincing manner that centralizing the authority in a single head, the health commissioner or health officer, is the only successful method of carrying on the work. The very nature of the work requires specialized training and technical knowledge. Moreover it is most difficult to obtain men of

the proper qualifications. With a number of men acting as an executive board the responsibility is divided, and the work is not carried on with proper despatch and decision. The single head of the health organization should be chosen without regard to politics, residence or other unimportant considerations. He should be chosen because of his knowledge of public health matters and because he knows how to administer the work. He should devote his entire time to the work. Where communities are too small to carry on the work by themselves they should combine with nearby towns and share the expense. This has been done with success in certain parts of the country. Such a man as described can be obtained only when the public has come to the point where it is willing to pay the price, so that young and able men will see enough of a future in the work to warrant their taking the training necessary to qualify in the service.

The preparation of men for the work is extremely important. The rudiments of public health should be taught in colleges and normal schools. Our graduate schools should be endowed, so that they can give courses in public health work and then grant appropriate degrees upon the completion of the same. The trained health worker will thus be recognized as belonging to an important profession. Short courses of study may be given in the winter time for those who may be in active service during the rest of the year, and who desire to keep in touch with the latest advances in public health work.

The author's ideas are for the most part very clear and very logical. One cannot read the book without feeling the growing need for more efficient health work, and the responsibility of the individual for making this possible. Not only is one impressed by the fact that the work demands able men, who are free from political and other bias, but one sees what a noble and useful profession has been born, and what wonderful opportunities it offers to men with a desire to serve a useful purpose.

WILLIAM E. BROWN.

Harvard University.

THE OPERATION OF THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL IN OREGON. By James D. Barnett, Professor of Political Science in the University of Oregon. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

I have often regretted what seem to me the ultra tendencies of the times towards centralization in political literature. The extraordinary development of facilities for communication has thrown hundreds of cities and scores of commonwealths into the melting pot together. The obvious limitations upon the daily work of the average human mind have made it inevitable that the time spent in reading about world wars and national politics and in discussing them will curtail the amount of attention which can be given to state and local affairs. Of course, even from the standpoint of intelligence and efficiency, as a citizen of state or city, this consideration of the wide affairs of the world is not a dead loss; but, nevertheless, the natural passion of hard-worked and curious humanity to give its leisure to remote things which do not demand immediate action on the part of those who contemplate them, will, unless pretty closely restrained, impoverish the intelligence and the emotion rightly due to the community in which we live. I hope that there may be a partial reaction against the too great centralization in the organization of political intelligence. I hope that the time may come when these wonderful cities and states of ours may have individual distinctions great enough and vital enough to stimulate local literature and develop latent genius for description and analysis of local life by offering it the priceless reward of attention. It is a great mistake in political administration to try to suppress and conceal the individualities of the men who do the real work for the public, and to concentrate attention and rewards upon the one man who happens to hold the position of highest responsibility. The more recognized strong men we have in politics, the more stable and steadily progressive will democracy be. In like manner, a great nation such as ours is strengthened

by the development of potent individuality in states and cities, based upon their natural characteristics and upon their particular achievements.

Among American commonwealths Oregon enjoys great distinction, as a glance at the bibliography of Dr. Barnett's book proves. The "Oregon system" has become a recognized theme of political literature. But more important for Oregon than the fact that the entire country has been interested in it and discussing it for a number of years, is the fact that Oregon itself in its newspapers, in its legislative halls, in its leagues and associations and in the conversation of its people—citizen to citizen—has had something of its own to talk about. It has been carrying on a great debate on the most fundamental principles of government, and I hazard the opinion that as a result there are one thousand citizens of Oregon better qualified for such a discussion than the average editor of a great metropolitan daily. It cannot well be disputed that the one thing most needful in a democracy is what Oregon has been getting through the combination of widespread discussion and manifold decision by the electorate which have characterized the operation of the initiative, the referendum and the recall there. R. W. Montague's article in the April, 1914, issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW¹ betrayed some emotion. He tried to state the case impartially, but he could not conceal the fact that it gave him joy to present an attractive picture. Professor Barnett shows no emotion. In his examination of the Oregon system he does not flinch from the use of the X-ray and the scalpel. His contribution to the literature of political science in action is up to the best standards of academic impartiality and thoroughness. It is an Oregon study of the Oregon system and the state is to be congratulated upon having not only the system to be studied, but also the scientist to study and report upon it.

Four years ago when Theodore Roosevelt made his address to the Ohio con-

stitutional convention and incorporated the "rule of the people" in his political program, and when Woodrow Wilson frankly announced his conversion to the initiative and referendum, the great issue was thrust forward into a prominence that thrilled those of us who believe the initiative to be the fundamental next step in the unfolding of democracy. Since then the times have changed, and the movement for the direct control of government by the electors seems to have been checked for the time being. No doubt this phenomenon has been due in part to the world war and the absorption of public interest in international relations. Doubtless, also, it has been partly due to the abuses that arose in the use of direct legislation and the recall in some of the Western states, which led to many lugubrious editorials in the conservative east. These abuses, their importance and extent, and the possible remedies, are discussed in detail by Dr. Barnett. Perhaps, it is fortunate that the "impetuous knight" of Oyster Bay was not able to give immediate effect to our program of popular government. In the next advance along these lines, we should be able to profit by the experience of Oregon and other direct legislation states, much more fully than we could have done in 1912.

DELOS F. WILCOX.

New York City.



SOCIALIZED GERMANY. By Frederic C. Howe. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1915. \$1.50.

The strikingly good features of the book are the incontrovertible assertion that "Germany is more intelligently organized than is the rest of the world," the equally true statement that the average "German receives more from society" than do other peoples, the more difficultly understood fact that German legislation has actually wrought not only intensive production but also equitable distribution of wealth, and the present-day propriety of or necessity for more "human salvage," for bridled "privileged wealth," for extensive "social amelioration," for improved "expert-

¹Vol. iii, page 256.

schooling," for greater "expediency" and less "dogmatism" in American "theories of politics." In those matters, the author shows keen insight into our needs.

Unfortunately, however, little practical aid may be expected from studying the book, for the author draws such an unprepossessing, "undemocratic" picture of Germany that few average Americans could find any "model" therein for them or their country. Moreover, though the book sets as its task the explanation of a "mystery," it will be a wonder if the reader is not even more befuddled by the constantly recurring inconsistencies in the book itself. To illustrate what is conceived to be the error in both propositions:

(1) The gravamen of the author's complaint is against the large estate owning "Junker." In point of fact, few if any countries have a more satisfactory division or distribution of land ownership than Germany; nearly 80 per cent of the whole area is in holdings of under 250 acres. Furthermore, the Prussian state not the king is the owner of large domains. Also it is news to read that Stein and Hardenberg were South German, not Prussian, reformers. Moreover, Prussia's undemocratic checks on constitutional amendments did not prevent the democratic change of May 21, 1906, granting a salary of 3000 marks a year to each of the Reichstag members. Again, the assumption that Prussia's 235 members will or do vote as a unit suggests a "paper study" rather than actual knowledge of German parliamentary conditions. In fact, the Reichstag is composed of 397 members, elected by a one-man, universal, secret, and direct ballot. The federal right to vote is held by every male over 25 years of age, and is subject to no property or educational test. At the war's beginning, the "Junkers" had only 55 votes in the Reichstag, whereas the "Liberals" and "Social Democrats" had 210, an absolute majority. And, though no minister is responsible to parliament, no one can remain minister who can not persuade the body to support his bills.

(2) The statements that Germany is an "oligarchy" and yet is "democratically

minded"; that the Junker "controls," is opposed to "progress" and "education" and yet that Germany is 25 years "ahead of the world" in both; that the universities and public opinion are spineless and that the Reichstag is a debating club only and yet that all those forces have put Germany in the lead; that the Junker is the militarist and jingo and yet that his spirit "characterizes the whole nation"; that lack of popular control explains the wrongs of the country landowner and also the good deeds of the city house-owner; that a universal military duty to serve makes a "conscripted" army but that the lure of pay makes a "volunteer" army; that the present status was forced by rulers upon unwilling people and yet that German statesmanship is "not the opinion of the ruling class alone but of all classes"; that the state is so strong "as to devitalize the individual" and yet "this paternalism does not mean less freedom to the individual . . . (and) instead of stagnation there are initiation and aggression"; that education and educators are under "caste" domination and therefore harmful and inefficient and yet that both outrank the educational equipment of any other large states,—are seemingly inconsistent and self-contradictory. They do not satisfy as a solution of the "mystery."

It is particularly to be regretted that the author pays no attention to the geographical location of Germany, so little regard to the pressure of population upon space, and so wholly ignores German history from 1620 to 1648, from 1756 to 1763, from 1806 to 1814 as important "explanations" of the German tendency to centralization of power.

The author is, however, truly to be thanked for acquainting us with many of the details of Germany's organized efficiency; and he is sincerely to be congratulated for trying so courageously, even in these bitter times, to make us understand that there can be no true political liberty without economic freedom of the masses.

W. S. McNEILL.

Richmond, Va.

THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By Arthur Nichols Young, Ph.D. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. \$1.50.

In writing "The Single Tax Movement in the United States," Professor Young has done pioneer work in a strangely neglected field. The cause of this neglect is indicated in the book. The single tax idea persists and propagates itself rather in spite of, than because of, organization. Judged by ordinary standards of obvious organization it is negligible. Yet it is ubiquitous, breaking out in unexpected quarters and moving masses of people. For instance, Spain and South America are now being agitated by the discussion of the question, in a manner unprecedented in the case of any previous economic question.

While the book is in no sense a plea for the single tax idea, single taxers will concede its clearness as an exposition and its fairness as a chronicle. It pays full and generous tribute to the genius of Henry George, and while presenting the arguments of his critics gives equal space to his rejoinders.

If the book has a weakness it is one which is almost inseparable from an attempt of the kind when made by a man who was not a participant in the movement which he describes. Professor Young's sense of values in attempting to estimate the contributions made by individuals and organizations to the growth of the idea is not unerring.

In discussing the McGlynn imbroglio he gives the impression that the religious body which he refers to somewhat unhappily as the "Roman Church" was opposed to the single tax, when as a matter of fact, the whole controversy was precipitated by Tammany Hall (through the agency of W. Bourke Cockran, who glories in his achievement), inducing the late Archbishop Corrigan to try and silence a pastor who was merely exercising his right as a citizen to criticize public policies. Dr. McGlynn was restored to his sacerdotal functions without apology or recantation. The Roman curia formally declared that the single tax as

propounded by Dr. McGlynn and his able counsel, Monsignor Burtzell, contained nothing contrary to faith and morals. The controversy therefore was wholly over a matter of local politics.

Professor Young sums up very effectively the contribution of the single tax movement to public opinion. He points out that it has led to most of the movements for tax reform; to the extension of the idea of excess condemnation and special assessment; to a very general spread of interest in economics among workingmen; to a changed public attitude on franchises; to the policy of conserving our national resources.

"Finally," he says, "the American single tax movement has been a powerful force insistently directing attention to the vexed problem of poverty. Men have pondered this problem more seriously ever since "Progress and Poverty" was written. Through the propaganda of Henry George and his followers hundreds of thousands have been led to consider how the condition of mankind may be ameliorated. Never before has the pressing importance of social reform been felt as in the last generation. The most vital message of Henry George's life and work was the urgency of social reform. Whatever be the fate of the remedy for which he so earnestly contended, one thing is sure. Henry George made it plain that no true civilization can avoid the duty of finding a means to "extirpate poverty" and "to lighten the burdens of those compelled to toil."

JOHN J. MURPHY.

New York City.



PERSONNEL AND EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS, edited by Meyer Bloomfield. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science. Pp. 326.

As the efficiency of the human body is dependent more largely upon the quality of the food eaten and its proper digestion and assimilation, than upon any other factor, so the efficiency of any business organization, governmental or non-governmental, is dependent most largely upon the ability of the executives charged with

the duty of selecting the help, and the training, promoting, aiding and disciplining of the employees.

Although it is likely that private employers in America may learn much by studying and adapting the carefully devised selective methods of our municipal civil service commissions, our municipal executives may learn even more by carefully studying the methods by means of which our large private employers train and advance their workers and increase their business efficiency by promoting their personal welfare and stimulating their interest in their work.

Meyer Bloomfield, who is considered by many the ablest employment expert in America, has in this volume, which he has edited for the Academy, collected papers by the employment managers of America's foremost industrial establishments, which are full of practical helpful suggestions to municipal officials.

The volume gives the results of the experience of these private corporations in the functionalizing of the employment department, in the use of the unscientific hiring and firing policy, in the selection of employes by scientific methods, in the assignment of employes to duty after careful testing and in increasing the employes' efficiency by improving his personal welfare and stimulating his interest.

This is a volume which should be read and re-read by every municipal official who seeks success in his administrative efforts. Students of American municipal government have frequently commented upon the fact that although municipal employes are usually abler and more intelligent than those in private employ, the latter are usually more efficient. If there is foundation for this critical comment, the papers in this volume will quickly show the municipal official how to correct this condition.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.

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STANDARDIZATION OF SALARIES AND GRADES IN CIVIL SERVICE. By Robert Moses. Baltimore, 1916. Pp. 19.

All students of municipal science realize in a general way that the standardization

of salaries and grades is a procedure fraught with many difficulties and perplexities. They also realize that the difficulties inherent in such an administrative procedure are accentuated in a municipality which has the great size and the complicated governmental machinery of the city of New York.

Under these circumstances a pamphlet by the man who was the guiding expert in New York's recent salary standardization program, who planned the work and pushed it to completion should find a place on the library shelves of every municipal official.

Dr. Moses outlines the work accomplished, the manner in which these activities were carried on, the difficulties which were overcome, the history of the movement in New York and the plans for the future. The most concretely valuable part of this pamphlet is the formulation of seven specific items of advice to other standardizers, which Dr. Moses has evolved and deduced from his own experience.

Throughout the pamphlet the author has happily blended the scientific accuracy of the student with the wisdom of the successful practical official.

L. F. F.

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BUSINESS EMPLOYMENTS. By F. J. Allen. Boston: Ginn & Company. \$1.

This book is intended to enable young men to choose intelligently between business and other pursuits, to help make business employes more efficient, and so to render some service to those who are interested in the problems of career building. The first two needs have always been felt and any book that tends to fill those needs would be valuable. The last named purpose, that of aiding persons interested in the problems of career building, has a particular timeliness now that vocational guidance is coming to be recognized as an important function of our elementary and secondary educational systems.

The author presents an intensive study of three definite business lines which he believes include and typify the general activities of the business world, manufacture, trade, and finance. The business side

of manufacture is treated with shoe manufacture as a concrete example. One chapter is devoted to the executive offices, one to the general offices, one to the factory offices, and one to statistics in the manufacturing industries. Modern trade is illustrated by the department store, the subject being treated in separate chapters on merchandising or buying; superintending and selling; the office department; the advertising department; conditions of service; social service work; the employe, pay, and promotion. Finance is illustrated by a chapter on banking.

HERMAN G. JAMES.

University of Texas.

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THE FINANCIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON. By Charles Phillips Huse. Harvard Economic Studies, vol. xv. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Professor Huse has made a careful and creditable study of the financial history of Boston, from the beginning of city government May 1, 1822, to January 31, 1909. After a short introductory chapter on the winning of the charter, there are five chapters each dealing with a chronological period, and a conclusion. An appendix of 36 pages gives detailed tables of statistics; and there are also a bibliography and an index.

The more important changes in the organization of the municipal government are briefly described; and it is of interest to note that the relations of the town to the county of Suffolk were a factor in the change from town to city government.

As to financial affairs, the most general fact is the steady and rapid increase in the amounts involved, from \$135,000 in 1818 to \$30,424,000 in 1908. Per capita expenditures have risen from \$3.69 in 1818-21 to \$49.01 in 1903-06. Expenditures for fire protection and for public grounds show the largest rate of increase; while expenditures for schools and for county purposes are in recent years a smaller proportion of the total than in the earlier periods. On the revenue side, the *percentage* of receipts from taxes and rents has declined; while there have been marked

additions to the revenue from water rates and liquor licenses.

The concluding chapter is short, and is somewhat disappointing in the failure to discuss the principles and lessons to be drawn from the study. Explanations are not always adequate: No attention is called to the general rise of prices as a factor in the increase of municipal expenditures; nor is the inflation of the currency during and after the civil war emphasized as an element in the extraordinary increase during the period from 1860 to 1873. There are no comparisons with other cities; and in suggesting causes for the high per capita cost of municipal government in Boston (p. 344), there is no mention of one of the principal factors—that the city of Boston includes less than half the population of the urban district.

JOHN A. FAIRLIE.

University of Illinois.

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MARKETING PERISHABLE FARM PRODUCTS.

By Arthur B. Adams. New York: Columbia University, 1916. 180 pp.

Professor Adams has availed himself of the various source studies that have been made in the last few years as to the costs and prices in marketing perishable products and has evidently read much of the great volume of literature that has recently appeared in this field. He apparently has not done any, or but very little, investigating work himself. He describes the present system of marketing perishable products. He finds the weaknesses of the present system to lie in the varying supply and in the changing demand together with the losses from deterioration, and the want of care with the commodities before and after they enter the market, the inaccuracy of market information and the fact that the complicated marketing machinery seems to be too expensively run. He does not believe that the middleman system will be eliminated; he points out the limitations of direct marketing and of co-operative sales, because of the difficulty of finding consumers and transferring goods to consumers. He believes that the cost of

performing the marketing process may be reduced through government market bureaus, through the standardization of grades and packages, through the elimination of unfair business practices, through the organizing of market information, through the regulation of transportation, refrigeration, and terminal facilities, through educational and investigating work, through more efficient market departments, through co-operative associations and through reducing costs through competition between wholesalers, shippers and retailers, all of which means and agencies have been set forth elsewhere.



THE NEW PUBLIC HEALTH. By Hibbert Winslow Hill. New York: The Macmillan Co. Cloth; 6 x 9 in., pp. 206. \$1.25.

A readable, strongly put, non-technical presentation of the underlying principles of public health, with an exposition of how those principles may be most effectively applied for the protection of the individual and the community. The keynote is that the way to prevent the spread of communicable diseases is to control the infection itself, at the source, which is the person suffering with the disease or very often carrying disease germs without sickness or knowledge of the fact.

The book first appeared as a series of articles written for the *Journal-Lancet* of Minneapolis and supplied by it to 1,150 newspapers in the United States and Canada. These articles were prepared under the auspices of the Minnesota state board of health, which Dr. Hill was then serving as epidemiologist. They were published as a book in 1912, and are now reprinted in an enlarged revised form, embodying the author's increased experience in several capacities, including his present position of medical officer of health, of London, Ontario. The volume deserves wide reading.



THE CITIZENS' BOOK. By Charles R. Hebble and Frank P. Goodwin.

The Cincinnati chamber of commerce has hit upon a happy idea for interesting her school children in their city and in the

problem of municipal government. It has asked the director of its civic department, Mr. Hebble, to co-operate with the director of vocational and civic service, Mr. Goodwin, in the Cincinnati public schools to write a text-book, for the use of the teachers of the Cincinnati schools as a basis for instruction in civics. It is divided into 22 chapters, contains 66 illustrations, and is admirably printed, in itself a good lesson to the children. The editors, as they call themselves, state that: "This book is a book for the citizen; for the citizen who would know what his city was, what it is and how it became so, for the citizen who wants his city to grow better, who has ideals for its improvement, or who is seeking for such ideals; for the citizen who is willing, working with others, to help make Cincinnati a community which contributes the greatest possible good to each of its members."

It is claimed that this book, and so far as we know with good ground, is the first publication of its kind prepared by a commercial organization, is an analysis of Cincinnati and her institutions. Messrs. Hebble and Goodwin proceed on the assumption that the citizen should know all about his city as a portion of the ground work of his education. It describes the geography of Cincinnati with reference to the surrounding region, site and influence of environment; the first settlement at Columbia, and the founding of Losantiville (Cincinnati). It deals with the first settlers, their food, utensils and clothing, primitive exchange, early schools, the first newspaper, the first church, the first pastor, and the first government, and with similar questions all through the city's interesting history. Naturally history and commerce come in for a good share of attention. The chamber is entitled to great credit for its pioneer work and its public spirit and the editors for the skill with which they have executed their task.



THE GARY SCHOOLS. By Randolph S. Bourne. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916.

No other experiment in school administration has been so much written about

and talked about during the past two years as the Gary system. Out of the peculiar conditions that existed in Gary, and in accordance with the principle that the school program should take account of "work, study and play," Superintendent Wirt has developed a plan for utilizing the resources of the school plant that challenges the attention of thinking people everywhere. The present book gives a clear and intelligible picture of the community setting in which the system developed, the use of playgrounds, gymnasiums, museums, libraries, auditoriums, art and music studios, laboratories, and workshops as extensions of the class-room, the articulation of school activities with home life, and the details of school organization by which these manifold activities are unified and co-ordinated. The author's aim is to describe and explain the conditions of which he speaks, and to present as sympathetic and favorable an account as possible. Nowhere is a critical attitude taken, and even where criticisms are mentioned they are refuted with vigorous counter arguments. To those who desire a readable, appreciative and enthusiastic description of the essential features of the Gary schools the book is to be cordially commended.

J. C. BELL.

Brooklyn Training School for Teachers.



ADJUSTMENT OF SCHOOL ORGANIZATION TO VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS. By Robert Alexander Fyfe McDonald. Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 75. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1915.

The object of this monograph is to give a somewhat detailed, but coherent account of the provisions that have been made for the education of special groups of children by various communities in this country. The groups considered are the exceptionally bright or gifted children on the one hand, and those who, on account of some physical or mental infirmity, are unable to profit by the ordi-

nary school procedure on the other. In the latter class are found the deaf, the blind, the delinquent, the dependent and neglected, the feeble-minded, the crippled, the non-English-speaking immigrant, the tubercular, and the speech defective. Each chapter presents a good historical survey of the establishment of schools for the particular group considered, and gives an excellent idea of what is now done for each type of variant in the more progressive school systems. A good working bibliography accompanies each section.

J. C. B.



HOW THE PEOPLE RULE. By Charles D. Forest Hoxie, Ph.D.; New York: Silver, Burdett & Co.

As a text-book in civics prepared for the grammar grades this volume treats in a brief and suggestive way matters relating to government which may be of interest to beginners. The style is clear and elementary enough, as a rule, to be read with understanding and with profit by pupils in the grammar grades.

The author, however, fails to appreciate and understand the recent progress made in the teaching of community civics to children in the elementary grades. As a consequence, too much emphasis is given to the formal side of government, to laws, to taxation, to the formal organization of government in nation, state, city and county. Moreover, the functions performed by governmental departments with respect to public health, protection of property, and civic improvement are either very scantily treated or omitted entirely. Not enough emphasis is given to the observation of government, to the study of government problems and to the practical devices to render civics both interesting and useful.

C. G. H.



COMMUNITY CIVICS. By Jessie Field and Scott Nearing. New York: The Macmillan Company.

This little volume is prepared primarily for the elementary grades of rural schools. A few of the chapters which give an idea

of the scope of the volume deal with the institutions and ideals of country life, the country home, the country school and the community, citizenship and country life, the country community and its officials, the country in its relation to the state and to the nation. The volume may be commended not only because of the modern viewpoint and the suggestive method of approach to community problems, but also because it encourages a new method of instruction in community affairs.

C. G. H.

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TOWN PLANNING. Report by J. C. Morrell, A.R.I.B.A., to the Minister of Public Works of Victoria.

This report does not pretend to be an original contribution to town planning literature since the author practically confines himself to presenting in his own words the information he has gathered on a tour through Britain and the United States.

It is interesting, however, to note how this Australian observer has been influenced by what he saw and heard on his tour. He correctly describes the distinctive characteristics of town planning, garden cities and garden suburbs in Great Britain and the difference between these and city planning in the states.

He began his researches in Britain and therefore came first under the influence of the kind of town planning in which the fundamental principle is "care of the citizens' health and the proper housing of the people," rather than the attainment of aesthetic results in the disposition of streets and buildings as a sole or even primary object. The British idea of town planning seems to have remained with him and in his conclusions he refers to the need of town planning legislation to enable housing conditions in Victoria to be improved. He properly regards the passing of such legislation as a necessary preliminary to the preparation of town planning schemes.

THOMAS ADAMS.

Ottawa.

THE AMERICAN CITY. AN OUTLINE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT AND FUNCTIONS. By Henry C. Wright. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company.

In this little volume Dr. Wright has brought together various short chapters on the history, organization, and general functions of cities. Particular stress has been laid upon the social aspects of municipal administration. The author's experience as First Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Public Charities in New York City has given him some interesting viewpoints which find expression throughout the book but more particularly in the last chapter. The book is not a systematic study of all the city's activities and does not profess to be so; but it contains some scattering data relating to nearly all of them. Unhappily these things are not always stated accurately. The changes in the Boston charter (p. 29) were made in 1909, not in 1901; the figures of approximate cost of street-lighting per thousand inhabitants in various cities (p. 68) lead to an absurd conclusion; and there are forty-eight wards in Philadelphia (p. 26). In condensing his discussion into such brief compass the author has been under the necessity of omitting many important things with the result that other matters of less significance stand out in undue prominence. To cover so wide a range in a really informing way is not possible within the limits of the space which Dr. Wright found allotted to him.

W. B. M.

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SANITATION IN PANAMA. By William Crawford Gorgas. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

Those who wish to read an interesting history of the conquest of yellow fever through the elimination of the stegomyia mosquito at both Havana and Panama, as well as a review of the devoted work of various experimenters who made those conquests possible, will welcome this volume. Only the last half of the book deals with Panama, and that half is devoted to yellow fever, malaria, general port quar-

antine, hospitals and like work conducted under the direction of the brilliant and successful author. Other kinds of sanitary work at Panama, like water-supply and sewerage, are practically if not absolutely ignored. Many historical and other incidents add to the readableness of an unusually interesting volume.

M. N. B.

Montclair, N. J.

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AMERICAN YEAR BOOK. A RECORD OF EVENTS AND PROGRESS FOR 1915. Edited by Francis G. Wickware. New York and London: D. Appleton & Company. \$3.

This annual volume has been thoroughly established. As in previous years the contributions on the subject of municipal government are by the editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. A comparison of this year's volume with previous ones would seem to indicate either a diminishing appreciation of the value of municipal government on the part of the general editor and his committee, or an increasing pressure on the space, for in the course of two years the amount of space devoted to municipal government

has been diminished ten per cent. This is unfortunate at a time when municipal government is increasing in importance and public consideration at a ratio that is attracting the attention even of the indifferent.

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GREAT CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

By Gertrude Van Duyn Southworth and Stephen Elliot Kramer. Syracuse, N. Y.: Iroquois Publishing Company.

A good geographical reader designed to teach children something about the growth of their country through the growth of their cities. A recognition of the importance of cities in our national life hitherto unrecognized by teachers. The following are the cities considered: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo, San Francisco, New Orleans and Washington. The story of the growth of these cities, the things which interest the sightseer, the commerce, the industries, the great things these cities are seeking to accomplish, and their relation to environment are recited in an interesting way.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

ADMINISTRATIVE CODE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. Published by Authority of Law. Manila: Bureau of Printing. 1916.

ALCOHOL AND SOCIETY. By John Koren. New York: Henry Holt & Company. \$1.25.

THE AVOIDANCE OF FIRES. By Arland D. Weeks. New York: J. C. Heath & Company.

THE BALTIMORE BOOK. Fifth Edition. Published by The Municipality. 1916.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS AND PAVEMENTS. By T. R. Agg, C.E. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$3.

COUNTER-CURRENTS. By Agnes Repplier. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company. \$1.25.

A DIGEST OF CASES DECIDED IN FRANCE RELATING TO PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL LAW. By Pierre Pellerin. London: Stevens & Sons, Ltd., 119 Chancery Lane.

THE EDUCATION OF THE NE'ER-DO-WELL. By William H. Dooley. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 60 cents.

EVERYMAN MILITANT: A MODERN MORALITY. By Ewing Rafferty. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. \$1.

EXAMINATION INSTRUCTION INCLUDING QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR SUNDRY CLASSES: SENIOR GRADE CLERICAL, MIDDLE GRADE CLERICAL, MINOR CLERICAL, POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, FEDERAL FIRST GRADE CLERICAL. New York: Civil Service Chronicle. 6 volumes.

HANDBOOK FOR HIGHWAY ENGINEERS.
By Wilson G. Harger and Edmund A. Bonney. Second Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. \$3.

HIGH SPOTS IN NEW YORK SCHOOLS.
By William H. Allen and L. P. Benezet, Helen E. Purcell, Claude N. Hitchcock. New York: Institute for Public Service. 1916.

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW JERSEY STATE LEAGUE OF MUNICIPALITIES. 1916. Published by the League, Trenton, N. J.

ON THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAW IN CITIES.
By Brand Whitlock. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 75 cents.

THE PLANNING OF THE MODERN CITY.
By Nelson P. Lewis. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. \$3.50.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION TO LOCATE THE SITE OF FRONTIER FORTS OF PENNSYLVANIA. Vols. I and II. Edited by Thomas Lynch Montgomery, Litt.D. Second Edition. Harrisburg, Pa.: Wm. Stanley Ray, State Printer. 1916.

THE SOCIAL SURVEY. By Carol Aronovici, Ph.D. Philadelphia: The Harper Press.

STATE CONSTITUTION-MAKING, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO TENNESSEE. By Wallace McClure. Nashville: Marshall & Bruce Company. 1916.

WATERWORKS HANDBOOK. By Alfred Douglas Flinn, Robert Spurr Weston and Clinton Lathrop Bogert. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. \$6.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Recent Progress in Civic Education.¹
—The criticisms of educational methods which have been prevalent for more than a decade are bearing fruit in a reconstructive process which is affecting profoundly all phases of education both public and private. Evidences of such a reconstruction of educational methods are not only to be found in the remarkable experiments now being conducted at Fairhope, Alabama, Columbia, Missouri, and Gary, Indiana, but also in the changes in content and method which many schools have introduced in the teaching of geography, history, and elementary science. Similarly some noteworthy progress has been made in recent years in revising the content and improving the methods of instruction in civic education. In the first place the devoting of a few weeks to the study of government in connection with American history in the high school and the giving of some perfunctory instruction in the seventh or

eighth grade of the elementary school, or the neglect of civic instruction entirely as was often the case, are being superseded by a definite plan of instruction which includes the introduction of civic lessons in the grades, usually in connection with history, geography or ethics, of a full year of community civics in grade seven, eight or nine—junior high school—and of a half year or frequently an entire year to advanced civics in the senior high school.

Few there are who do not recall the formal study of civil government with its memorization of the constitution and of long lists of officers with names and salaries attached—a forbidding kind of study which often appeared to have not even the remotest relation to citizenship and which impressed its recipients with a hearty dislike of the study of government. Naturally the subject received but little recognition in the school curriculum and deserved even less sympathy on the part of public-minded citizens.

It has been a difficult matter to get rid of the traditional type of civil government. Unfortunately many schools even to-day continue to offer this kind of course

¹ Those interested in the improvement of civic education, are referred to the report of the committee on instruction of the American Political Science Association, published by the Macmillan company.

with apparent indifference to the progress that has been made in civic education and to the fact that an educational system in a country professing to rest its government on democratic principles must function in more than a perfunctory way in teaching civic affairs. The signs of improvement here and there give promise that the day of formal civil government is doomed. Not only is there a great increase in time and attention to civics, but an even more striking change is to be found in the methods of teaching and in the study of public affairs. The plan of instruction in the grades which has been adopted in New York City, Philadelphia, Berkeley, Indianapolis, Superior and Milwaukee as well as other cities includes a study of such matters as the home as a social institution, the family, the school and the relations of the citizen to these social groups; a study of the protection of the citizen along the lines of health and property, social improvement, recreation and civic beauty. The new course involves a definite purpose on the part of the public schools to create an interest in the functions performed by government, and the relations of citizens to the community with respect to civic affairs.

Community civics, as the newer viewpoint and method of study, particularly with respect to elementary instruction, has come to be designated, has been definitely outlined, both as to content and method of approach in the bulletin of the bureau of education entitled "The teaching of community civics" prepared by a committee of the National Education Association of which Dr. J. Lynn Barnard of Philadelphia was chairman. This bulletin not only gives a suggestive and interesting discussion of the aims and methods in the teaching of community civics but also outlines a list of appropriate topics under the divisions health, protection of life and property, recreation, education, civic beauty, wealth, communication, transportation, migration; charities and corrections, and how governmental agencies are conducted and financed. For each of these topics advice is given to

teachers as to the approach to the topic and suggestions on the responsibility of the citizen as a member of the community. The bulletin marks a new step in the teaching of civics and its use in a large number of schools indicates the development within recent years away from the formal type of civic instruction.

Considerable progress has also been made in revising the advanced course in civics in the senior high school. The improvement along this line, not to speak of employing better trained teachers and granting more time to the subject, is comprehended mainly under six headings: 1. The collection of a library on civic affairs; 2. Field investigation; 3. The problem method of instruction; 4. Graphic method of presenting government facts; 5. Co-operation of civic departments of high schools with chambers of commerce and civic clubs; 6. The practice of self-government in connection with the various organizations and activities of the school as well as in certain phases of control and discipline.

1. *Library on civic affairs.* Teachers of civics have only begun to appreciate the great storehouse of useful material to be found in government reports, in pamphlet literature, and in the publications of various societies interested in civic affairs. A civics library and reference department in addition to many reference works on all phases of government and social problems may well contain maps, reports of officers, ballots, legal notices and blanks, party literature and the publications of the United States bureau of education and other departments of the federal government as well as the reports and bulletins of charity organization societies, the Child Labor Committee, National Municipal League, National Civil Service Reform League, National Short Ballot Organization, National Housing Association, National Civic Federation, American Civic Association, Russell Sage Foundation, Playground and Recreation Association, National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, American Public Health Association as well as numerous

other civic and improvement societies—local and state and national. It is not possible to teach government effectively from a text-book without recourse to supplementary material contained in reports and documents and the collection of a *civics library and reference department* ought to be the first aim and should receive the most careful attention of every teacher of civics in the public schools.

2. *Field investigation.* Instead of regarding government as merely a matter to be read about and to be considered in a purely abstract fashion, teachers of civics have begun to discover that a veritable government laboratory is at hand, particularly if the school is located in a small town or city and to a certain extent when the school is located in a rural district. Some of the most profitable work which is now undertaken by the teachers of civics in many schools is the result of personal field investigation of local government, by requiring a visit to the departments and a study of the functions performed by them and the preparation of a report as to the work accomplished by the various departments. Such investigations are followed by a general discussion in the class. Professor Dewey stated some years ago the educational principle involved in the method of field investigation when he insisted that "training for citizenship is formal and nominal unless it develops the power of observation, analysis and inference with reference to what makes up a social situation and the agencies through which it is modified." Nothing adds so much to the vital interest in civics as reports based on personal field investigation by pupils and wherever this method can be pursued it is one which is to be commended to teachers of civics.

3. *The problem method of instruction.* There are indications that the former method of teaching and studying government from books is being supplemented by the problem method of instruction by which the subject is approached from the standpoint of issues to be determined and

problems to be settled through government and civic action. The consideration of officers, their duties and functions centers around a series of government problems which require careful thought relative to the duties of public officials, the responsibility of citizens, the advisability of improvement in public administration and in general the exercise of thinking on civic affairs of the present day. The thorough discussion as to why a spitting ordinance is not enforced or why some sanitary rules and regulations are not obeyed or why the roads and bridges in the community are neglected or the disregarding of quarantine regulations is the most direct and interesting approach to study of government. To the more mature children such problems as the death rate from typhoid fever and tuberculosis with the possibility of lowering the mortality from these diseases; the conditions of dairies, slaughter-houses, wells, springs, and other sources of the water supply; the labor conditions on the farm, in laundries, stores, shops, mills and factories with the prospect of improvement through laws, rules and regulations may be made the basis of a very profitable study. Above all emphasis in such a problem study can be given to the matter of lack of efficient inspection and supervision which so often renders laws and rules a mere farce. While the problem method is only beginning to be used and is the least definitely developed of the newer devices in civic instruction, it is one of the lines along which the greatest progress is likely to be made within the next decade. Such a course has been worked out quite effectively under the title civic problems, by the social science department of the Pasadena high school as well as in other cities and although the method can perhaps be used only to supplement and render concrete the ordinary material of a government course, nevertheless the use of this device gives promise to aid in the development of initiative, resourcefulness and independent thinking, all of which are regarded as essentials in the revision of educational processes.

4. *The graphic method of presenting government facts.* In the effort to introduce field investigation and the problem method of instruction there is a growing appreciation of the advantage of organization charts, graphic presentation of facts according to definite outlines or schedules so as to present vividly the conditions and relations which would otherwise be readily neglected and forgotten. The graphic method, which has been used so effectively in exhibits and in the work of extension departments, is coming to be appreciated as a definite aid in civic instruction. Surveys have been made by classes of civics and exhibits have been held which are of great value to the citizens of the community. Work of this character has been done very effectively under the direction of E. L. Burchard in connection with the civics extension committee of Chicago. It is an interesting story how thousands of school children participated in digesting city ordinances and the laws of Illinois on the functions of government. Exhibits were prepared which brought interest and insight into governmental processes to Chicago citizens who worked with the children and came to see the results of their work. The idea of a survey of a neighborhood for exhibit purposes has spread rapidly. According to Mr. Burchard the steps involved in such an exhibit are: 1. Instruction in the class room; 2. investigation and field work; 3. construction of graphic material; 4. Interpretation and publicity. The children under the leadership of their teachers become the educators of the people. Many of the activities of city government were rendered intelligible to the fathers and mothers, the citizens of Chicago.¹

Along a somewhat different line the civics department of the high schools of Newark, New Jersey, participated in the collection of information on the industries and government of Newark; and bulletins were issued as to the milk supply and

health department, keeping the streets clean and other functional activities of the city. The public library facilitated the work by rendering aid in the collection and classification of data. And above all the civics department became the dispensing agency of social and civic information. It is sometimes overlooked by the advocates of the use of school-houses as social centers that elections held in the schools a few times each year, and an occasional social gathering will accomplish relatively little in transforming the school into a real civic center. These are steps in the right direction, but the establishment of a civics department and the introduction of newer methods and devices in connection therewith can do far more to make the school an effective social and civic center. Field investigation, graphic methods and exhibits are only a beginning, but a beginning which has lead to some notable consequences. Among these is the co-operation of women's clubs, of civic organizations, and of chambers of commerce with the civics department of the high school.

5. *Co-operation of departments of civics with chambers of commerce, and civics clubs.* One of the interesting and perhaps most fruitful developments along the line of civic instruction is the increased tendency for the department of civics in the high school to work in conjunction with local chambers of commerce and local civic clubs. Such plans as the junior civic league of Winston-Salem which involves: 1. Co-operation between the public schools and local board of trade, and 2. The formation of a boys' department or juvenile club under the direction of the board of trade, have been instituted in a considerable number of cities usually with great success. A junior civic league unrelated to the schools and receiving no support from the local chamber of commerce or civic clubs can hope for little in the way of permanence. The plan of Two Rivers, Wisconsin, in particular has resulted in developing a spirit of co-operation which is of interest to other communities. Various civic and industrial clubs use

¹ For an excellent summary of the methods followed in Chicago schools see "The laboratory methods in civics" by E. L. Burchard, *Educational Bi-Monthly*, October, 1915.

the school building as the center for many of their meetings. The parent-teachers' association, women's clubs, civic leagues, commercial club and city government are all encouraged to work through the civics department of the public schools. A considerable amount of effective work has been done in cities through such co-operation and a great deal of interest has been aroused in civic affairs by uniting the junior citizens with chambers of commerce as well as the local civic clubs. Illustrations of an organized movement along the above line is that of the civic industrial committee of the Chicago association of commerce. An effort is made to co-operate with the high school through civic industrial clubs. The purpose of these clubs which has been promoted through the association is: 1. To know Chicago better; (a) By studying the civic problems of our city; (b) By studying Chicago's industrial resources, activities and opportunities. 2. To work for our school, our neighborhood, our city—to do something to make Chicago a better place in which to live, to work and to play.

Another interesting plan is that of the New Haven civic federation in which an effort was made to develop the community school. One of the objects which the committee in charge of the work for the federation have outlined is to render the school in a real sense a community center. A comprehensive program was prepared to include lectures, special courses, and outlines and directions for groups in the study of civic and industrial conditions. Special emphasis throughout is given to civic affairs.

6. *The introduction of the practice of democratic organization and management in the government and discipline of the school.* The practice of placing a considerable responsibility upon the students in the public schools not only in the management of their own affairs but also in a limited extent in the government and discipline of the school, is growing in favor among principals and superintendents. A number of schools have organized and conducted with a fair degree of success such junior organizations as the George

Junior Republic and the School City. While some good practice and preparation for civic duties can be gained from the formal organization of the school as a civic community, it is questionable, judging by experience, whether such elaborate systems are desirable and may be made really effective. Some schools report the very successful operation of junior republics, whereas many others have either found the experiment an outright failure or have had only indifferent success. It seems rather that an organization for the purpose of managing athletics, debate and oratory, and musical organizations as well as the control of other student affairs may be enlarged and given at least partial recognition in the government and discipline of the school. There seems to be little doubt but that junior citizens may be given a larger share of responsibility in the management of school affairs and that this management may become the means of very definite practice in the principles and policies of self-government.

Among the recent developments along the line of civic instruction should be mentioned the organized effort to instruct adult immigrants in civic affairs. The national bureau of education has begun work along this line and the New York state department of education has recently issued a book entitled "the citizenship syllabus" which is intended "to train our foreign population for good, efficient American citizenship." The syllabus is designed for a text-book in night schools and is recommended to teachers who wish to explain the principles of citizenship to immigrant children.

A revision of courses of study so as to render available more time for civics, and the preparation of definite outlines and courses of study with suggestions as to methods, topics and bibliography combined with the introduction of more concrete and practical methods have begun to make a place for civic instruction in our educational scheme such as our democratic principles and practices would seem to require. Our schools were established, says G. Stanley Hall, "to give an intelli-

gent basis to government of, by, and for the people and in civics we are restoring the school to this prime original function, the need of which has greatly increased by reason of the growing complexity of governmental machinery." In the effort to render government more democratic and more efficient it is certain that civic education will become one of the prime objects of the public schools. It is becoming imperative that the public schools not only function better and more effectively in the field of civic instruction but also that colleges do far more than is now done to prepare for intelligent citizenship as well as to train for the various technical branches of the public service.¹

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The Social Evil.—Vice Reports and Investigations.² The following reports were made in 1915: Springfield, Ill., Shreveport, La., Rockland County, N. Y., Lancaster, Pa., Lexington and Louisville, Ky., Toronto, Canada, and Maryland State and Richmond, Va. (These two not printed.) The following reports have been made in 1916: Illinois State, New York City, bureau of social hygiene, Bridgeport, Conn., and Paducah, Ky. A complete list of reports made to March, 1916, was printed in the bulletin of the American social hygiene association.

Baltimore. As a result of the work of the society for the suppression of vice and of the vice commission, the former reports the following points gained:

1. All houses of public prostitution in Baltimore are now closed. 2. The inmates have been offered an opportunity to enter an honest life, and some have accepted. 3. Several hundred young girls are saved from lives of shame every year. 4. The closing of assignation houses, visited night and day by hundreds of men and women. 5. Lessened amount of

street-walking. 6. Improved conditions in hotels. 7. Diminished number of assaults on women. 8. The practical elimination of the white slave traffic in Baltimore and vicinity. 9. A diminution of social diseases and consequent lessening of suffering among innocent women and children which must follow. 10. Improvement in the morals of the police force. 11. Elimination of the exploitation of vicious women as a matter of commerce. 12. A step toward the creation of a healthy public sentiment against the toleration of segregation of social vice. 13. Encouragement given to officials in the performance of their sworn duty. 14. The removal of the public disgrace of vice districts previously tolerated and supervised by the authorities. 15. Baltimore, from a moral standpoint, made one of the cleanest cities in the United States.

The report of the Vice Commission has not been published although some of its findings and conclusions have been summarized by W. D. Lane in *The Survey*.

Lexington, Ky. The report of the vice commission (Very Rev. R. K. Massie, D.D., chairman) has been published in pamphlet form (62 pp.) and as a result the "red light district" has been closed.

New York City. The bureau of social hygiene, in May, 1913, published a volume entitled "Commercialized Prostitution in New York City," by George J. Kneeland.³ After two years a survey was again made, the results of which have been published in a new report, according to which "the evil has been both reduced in amount and made less conspicuous in form. Though the situation is still far from being wholly satisfactory, tremendous gains have been made—gains, the credit for which belongs partly to civic organizations concerned with different aspects of the problem, partly—perhaps it would be fair to say largely—to the city administration. No police commissioner has ever before grappled with the difficulty as energetically, as intelligently and as persistently as Police Commissioner Woods; and the police

¹ See discussion of instruction in municipal government in educational institutions by Prof. W. B. Munro, in this issue: p. 565.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. v, p. 686.

³ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 182.)

force has responded to his leadership. A new standard has now been set and public opinion is being educated to demand and sustain it."

The bureau has also published (through the Century company) a volume containing the "Laws Relating to Sexual Immorality in New York City,"¹ edited by Arthur B. Springborn.

Cleveland. To determine the result of the closing of the "red light" district by Mayor Baker on March 31, 1915, the *Cleveland Medical Journal* published a study by Dr. A. R. Warner of the Lakeside Dispensary, showing the number of infections acquired in Cleveland during the period of eight months before the closing of the district and during eight months immediately after that time. The *Journal* declared that it is the custom of the Lakeside dispensary to secure from each person having syphilis a statement of the date of his infection, the type of person from whom the disease was contracted, and whether the patient was drunk or sober when he contracted the disease. Not all patients are willing to answer these questions in detail, but the figures in the following tabulation are taken from the records of those who gave full data. They include, moreover, only the infections acquired in Cleveland and by men only. Women, old infections, and infections acquired outside of Cleveland are not included.

Before Closing		
Sources	No.	Per-Cases centage
Segregated district.....	45	40.2
Street walkers.....	29	25.9
Clandestine prostitution ..	10	8.9
Accidental.....	14	12.4
"Friends".....	11	9.8
Marital.....	3	2.6
	112	99.8

In comparison with this table the record should be noted of cases reaching the dispensary between April 1, 1915, and January 1, 1916. The records of men infected in Cleveland, who answer in full the questions above referred to, and such records only, were used.

¹ NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 518)

After Closing		
Sources	No.	Per-Cases centage
Street walker.....	6	33.3
Friend.....	4	22.2
Unknown or accidental ...	6	33.3
Clandestine prostitution ..	2	11.1
	18	99.9

The fact that 112 cases, plus an unrecorded number who would not answer questions in full, were treated before the closing of the segregated district and that only 53 cases in all (including the 35 not reporting in full) were reported after the close of the district, is regarded as striking evidence of the place in Cleveland's public health occupied by the red light region.

Chicago. After the vice commission had concluded its labors, it was left to certain civic organizations to continue the work of investigation and to proceed against the vice traffic. For the last three years the most aggressive destructive work in this line has been done by the committee of fifteen, the purpose of which, as officially stated, is "To aid the public authorities in the enforcement of laws against pandering and to take measures calculated to prevent traffic in women." Its present policy is to direct its efforts towards the destruction of market places for women. Other issues, it declares, are collateral. At the annual meeting of the committee, Samuel P. Thrasher, the superintendent, told in his report of some of the results obtained by keeping to the committee's programme. Prior to July 1, 1915, when the Injunction and abatement law went into effect, the method of publishing the record of property used for immoral purposes was the fixed policy of the committee. "Hundreds of houses of prostitution were closed as a result of that policy, but when the injunction law became operative it was decided by unanimous vote that before a legal attack upon any particular property the owner should have fair notice." The results have justified the wisdom of this policy. Largely through the efforts of the superintendent, who was supported

by members of other organizations, by the real estate men, and by a united press, the injunction and abatement bill became a law, and has been operative since July 1, 1915.

"Our method of operation under that law is extremely simple. When evidence is secured that is deemed sufficient to prove a case if it goes to court—no action is taken without such evidence—an informal notice is sent to the owner of record that reports are in possession of the committee showing that the property in question is being used in violation of law, and that if the allegations are proved to the satisfaction of the court, the court may issue an order closing the house, apartment, or place against its use for any purpose whatsoever for a period of one year, unless the owner gives a bond conditioned that he will, of his own motion, abate the nuisance."

During the ten months of the existence of the abatement law, the committee has served 205 informal notices, involving 202 separate properties. In 191 cases, the owners have acted or have promised to act, making the sending of a formal notice unnecessary. As a net result only four cases have been brought under the ban of the law by injunction.

The superintendent advises the changing of the present law so as to make the offense of keeping a house of prostitution one of pandering, with corresponding penalties.

A severe indictment of the police department is made in the report. The committee says it believes that a large majority of the force are honest and wish to do the right, and would do it if restrictions were removed and proper discipline and efficiency were insisted upon by those in authority. The police, the report says, neglect their duty: "We have yet to hear of the first effort by the department to invoke the aid of the new law." Except for the efforts of the committee of fifteen, so far as Chicago is concerned, this law would be a dead letter. The Chicago telephone company expressed its willingness to help the committee by removing telephones from known houses

of prostitution upon notice from the police department that the inmates had been convicted and upon a demand for the removal of the telephone. But though the present chief of police has been in office more than a year, "there has not been a single telephone removed at his request." It is charged that policemen calmly watch the vicious orgies at dance halls and cabarets without interfering. "They have lamentably failed to drive crooks out of Chicago." The report suggests that the police first drive the crooks out of their own department and then they will be better able to drive the crooks out of the city. It also says that a vigorous effort to clean up the police department would bring the chief the support of all the moral forces of the city. "Without collusion with the police commercialized vice could not flourish in Chicago. . . . We have found policemen going personally and collecting tribute from women, and giving evidence of their willingness to protect vicious resorts by taking the keepers to the morals court to point out certain officers of the court against whom the women were to be on guard. . . . We have dictagraph records of conversations and records of telephonic communications which reveal facts indicating that the system of graft exists in all sections of the city where vice is prevalent. The committee intends to try to secure evidence and expose policemen who are engaged in what may be called official pandering." The proximity of houses of prostitution to school buildings is another problem in which the committee has taken active interest. The report declares that segregation is a delusion.

The Kate Adams Law, approved by Governor Dunne June 22, 1915, provides that "whoever is an inmate of a house of ill-fame or assignation, or place for the practice of fornication or prostitution or lewdness, or who shall solicit to prostitution in any street, alley, park, or other place in any city, village or incorporated town in this state, shall be fined not exceeding two hundred dollars, or imprisoned in the county jail or house of correction for a period of not more than one (1) year, or

both." This law has been a disappointment, according to the committee of fifteen, and in the opinion of some judges is believed to be unconstitutional.

The Chicago Law and Order Society (Arthur Burrage Farwell, president) is another organization devoted to an enforcement of the laws relating to the social evil and the liquor laws.

Buffalo. According to the printed testimony of Edward C. Fellowes, of the Buffalo federation of churches, which in a little over a year has brought 105 actions and obtained 77 permanent injunctions, of which 6 were denied and the rest are pending: "A tour of the tenderloin to-day reveals a situation which by comparison with that of a year ago is well nigh incredible. . . . Thirty of the old houses are actually standing vacant. Many houses are offered for sale, and a dozen have been converted into stores. Police reports show that 35 proprietors and probably 500 women have left Buffalo. It is estimated by those who have made a study of conditions in Buffalo that this business had been reduced fully 80 per cent during the year. . . . Violation of the permanent injunction constitutes contempt of court, punishable by penitentiary sentence, a thing of which offenders stand in wholesome dread; and denizens of the underworld in Buffalo frankly confess that the lid is on."

Pittsburgh. Six years ago the morals efficiency commission began the fight for gradual elimination of commercialized vice in Pittsburgh. This commission, appointed by Mayor Magee, had no police power, but enjoyed the co-operation of the administration. In the course of two years, according to *The Survey*, it reduced the number of open houses from 247 to 65 and the number of inmates from 1,000 to 342. It also succeeded in eliminating all drinks, shows, music and other side attractions. Investigation showed that this resulted in a reduction of 80 per cent in the patronage of the houses.

Legislation was secured providing for a morals bureau, composed of leading citizens and possessed of police power. In the meantime a new city administra-

tion had come into power. Under strong pressure, especially from the churches, Mayor Armstrong appointed a morals bureau. This began work in June, 1914. By September 1 it had closed every house of open prostitution in the city without materially increasing the clandestine traffic. During the following six months an extensive campaign was conducted against the various clandestine forms of the traffic, with the result that at the end of that time the city was unquestionably cleaner morally than ever before in its history.

In the meantime, however, the constitutionality of the act under which the bureau acted had been attacked in the courts and about the end of February, 1916, the bureau was put out of action by a decision declaring it to be unconstitutional. This decision was lately confirmed by the state supreme court.

The mayor then announced that the policies of the bureau would be continued by the regular police authorities. Within a few months it became evident, according to *The Survey*, that this was not being done. The houses of the old segregated district were not permitted to reopen, but others opened elsewhere, and with various officials shifting the responsibility on each other it has been impossible to localize responsibility, as could be done under the morals bureau. Conditions steadily became worse despite frequent exposes and strong protests by the churches through the Christian Social Service Union. In the meantime, licensed houses, taking advantage of a certain immunity from raids enjoyed by virtue of their being public houses, proceeded to take over much of the traffic, undoubtedly with the knowledge and tacit permission of the police authorities; but these have been punished by having their licenses refused, 76 thus being practically put out of business.

A Conference of Anti-Vice Workers was held at Indianapolis in May in connection with the Conference of Charities and Correction. A summary of the points made by the speakers included the following:

Segregated vice districts can and should be abolished.

Segregated districts do not segregate, for along with segregation there are always numerous vice points scattered all over the city.

Where segregation has been abolished, former advocates of segregation have been converted to the truth that conditions are better without segregation.

The abolishment of segregated vice always has brought a diminution of venereal disease.

With segregation there never is proper police regulation or medical inspection. The fact that there is medical inspection and registration brings false security.

Without the collusion of the police commercialized vice could not exist.

The public conscience must be aroused before desired reforms can be completely brought about.

It is possible through the pressure of public conscience and the forced or voluntary assistance of the police to close all the illegal resorts.

The wineroom and immoral rooming house problems are other problems which have to be dealt with after the illegal resorts are abolished.

Vice cannot be suppressed completely. The reformers admit this, but maintain that commercialized vice can be very largely wiped out.

St. Louis Prostitution. A study of the treatment of prostitutes by the police department and courts of St. Louis, has been published by the committee of one hundred for the suppression of commercialized vice. With the abolition of the segregated district in St. Louis, street solicitation and private houses have largely increased. The volume of professional prostitutes is by no means represented in the 1,533 cases handled in the city courts in 1915, and studied by the committee through J. G. Fertig, special agent. The report touches upon the cases of venereal diseases treated by public hospitals and dispensaries. The committee recommends that fines be abolished in dealing with prostitutes and probation and commitment be substituted; that a medical and physical examination be given all women convicted of prostitution;

that venereal diseases be made reportable; that a state women's reformatory be established; that an abatement and injunction act be pushed again before the legislature.



Unemployment.¹—The New York report primarily seeks to summarize the experience and work of the unemployment committee appointed by Mayor Mitchel to deal with unemployment conditions in New York during the winter of 1915-16. The chief part of the report is given over to a detailed description of the emergency measures adopted by the committee to relieve suffering. If, as seems probable, we will not stir ourselves to any measures that will prove sufficiently effective to prevent similar catastrophes in the future, the compiling of this experience will be of value in future contingencies.

Parts II and III contain the committee's suggestions for a permanent preventive program for dealing with unemployment. In this, most of the conventional means of attack are urged. The most significant thing is the provision for a permanent committee to work at this problem.

Appendices are included devoted to recommendations on the development of public employment bureaus; on methods and means of training the unemployed; child labor and unemployment and unemployed working girls.

The Ontario report² represents one of the most, if not the most, comprehensive and specific programs for dealing with unemployment ever produced outside of Europe. It is a very worth while contribution to thought on unemployment even though the reader may question some of the conclusions.

A large amount of data regarding Ontario unemployment and with regard to certain industries and occupations in particular is included, but the real constructive suggestions of the report are found in the seventy-page section devoted

¹ Report of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, New York City, January, 1916. 108 pages.

² Report of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment. Toronto: A. T. Wilgress, 1916. 334 pages.

to conclusions and recommendations. Under this heading, the most significant contribution is the study of disproportionate national development as a factor in producing unemployment. The conclusion is reached that Canada has over-invested capital in railroads and manufacturing industries considering the market that is available. It is recommended, therefore, that the government systematically undertake to vary home markets and create foreign ones.

Very specific suggestions and plans are made for the better distribution of public spending, the steadying of employment by employers and the establishment of provincial farms and "community settlements" which will assist in the settlement of the unused country sections. To facilitate the mobility of labor, the details of a system of public employment bureaus are suggested. The improvement of suburban transportation, if necessary, by government aid, coupled with measures which will make the unused land available to workingmen, are recommended as means of making it possible for workers to live on plots of land, in which position, unemployment would not so seriously affect them. Restriction of immigration, vocational guidance, unemployment insurance through subsidies to unions and other measures for preventing or dealing with unemployment are recommended.

A permanent commission is urged to carry out this program.

No serious student of unemployment can afford to miss this Ontario report.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science has performed a real service to the cause of better industrial management by devoting the May, 1916, issue of *The Annals* to the subject of personnel and employment problems in industrial management.¹

Conditions affecting the interests of the personnel are more and more being accorded their proper place in industrial man-

agement. The correctness of this policy is accepted by the more progressive and thoughtful employing concerns, not only because social opinion requires that employers should squarely face the human problems in industry, but also because scientific study and attention to the selection and development of, and co-operation with, employees furnish one of the most fruitful present sources of increasing business efficiency.

In order properly to study their own personnel problems, employing concerns are increasingly establishing functionalized departments, similar to other functionalized departments such as that of mechanical engineering in a factory. To do its work properly this division of human engineering should be on a par in importance with the financial, sales or mechanical departments, and its head should be of equal calibre with other executives. The employment office is usually selected to become this personnel department because its work necessitates such close relationship with the working force. Cases where the duties of the employment office are interpreted thus broadly are rare.

The *May Annals* is an attempt to describe the development of this movement and to assist the many employers who are developing this work, and is devoted to a description of some of the more significant and practical efforts that are now being carried on in this field. It consists of 32 articles by authorities. Most of them are by practical men who have done outstanding work in this phase of industrial management and herein describe the aims and methods which they have employed. Many forward-looking employers have already expressed their appreciation of it and have recommended its reading to their executives.

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New Orleans Survey—A Reply.¹

Early in 1915 the commission council of New Orleans asked the New York bureau

¹ Personnel and Employment Problems in Industrial Management. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1916. 318 pages.

¹ To Miss Ethel Hutson's Review of the Survey Report, *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, vol. v, p. 522.

of municipal research (1) "to devise a plan for the readjustment of the public debt," and (2) "to suggest legislation in regard to assessments and taxation." Such a study was made, and after a report had been prepared it was submitted to the New Orleans officials as a tentative draft for correction or approval of the fact statements contained. This was in accord with the bureau's uniform policy of submitting a fact statement of every one of its reports to the responsible officials for approval before it is finally completed. The report was returned to the New York bureau with comments (marginal notations) on only three points. Two of these related to the poll tax and involved questions not of fact, but of opinion. The other related to the period during which the current deficit had been accruing; the tentative report stated it was the result of three years accumulation and the marginal note appearing on the draft when it was returned from New Orleans said "five or six."

In addition to thus insuring the correctness of the fact statements, the bureau before rendering the report submitted it to a tax specialist who for many years has been recognized and honored throughout the United States as being one of the leaders in that field. He examined and approved it as to the principles set forth. The report was then formally submitted to the New Orleans government.

Miss Hutson in reviewing the report enumerates many of its recommendations, which she says the commission council should have adopted ere this, but proceeds nevertheless to sprinkle her review with deprecatory adjectives and to cite in justification of her attack four points of criticism: (1) that the statement of the amount of the city's overdraft was incorrect, (2) that the subject of market revenue was not studied, (3) that the suggestion for apportioning the state levy would be no improvement over the present practice, and (4) that changing the personal property classification would be reactionary.

Owing to the attention which any study of municipal revenues and indebtedness

receives in these days of inadequate revenue and large debt, the bureau has requested space for replying to Miss Hutson's criticisms.

First—The survey was not concerned with the amount of the debt, current or funded, or with the period within which it had been incurred. No audit was desired by the city officials, nor was any made. It was necessary, therefore, to rely upon data in official reports, although in some cases it was necessary to examine the books of account to obtain particular figures unavailable elsewhere. No statements were taken from any independent audit report. To do so would be as improper as to use figures derived from a newspaper editorial, however correct they might be presumed to be. Furthermore, any information upon such points which appears in the report is gratuitous. It was compiled merely as a basis for the report, and it was submitted as an appendix thereof. The statement as quoted from Commissioner Lafaye that "the correct figures were sent on," referred to the marginal notation "five or six years," and not to the amounts involved as the reviewer erroneously supposed; for no other figures were received. The relations existing between the bureau's men and Commissioner Lafaye were and are frank and cordial, and the inference to the contrary is unwarranted.

At the outset, the bureau was asked to consider whether the excessive accumulations pledged to secure the sewer and water debt might not be diverted in some proper way to the relief of the general funds, but a little investigation was all that was necessary to determine that this could not be done. The scope of the study was, therefore, narrowed to the second question—that of revenues.

Second—Market collections were not studied intensively, because they are so obviously concerned not with revenues but with the public's service.

Third—The bureau's suggestion relative to apportioning the state levy which our critic so vigorously assailed, is as follows:

It is proposed, therefore, that the several parishes be given exclusive authority to levy direct taxes upon real estate and to

impose license taxes upon the conduct of private business, and that the state shall apportion among the several parishes so much of its revenue needs as shall be required in excess of the amounts derived from special taxes, on corporations, etc. The basis of the apportionment should be the revenue raised for all local purposes *by and within each parish*.

This suggestion was proposed in the report with the remark that "the scheme is not original or even novel," and extensive quotations were made from Lawson Purdy and Allen Ripley Foote to describe it. The denunciation so generously given to this suggestion is particularly interesting when it is considered that the chief sponsor of the scheme is the honored president of the National Municipal League.

Fourth—A scientific classification of objects of taxation is proposed in the report, and the reviewer condemns this as "reactionary," upon the ground that it would "increase personal property taxes." To criticize classification as a first principle in taxation is to expose such a lack of familiarity with the tax reform movement of the last ten years as to disqualify one from assuming to review a report having to do with public finance.

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Miss Hutson's Rejoinder.—I do not object to the printing of the final paragraph; though my criticism as "reactionary" was intended, not for the idea of *classification*, which I heartily approve, but for that of an *increase* in *personal property* taxation. The trend of tax reform seems to be away from *personal property* taxation, and toward placing the burden on *site value*, *privileges*, and *income*. Here in Louisiana our 1914 legislature relieved money on deposit from all taxation.

However, I have never posed as an expert on taxation reform—my study of the matter has been purely local, and confined to the last four years. But it was from a local standpoint that I criticised the bureau's report, and I still maintain

that it was "superficial and inadequate," and that no matter who approves its main recommendation—in regard to apportioning the state levy—that recommendation did *not* meet the local situation satisfactorily.

And here's the crux of the whole situation: upon this main recommendation, all other reforms practically hang. For our local political leaders, financiers, and good citizens generally, have made up their minds that they will not make any attempt to increase local taxation nor equalize assessments, so long as these steps would only increase the unfair discrepancy between the portion of the state taxes paid by Orleans parish in comparison with other parishes.

Thus, the failure of the bureau to solve this central problem to the satisfaction of the local people, accounts for the fact that the report has been ignored, and that even those recommendations which were practicable in themselves have not been carried out. It still lies pigeon-holed in the department of finance, and so far no result has come of a series of articles I have been writing in *The Item* urging the adoption of such of its suggestions as are really feasible.

I did not intend any one to infer that the relations between Commissioner Lafaye and the bureau experts were not "frank and cordial." He did admit to me, however, that he was disappointed in the survey, as he had hoped to get from it a practical plan for re-financing the city. I understood him to say that the error in regard to the city's indebtedness had been corrected in detail, by figures sent on by Commissioner A. G. Ricks—but that may have been my mistake, or his.

Of course, if the bureau feels that it would have been "improper" to check the accuracy of the published official figures by reference to audits made (as both the Wermuth audits were) by professional auditors employed by the city itself, there is no more to be said. It is plain from this that the object of the survey was not to arrive at the facts, but only to make a superficial appearance of an

¹ Assistant director, N. Y. bureau of municipal research, in supervision of field work.

investigation. Thus, a detail like the omission from the comptroller's reports of balances from the annual reserve fund amounting to \$133,000, is unimportant!

Again, market collections in New Orleans form a substantial item in the city's revenues—amounting to \$171,000. In past years, when the population was *smaller*, they reached a *larger* figure still. Most investigators would have looked into that.

Mr. Sands may be interested to know that a scheme for "re-financing" the city was devised and embodied in an amendment to the constitution passed by the 1916 legislature and will be voted on this November. It is, in brief, to make use of that half of the surplus of the "one per cent debt tax" which goes now to the public schools, as a basis for issuing \$9,000,000 worth of bonds, with which to pay off the city's floating indebtedness (including the public improvement certificates, now payable out of the reserve fund). The schools are given, in lieu of all city contributions, a portion of the alimony tax, $3\frac{1}{2}$ mills, while the city is relieved of all responsibility for schools or school buildings. This leaves the schools in bad shape unless the taxpayers vote a special school tax for buildings and other needs, which can legally be done, but is unlikely. Both city and schools are forbidden to go in debt any more, but no provision is made for increasing the alimony, so the whole scheme seems to me a mere makeshift. I favor the division of school and city finances, but I think it poor economy to issue fifty-year serial bonds to cover indebtedness of this temporary nature.

However, there is no organized opposition to it, so it will probably go through. Then the city will be up against the need of doing something to get more revenue, and maybe we can get the minor recommendations in Mr. Sands' report considered.

By the way, the last legislature also made it possible to assess on a different basis for state and local taxation, and created a "state board of affairs" with fairly wide powers. Something may come

of this, though the government is in distinctly reactionary hands just now.

ETHEL HUTSON.

New Orleans.

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The Rockefeller Foundation First Annual Report.—The annual report of the Rockefeller Foundation for 1913-14 covers a period from May 14, 1913, the date of its charter by the state of New York, to December 31, 1914. The text of the charter is set forth and in the appendix is printed the act of congress which finally passed the house, but was not reached by the senate. All of the acts of the foundation, therefore, have been carried out under the terms of the New York charter.

In spite of the fears of many who saw in the foundation a menace to democratic institutions, the record of the first year and a half of service is a remarkable document. The form in which the report is presented is clear, comprehensive and well arranged. The substance is of absorbing interest. In parts one might imagine that the work of Pasteur was being recorded.

The main features of the report contain *inter alia*:

(1) A résumé of the methods and accomplishments of the international health commission and of the world round fight against what is popularly known as the hookworm disease, which was found to prevail in a belt encircling the earth for thirty degrees on each side of the equator. (2) A statement of the proposed investigation of industrial relations. (3) A discussion of the mental hygiene movement in co-operation with the national committee, of which Doctor Salmon of the public health service was scientific secretary.

The financial statement and treasurer's report contains the receipts, disbursements and principal fund (\$100,000,000) showing the sources from which derived and the investments and expenditures in detail. Approximately \$1,250,000 unappropriated income remained at the end of 1914.

It is impossible to give an adequate review of the report in the space available,

but a few generalizations may indicate the spirit, methods and scope of the foundation's activities. Judged by its acts, and not by any imagined possibilities, the spirit and its methods have been impartially scientific, analytic and investigative. It has sought the facts (the truth), has attempted to make those facts known and has co-operated with governmental and private agencies in practically every field of its efforts. In the health work governmental officials have been aided in their efforts to eradicate disease, in war relief the Red Cross and Belgium Relief Committee have been supported by money and supplies.

The foundation's efforts have been international in scope, constructive and statesmanlike in method and only the greater problems of human life and welfare have been attacked, and those from the broader point of view that prevention is more important than cure. In no instance has the Foundation undertaken the task of carrying out a formulated policy where governmental or private agencies could be induced or helped to do the necessary work. Perhaps the most striking example of the attitude of the trustees is shown by their course in the industrial field.

The announcement of the investigation of industrial relations said:

"In facing the problem of Industrial Relations, the foundation is deliberately attempting to grapple with what it believes to be the most complicated, and, at the same time, the most urgent question of modern times, and it is precisely for this reason that the investigation has been instituted. The foundation is not baffled at the outset by the knowledge that the task hitherto has seemed well nigh hopeless, and that the literature on the subject, and the tried experience of the world, is so vast as to be overwhelming. These may be reasons for a gradual approach, and for counselling patience in the matter of results, but they afford no excuse for inaction. It is hoped that an investigation instituted on the scale, and impartially and persistently pursued in the spirit and with the facilities which the foundation affords, will gradually win for itself the co-operation, not alone of employers and workingmen, of industrial organizations, of individuals, and institutions interested

in social reform," but also of universities and governments throughout the world."

J. LIONBERGER DAVIS.



Housing Problems in America, volume iv, contains the proceedings of the fourth national conference on housing held at Minneapolis, October, 1915. In physical appearance it is much more attractive than many other books of its kind. The arrangement is good, the type very readable, and the cutting out of all discussions and reports except by assigned leaders is an example worthy of imitation.

One of the most important of the ten or twelve papers is on "housing and the police power," by Professor Arnold B. Hall of the University of Wisconsin. Police power he defines as "the power of the state to regulate private rights in the interests of the public welfare." This, of course, is one of the legitimate functions of government, but the application of the principles involved has always been a matter of difficulty and uncertainty. Professor Hall concludes that reasonableness is the only criterion in any given case. A law, for instance, providing that a tenement house should cover only 10 per cent of its lot would not be sustained by the courts because obviously unreasonable. On the other hand, a law permitting it to cover 90 per cent of the lot might be thrown out on the same ground. Between the extremes lies a reasonable mean which the courts will sustain. Housing reformers are advised to determine as closely as possible the standards of lighting, ventilation, heights of buildings, etc., and if it can be demonstrated that they safeguard public welfare, laws establishing them will be upheld. Housing legislation must rest on the facts of social, mechanical, and medical science, and so far as it has this foundation there is reasonable expectation that it will be sustained under the police power of the state against any and all private interests.

The proceedings are fortunate in including such a paper as that by Walter H. Kilham of Boston on "planning of the low cost house." We have heard much to the

effect that the tenement house is destructive of the health and morals of the unfortunate victims obliged to live in it, but when reformers have been asked to present plans of single houses which would be within the reach of people of small incomes the responses have been few and unsatisfactory. Mr. Kilham discusses the "fundamentals" of a laborer's house, defining them as sunlight and fresh air, hot and cold water, facilities for a bath, refrigerator space, and as many bedrooms as possible. Rightly he does not so class furnaces, piazzas, fireplaces, a parlor separate from the kitchen, nor set wash bowls. The fundamentals, it is stated, have been supplied in Salem, Mass., in attractive brick houses which are renting at \$15.00 per month. In some other places the rental figure is less than this for frame houses. It is only recently that architects have been addressing themselves to the problem of the low cost house, but if they are really beginning to give it serious attention in a few years the tenement house will be fighting for its life. Nothing will drive it out so fast as the possibility of providing something better and more attractive at the same cost.

Questions of housing and health are considered in papers by Dr. George B. Young of the U. S. public health service, Charles B. Ball, chief sanitary inspector of Chicago, and Emily Dinwiddie, supervisor of Trinity dwellings, New York City. Real estate problems are discussed in two carefully written articles on land subdivision, one on its effect upon housing, by Dr. John Nolen of Cambridge, and the other from the viewpoint of a development company, by Frederick Law Olmsted. "Taxation and housing" received rather unsatisfactory treatment from both C. B. Fillebrown of Boston, and Prof. E. R. A. Seligman of Columbia University. They are supposed to be writing pro and con from the single tax viewpoint, but seem curiously to slip by each other in their arguments. "Causes and effects of bad housing" are handled in a popular way by Elmer S. Forbes of Boston and Commissioner John J. Murphy of the tenement house department of New York.

Altogether this is a fresh and valuable collection of articles on different aspects of the housing question, and interesting as indicating a growing appreciation of the close connection between housing and other social and economic problems.

ELMER S. FORBES.

Boston.

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Public Safety Notes.—*New York Fire Department Report.* The annual report of Fire Commissioner Robert Adamson for 1915 has been so skilfully prepared that it constitutes an unusually interesting pamphlet of 170 pages for the general citizen, a valuable public document for those professionally interested in fire administration and an excellent supplementary text-book for use in secondary schools and colleges. In his report the Fire commissioner enumerates the records established by his department during the year, the statistics upon which these records are based, the administrative policies and practices which have resulted in the establishment of these records and a most interesting and instructive recital of the important improvements in administration established under his direction. Attention is called to the decrease in the fire loss, the decrease in the departmental budget, the motorization of the department, the installation of a new fire alarm system, the abolition of unnecessary companies and of unnecessary positions, the establishment of an effective system of enforcing fire prevention orders, the employment of the uniformed force for routine fire prevention inspections, the co-operation of the police in fire prevention work, the codification of fire prevention regulations, the installation of interior fire alarm systems and fire drills, the improved practices of the department with reference to the purchase and distribution of supplies and the care of apparatus, buildings and horses, the organization and methods of operation of the Rescue Company, the establishment of efficiency records for the members of the uniformed force, the introduction of daily physical drills in every company, the giving of awards for practical suggestions submitted by members of the force, a critical analysis

of the causes and the lessons taught by the most important fires, the development of fire prevention activities in the public and parochial schools, the dangerous conditions leading to fatal tenement and lodging house fires, the protection of the public in the rapid transit subways and in theatres from fire hazards, the educational activities of the department in the public schools, and on fire prevention day and the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the department.

When it is borne in mind that each of these topics is treated in this report by means of a lucid exposition, by means of copious illustrations and by an adequate presentation of supporting statistics it will be realized that it is not an exaggeration to refer to this annual report as an instructive text-book of fire administration.

New York Police Report. The first semi-annual report of Police Commissioner Arthur Woods for the current year is of interest not only to police officials throughout the country but also to all citizens who are interested in efficient municipal government. When Mayor Mitchell appointed Commissioner Woods to the head of the New York police force he was the first civilian police expert to be entrusted with the important functions of this position. The present semi-annual report shows clearly the wisdom of the mayor's selection and the extraordinary efficiency of his appointee.

Police experts generally consider the arrest-conviction index as the best index of the efficiency of the police. Before Commissioner Woods' appointment this index was as low as 17.52 in New York. In 1914 it rose to 74.56, in 1915 to 78.02 and in 1916 to 81.57. Similarly the number of crimes of all kinds and the number of street accidents have shown a steady decline which is clearly attributable to the commissioner's many excellent constructive improvements in administration, such as the establishment of a special traffic court, the reservation of play streets for children, the establishment of car stop safety zones, and the careful statistical study of accidents and crimes which the commissioner has undertaken. For the

lay reader the details of the police plans for the protection of the city in case of unusual emergency or foreign invasion furnish reading of absorbing interest. The record of Commissioner Woods constitutes ample evidence of the mayor's wisdom in appointing a police expert to the head of this important municipal department.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.



The Bell Telephone System in 1915.—

The annual report of the directors of the American telephone and telegraph company for the year ending December 31, 1915, shows that there are within the Bell telephone system, 9,151,221 stations, an increase of 502,228 over the preceding year. Of these 2,995,321 were operated by local, co-operative and rural independent companies or associations called connecting companies. There are 18,505,544 miles of wire in use for exchange phone service, of which 1,029,951 were added during the year. Of this total wire mileage, 93 per cent is copper wire. In underground conduits and cables there is a total investment of \$205,700,000. The total daily average connections for 1915 were 26,003,000, or at the rate of about 8,652,400,000 per year. The net amount added to plant and real estate by all the companies, excluding connecting companies, during the year 1915 was \$32,863,717. This makes a total for the preceding sixteen years of \$729,824,200. A provision for depreciation of plant during the year was \$44,888,700, an average of 5.2 per cent of the cost of plant and an increase over 1914 of \$3,392,500. The gross revenue in 1915, not including the connecting, independent companies, was \$239,900,000, an increase of \$13,900,000 over 1914. Of this gross revenue, \$84,500,000 went to operating costs, \$13,100,000, or 1.64 per cent on the outstanding capital obligations, went for taxes; \$31,200,000 for current maintenance; and \$44,900,000 for depreciation, \$18,100,000 was paid in interest, and \$32,900,000 was paid in dividends. The total capitalization is now \$1,367,537,840, of which \$571,185,256 is owned and in the treasuries of the companies of

the Bell system. The annual report discusses public control and regulation quite at length. It says that "control and regulation have done much to clear away the dangers of arbitrary action and unreasonable demand both on the side of the public and of public services." There are certain dangers, however, that menace its success. Among these dangers is the possibility of control and regulation usurping the functions of management and that the multitudinous questions of detail for the most will crowd out and make it impossible to give full consideration to the important questions, deliberate consideration being impossible in an over-worked body. Other menaces are the division of jurisdiction, that is, too many independent boards having jurisdiction over the same questions and the reassumption of delegated jurisdiction by legislative bodies. These multitudinous questions and multiplied bodies, the report urged, are the causes not only of "great expense to the companies which sooner or later the public pays, but they occupy the time of the operating officials to the detriment of the real work of management."

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

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Garbage Collection and Disposal.—The New York state bureau of municipal information issued a report, dated January 1, 1916, dealing with the methods and cost of garbage collection and disposal. This study is valuable because of its comprehensive and impartial treatment of the problems involved. The report outlines no brief for any one method of garbage disposal, but gives a summary of the systems in vogue in the fifty largest cities of the United States, and the various municipalities of New York State, as well as a digest of expert opinion on the subject. In addition, the aim seems to have been to present some of the factors governing the cost of these systems, and the methods of financing such cost. The data included in the report were obtained from the various cities themselves in response to a questionnaire sent out by the bureau. The advantages and disadvantages of both the combined and separate collection of

garbage, ashes, and refuse, in the five combinations of collections adopted by the different cities, are pointed out, and stress is laid on the statement that no one method can be demonstrated as solving the varying problems of all cities, of whatsoever size. The combined cost of the collection and final disposal of garbage is made the basis of comparison of results obtained by the different cities, from a financial and economic standpoint. The cost factor is one that will be studied with perhaps the greatest interest by cities which are adopting a new system, or adapting an existing system of garbage removal and disposal, because, after all, that factor determines the utility and practicability of the system. The actual statistics regarding the sale of by-products are of value in this connection, as few cities are sufficiently courageous to start a system of garbage reduction, without some definite assurance regarding the financial results to be secured therefrom. Moreover, as the report points out, what is economy and a source of revenue for one city, is found to be the very opposite for other cities not similarly situated.

As the report is founded upon reliable data summarizing actual facts, and is not a study dealing merely with theories, cities of like size confronted with like problems can readily select and utilize the methods most applicable to their own needs. To the end of the report are appended in tabulated form the answers given by each city to the questions propounded by the bureau. Incidentally, the value of state or other centralized bureaus of municipal information is emphasized by this pertinent and suggestive compilation of data.

Another useful pamphlet on this subject is bulletin 15 of the engineering extension department of Iowa state college on the collection and disposal of city refuse, dated November 1, 1915.

KATHARINE W. FIELD.

The Free Library of Philadelphia.

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Maryland Tax Reports.—A situation at once distressing and amusing has developed in Maryland tax circles. Last Jan-

uary, when the new permanent tax commission submitted its first biennial report,¹ the name of Judge Oscar Leser did not appear with those of his two colleagues and a note was printed stating that he found himself unable to agree with them. A month later he issued a separate report² stating the grounds of his disagreement. These reports once more bring sharply to the attention the remarkably backward situation which still persists in Maryland and raise interesting questions in the mind of the reader as to why Judge Leser's is a minority report.

The state tax in Maryland is separately administered. A state rate is determined and is applied to the property of individuals without equalization. At present about 350,000 individuals are assessed for state purposes and fifty-five local collectors are required to receive the money. Collections are very slow and incomplete and assessment conditions extremely bad. The last general assessment was made in 1910 and was very unequal. "It is an astonishing fact," says Judge Leser,³ "that there is not in a single county any machinery for the systematic reassessment of property." The tax commission found itself powerless when it attempted recently to secure the co-operation of the counties in a new assessment. More than half the counties failed to provide the necessary funds when formally requested to do so by the commission!

Judge Leser suggests as a remedy for this complication of fiscal diseases the very simple and sensible plan of equalization of assessments between the counties and the apportionment of state taxes upon the basis of this equalization. His report is a clear and forcible exposition of his recommendation. It was enthusiastically received by the Baltimore press, but curiously enough was not accepted by the legislature which adjourned in April. The explanation can doubtless be supplied by some one who understands the political

situation in Maryland. One wonders whether the same person might not explain why Judge Leser's report has not three signatures.

ROBERT MURRAY HAIG.

Columbia University.

✱

Problems of Civil Service.—The literature of the practical problems of civil service administration is very meagre, and most of the existing literature relates to the prohibitive features of this phase of governmental regulation. It is on this account that publication No. 990 of the American Academy of Political and Social Science which outlines clearly the present-day problems of constructive civil service administration, is a most valuable contribution to the literature of municipal administration and worthy of careful study. The following problems are clearly stated and the trend of developing is indicated: Promotions, efficiency records, pensions, standardization of salaries, classification of employes, removals, lay-offs, and the tenure of commissions. The author of this pamphlet is Dr. Henry Moskowitz, president of the New York municipal civil service commission.

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Local Government Board.—The annual reports of the Local government board for England and Wales are now published in three parts. Part I deals with the administration of the poor law, the unemployed workmen act and the old age pension acts. Part II deals with housing and town planning. Part III includes public health administration, county council administration, and local taxation and valuation. Each part contains an appendix of circulars and orders issued by the board.

As a means of occurring data for the financial statistics published, each borough and other local authority is required to make a return in a prescribed form and the local authorities whose accounts are subject to audit by the district auditors of the L. G. B. are required to render a more detailed financial statement. Twenty-five boroughs now have their accounts audited in this way; and the form of

¹ First Biennial Report of the State Tax Commission of Maryland, January 15, 1916. Baltimore, 1916.

² State Tax Commission of Maryland, Separate Report of Oscar Leser, Baltimore, February, 1916.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

financial statement for such boroughs is a pamphlet of 87 pages, calling for information under 21 headings relating to assessable value and rates, borough fund accounts, other accounts, loans and sinking, reserve, depreciation and insurance funds. The form for the larger number of boroughs whose accounts are not audited is a pamphlet of 40 pages in ten parts. These statements and reports tend towards uniformity in the municipal accounts; but as yet there is no positive requirement that accounts be kept in a prescribed form.

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London County Council.—A general report on the work of the London county council from its formation in 1889 to March 31, 1913, has been prepared by the clerk of the council. This begins with an introductory chapter on the organization of local government in London, followed by fifteen chapters on the constitution and functions of the county council and nine appendices. Not only are the powers and duties indicated, but also the circumstances in which they were obtained; and in many cases the historical treatment begins in early times. A comprehensive index is provided. This work forms a useful survey of the organization

and activities of what is perhaps the most important municipal authority in the world.

Attention may also be called to some of the regular publications of the council. These include the proceedings of the council, an annual report, a comprehensive volume of London statistics and a statistical abstract—all published each year—besides a large number of special reports and publications on particular phases of its work.

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Local Self-Government for Scotland.—

The convention of the royal burghs of Scotland—the oldest organization of municipalities in the world—has published a report on local self-government for Scotland, which was approved at the convention held in April, 1914. This includes a historical sketch of previous action by this convention, on the subject of union with England from 1603 to 1707, and a number of suggestions in reference to any plan of devolution of the powers of the present British parliament. An appendix includes resolutions passed at general meetings of the convention of burghs for the amendment of procedure on private bill legislation.

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Printed by the Club for the use of civic co-operators. Address: 1105 Bell Telephone Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

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Price 3d.

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———. Same, separate.

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A reply to a "Report on gas rates of the Union Gas and Electric Co., Cincinnati, O.," made to the Director of Public Service of Cincinnati, by Arthur C. King, engineer of Chicago, in Feb., 1916. The question of valuation of gas properties figures largely both in the King report and in the Company's reply.

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A recreation pier.

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ANON. Five thousand hogs eat Denver's garbage. 1800 words. illus. (Engrng. Record, Jly. 29, 1916.)

PULLEY (F. G.). Garbage collection in St. Louis. 1650 words. illus. (Municipal Jol., Jly. 13, 1916.)

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ANON. Bridgeburg sewage disinfecting plant. 1100 words. illus. (Canadian Engr., Jly. 6, 1916.)

Final report on Elmhurst [L. I.] disposal plant. 1300 words. (Engrng. News, Jly. 13, 1916.)

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BARWISE (DR. SIDNEY). The sewage problems. 3200 words. (The Surveyor, Jly. 14, 1916.)

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EDDY (HARRISON P.). Artificial means of sewage treatment. 9000 words. illus. (Engrng. and Contracting, Je. 28, 1916.)

Various means of treatment, their efficiency, comparison of results, cost.

Sewerage

ANON. Some plant and methods for large size brick sewer construction in Chicago. 1400 words. illus. (Engrng. and contracting, Jly. 12, 1916.)

Social Service

LEVER (REV. JOHN HOWARD). Social service in a great city. 1916. 8 leaves.

Paper read before the Synod of the Province of the Southwest of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in Kansas City, Mo.

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CONNELL (WILLIAM H.). Prompt snow removal in Philadelphia, Pa. (Municip. Engrng., Je., 1916: 220-223. illus.)

St. Louis, Mo.

BOSTWICK (ANDREW LINN). Municipal statistics of St. Louis. Jly., 1916. 1 p. l., 261-302.

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Street Cleaning

EBELING (H. C.). Cleveland pays rwy. to flush streets. 1200 words. illus. (Electr. Rwy. Jol., Jly. 8, 1916.)

—, Cleveland Street Rwy. flushes city streets. 800 words. illus. (Engrng. Record, Jly. 8, 1916.)

Car with tank holding 4,480 gal. cleaned 4,850 ft. on one side of street with one filling in 12 minutes.

LEGGETT (W. S.). The gas-electric suction street sweeper. 1500 words. illus. (General Electr. Rev., Aug., 1916.)

NEW YORK CITY. Department of Street Cleaning. Report on trade waste. Apr. 25, 1916. 39 pp.

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ANON. \$3,750,000 for Chicago street lighting. (Electr. World, Je. 17, 1916: 1436-1467.)

—, Vancouver's new street lighting. (Electr. News, Je. 15, 1916: 22.)

BAILEY, (JOHN L.) Past and present [lighting] conditions in Baltimore. (Gas Age, Jly. 1, 1916: 16-18.)

FERRY (MONTAGUE, and E. M. TOMPKINS) Economics of group system of street lighting. 1500 words. illus. (Electr. World, Jly. 22, 1916.)

ILLUMINATING ENGRNG. SOCIETY. Glare in street lighting. Rept. of committee on Glare. (Trans. Illum. Engrng. Socy., Je. 10, 1916: 518-524.)

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TINSON, (H. A. and DIGGS, D. M.) Street Lighting installation in Port Jervis, N. Y. (Municip. Engrng., Jly., 1916: 5-8. illus.)

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COX, (LAURIE D.). A street tree system for New York City, Borough of Manhattan. 1916. 89 pp. illus. map.

Bull. N. Y. State College of Forestry at Syracuse University, vol. 16, no. 8.

NEW YORK CITY. Borough of the Bronx. Dept. of Parks. A plea for street trees in the Borough of the Bronx. 1916. 24 pp.

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ANON. How to treat the public. 4000 words. (Electr. Rwy. Jol., Jly. 22, 1916.)

During the year a special series of talks was given to the train men of St. Paul and Minneapolis on duties to passengers.

PARIS

—, Paris municipal tramways electrification. (Tramways and Rwy. World, May 11, 1916: 337-346. illus.)

To be cont'd.

—, Récents travaux du Métropolitain. (La Nature, May 13, 1916: 311-316. illus.)

SEATTLE

VALENTINE (A. L.). Prospects poor for Seattle municipal lines. (Electr. Rwy. Jol., Je. 24, 1916: 1185-1186.)

Mr. Valentine is supt. of public utilities in Seattle. This article is a synopsis of a rept. made by the supt. to the city council.

Street Signs

ANON. Miscellaneous street signs. 800 words. illus. (Engineering News, Jly. 6, 1916.)

Describes some interesting signs found in various cities.

—, Selection and placing of street-name signs. 3700 words. illus. (Municipal Jol., Jly. 27, 1916.)

Size and style of letters, color, location and number of signs and height above street, construction, durability, cost, etc.

WALLIS (R. S.). Simple post for street name signs. 800 words. illus. (Municipal Jol., Jly. 6, 1916.)

Describes simple pipe sign in use in Portland, Ore.

Streets

ANON. Fees for use of public streets. 500 words. (Municipal Jol., Jly. 13, 1916.)

List of charges made in Baltimore for permits, privileges, rents and licenses.

—, Planning boards for Philadelphia Highway Bureau. 750 words. (Municipal Jol., Jly. 13, 1916.)

Maps mounted on boards give graphic presentation of status of work of Bureau of Highways from day to day.

Subways

GREEN (C. N.). Subsurface congestion has become an active problem in New York. 2500 words. illus. (Amer. Gas Light Jol., Jly. 24, 1916.)

—, Temporary pipes along curb and on trestles over street carry good part of New York City's gas supply during subway construction. 3000 words. illus. (Amer. Gas. Light Jol., Jly. 17, 1916.)

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Describes difficult problems and their solutions in replacing gas mains in N. Y. City.

Surveying

HARDESTY (W. P.). Precise level survey of the city of Portland, Ore. 3200 words. illus. (Engrng. News, Jly. 13, 1916.)

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ATLAS PORTLAND CEMENT CO. Swimming pools of concrete. 1916. 4 leaves. illus.

Address: A. P. C. Co. 30 Broadway, N. Y. City.

Taxation

CLINE (JAMES R.). Co-operation between executive and assessors in city taxation matters. 1916.

Addresses and proc. First State Conference of Local Assessors, etc., 1916, p. 143-159. Mr. Cline is Mayor of Amsterdam, N. Y.

Terminal Facilities

CLEVELAND

ANON. Cleveland completes two more rwy. terminals. 1200 words. illus. (Electr. Rwy. Jol., Jly. 22, 1916.)

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Station and freight terminals of Trans-Mississippi Terminal Co.

—, New r. r. terminal at New Orleans is open. (Engrng. Record, Je. 10, 1916: 765. illus.)

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ANON. San Francisco municipal rwy. system without exposition traffic. 2000 words. (Electr. Rwy. Jol., Jly. 22, 1916.)

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KUHN (G. W.). How to appraise public utility property. 4500 words. (Electr. Rwy. Jol., Jly. 15, 1916.)

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CITIZENS' UNION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Memorandum concerning the proposed relocation of the New York Central R. R. tracks upon the west side of Manhattan is submitted to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment by the Citizens Union. Je. 26, 1916. 16 pp.

Water Meters

PRUETT (G. C.). Full meterage of water supply at Miles City, Mont. (Municip. Engrng., Je., 1916: 227.)

Water Rates

METCALF AND EDDY, consulting engrs. Special report on Waltham [Mass.] water rates. 1916.

Ann. rept. of the city engineer, etc., of Waltham for 1915-16, p. 34-45.

Water Supply

ANON. Water purification plants in large American cities. 1 p. (Municipal Jol., Jly. 13, 1916.)

Data on purification processes used by municipal plants in cities of more than 30,000.

MORSE (R. B. and H. R. HALL). Progress of water disinfection in Maryland. 2500 words. (Fire and Water Engrng., Jly. 26, 1916.)

Outline of work under control of state bd. of health. There are 83 public water supplies in Md. ABERDEEN, SCOT.

ANON. The water supply of Aberdeen [Scot.]. (The Engr. (London), Je. 23, 1916: 515-517. illus.)

NEW YORK CITY

SPEAR (WALTER E.). Building the city tunnel of the Catskill aqueduct. (Contractor, Je. 15, 1916: 26-30. illus.)

Mr. Spear is dept. engr. of the Board of Water Supply, N. Y. City.

Water Works

ANON. Waterworks of Canada. 800 words. (Canadian Engr., Jly. 20, 1916.)

Data concerning capital and operating costs.

— . Waterworks in the larger cities. 1200 words. (Municipal Jol., Jly. 6, 1916.)

Various items of information in relation to municipally owned plants in cities of over 30,000.

BLACK, (E. B.). Difficulties in the designing and operation of medium-sized water-work plants. 2000 words. (Canadian Engr., Jly. 13, 1916.)

MAURY (DABNEY H.). Waterworks reservoirs. 2000 words. (Fire and Water Engrng., Jly. 12, 1916.)

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BEAR LAKE, UTAH

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FREDONIA, KAN.

HORNER (O. H.). Cost of operating a Kansas pumping plant. Facilities provided by Fredonia, Kan. 1000 words. illus. (Electr. World, Jly. 1, 1916.)

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ANON. Seattle waterworks improvements. 4000 words. illus. (Municipal Jol., Jly. 20, 1916.)

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— . Construction of Hill View Reservoir, Yonkers, N. Y. 2500 words. illus. (Contracting, Jly., 1916.)

Weights and Measures

CHAMBERLAIN (JOHN D.) Power of the municipality to regulate weights and measures. (Case and Comment, Je., 1916: 11-15.)

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DALLAS, TEXAS. Department of Public Welfare. First annual report, 1915-16. 88 pp.

A remarkably comprehensive and vital record.

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